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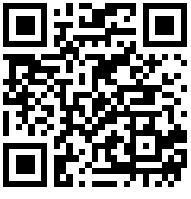

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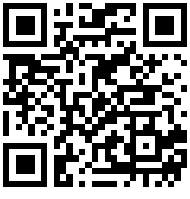

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THE
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VOLUME XXV

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

CHARLES J. SISSON

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

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PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD ENGLISH 'OROSIUS'

I

WHEN the text of the O.E. *Orosius* is compared with the Latin, one of the first things to arrest the attention is the peculiar spelling of the proper names. The geographical and historical nature of the work makes the occurrence of such names a very common feature, and this must have presented a difficulty to King Alfred if, as is probable, he was not a Latin scholar. The other works which are usually ascribed to him do not include many names; the *Cura Pastoralis* has only some fifty, chiefly biblical; the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine contain very few, mostly well-known ones, while the *Boethius* has about eighty, all of them names which must have been familiar to anyone with any pretensions to learning. It is very different in the *Orosius*, where every page adds to the mass of names which form so remarkable a feature in the O.E. translation. Scholars have commented upon the peculiarities in the spelling of these names, but do not appear to have regarded them as important in themselves from a linguistic point of view.

The most casual glance suffices to show that the O.E. forms of the names often differ widely from the Latin, while closer study makes it obvious that they could not have been copied from the Latin text. In making a translation the general method is to keep the form of a proper name as it is in the original, unless there happens to be an equivalent for it in the other language. In King Alfred's time there could not have been English equivalents for many of the names of places and persons mentioned in the *History* of Orosius, except in the case of British towns and rivers and some continental Germanic names. We should therefore expect to find the Latin names kept unchanged in the O.E. version. But this is not often the case; some of the O.E. names differ very much in spelling both from the Latin and among themselves, and it is common to find a name spelt differently every time it is used. Other names have lost or acquired syllables, some are totally different from the Latin; in fact, it would hardly be asserting too much to say that none except the most familiar are faithfully rendered. Counting each name once only, not each time it is used, we find that at least 490 out of the 700 names differ from the original Latin forms. Further, the names are often

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confused; errors arise when two people bear the same name or a similar one. Persons are called by the names of places and *vice versa*, while the consuls receive the most curious appellations, and increase or decrease in number according to the number of names the translator has thought fit to assign them.

As much of our material roughly divides into two sections, the one including unintentional changes due to the scribe, the other illustrating the more deliberate changes made by the composer of the O.E. text, we will treat it under two headings, 'the scribe' and 'the translator[1].' The first will deal with names the spelling of which points to their having been dictated[2] or where the difficulties are those of a scribe adapting the unfamiliar names to the new version. The second will include any names or omissions of names which point to the hand of the 'translator' or composer of the O.E. text, where the changes are caused either by the attempt to simplify the translation for the benefit of the reader or by mere lack of knowledge. Any material which does not bear on either of these topics, especially the phonological changes which have taken place, as illustrated by the proper names, will be considered afterwards in a third section.

A. THE SCRIBE

1. *Inconsistencies in Spelling.*

There are a number of names which occur only three or four times and are spelt differently every time. In no instance do the variants correspond exactly to the Latin, although often the mistake may not amount to much. Thus the Latin 'Leonnatus' appears in the O.E. once as *Leonontus* 142. 32[3] and then as *Leonantius* 144. 28. 'Mithridates' has three forms: *Metredatis* 5. 33, *Mitridatis* 218. 22, *Metreþatis* 236. 2, 26. 'Massilia' becomes *Marisiam* 240. 18 and *Masiliam* 282. 13. None of these changes is very great, but they indicate that there must have been a feeling of doubt as to how they should be written. Again, the O.E. versions of 'Campania' are *Campena* 106. 2, *Compania* 156. 5, and

[1] The questions, 'Who was the scribe?' and 'Who was the translator?' will be considered later.

[2] Here we anticipate our conclusion that dictation alone can account for the peculiarities of the name-forms.

[3] The O.E. references are to H. Sweet's edition of the O.E. *Orosius*, published for the E.E.T. Society in 1883. Sweet prints the text of the Lauderdale or earlier MS. with divergent readings from the Cotton MS., which is a copy of the Lauderdale. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to obtain permission to collate Sweet's text with the Lauderdale MS., which is kept in the library of Helmingham Hall, near Ipswich. I have to express my warmest gratitude to Lord Crawford and Balcarres for the trouble he has taken in this matter. The Latin text used is that of Karl Zangemeister in his edition, Leipzig, 1889.

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Campaina 194. 7, 196. 4, none of them far from the Latin, nor differing much among themselves. When however we find varying spelling of the same name within a few lines, as when 'Tamyris' is spelt *Damaris* 76. 6 and *Dameris* 76. 23, and 'Taprobane' becomes *Deprobane* 10. 10 and *Taprabane* 10. 18, we realise that the feeling of uncertainty must have been very great, for inconsistencies at such short intervals would surely be a sign of great carelessness if the scribe had the original Latin before him. Some further examples of the same nature may be added. The name 'Mediolanum' is spelt *Mediolane* 280. 24, but *Megelan* 184. 31, *Medialane* 276. 9 (*Mediolane*, MS. C), and *Mægelan* 294. 30. The name 'Adriaticum' appears five times within pp. 22–8, the spellings being successively *Atriaticum*, *Adriaticum*, *Addriaticum* (twice) and *Adriaticum*. The name 'Etrusci' seems to have given trouble, for it is rendered *Tuscea* 68. 13, *Etrusci* 70. 12, *þrysci* 138. 4, 7, *Thrusci* 162. 13 and *Etusci* 206. 9. The name 'Carthaginienses' is spelt *Cartainens-*, *Cartaginens-*, or *Cartanens-*. *Cartaina* is the spelling of 'Carthago' in the *Soliloquies* of Augustine, as well as the most frequent form in the *Orosius*, and it is strange that the corresponding adjective should waver so often from the form which was seemingly the accepted one.

After trying various spellings, the scribe often adopts one of them and continues henceforward to use it, or else he reverts to his first attempt, perhaps thinking it the most satisfactory. For 'Illyrius,' 'Illirii,' he has *Hiliricos* 110. 32, *Nilirice* (doubtless an epenthesis of *n*) 124. 9, *Hiliricam* 142. 29, *Ilirgus* 146. 14, and finally *Ilirice* 182. 32, from which he does not again vary.

There is a very large number of names which are rendered correctly every time except the first, as if the scribe did not at once recognise the name, or perhaps might have heard it more distinctly the second time it was used. Thus 'Agathocles' appears first as *Agothoclen* 152. 9 but later as in the Latin. The name 'Metellus' becomes *Mella* 226. 15 and subsequently *Metellus*; but the change to *Mella* may be the result of another influence which will be examined later. The frequency with which these rectifications occur seems to prove that the scribe did not always catch what was said and may explain two instances which are otherwise difficult to account for. The name 'Attalus' is written *Cutulusan* 130. 22, and 'Adaspios' becomes *Aspanias* 130. 15 (*Assapias*, MS. C). These two names do not occur again; probably the scribe heard them imperfectly, and had they recurred, it is possible that he might have written them correctly. Other instances of such mutilated names doubtless admit of a similar explanation, e.g., *Godenric* 288. 19 for

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'Athanaricus,' which in 292. 10 is correctly spelt; cf. also *Argentine* 54. 16, 170. 30 for 'Agrigentum,' the correct form occurring 196. 33; 'Clipeam' appears as *Alpeam* 172. 34 and *Clepeam* 176. 10 (the Latin MSS. vary between *Clyp-*, *Clup-*, *Clep-*). It may be mentioned that the spellings of names in the O.E. version are occasionally justified by the variants of the Latin MSS., thus perhaps throwing some light on the question as to what type of MS. or MSS. Alfred or his scholars used.

The converse process is almost as common, for often a name is given with the Latin spelling and then sometimes a few lines later it is spelt differently, pointing to the same uncertainty which is apparent in all the foregoing examples. One instance must suffice. In 96. 29 'Agesilaus' is spelt *Ageselaus*, but in 98. 13 the O.E. has *Iesulause*. Frequently it happens that when a fairly large interval elapses between the first appearance of a name and the second, the spelling differs, as if the scribe had forgotten how he spelt it in the first instance. Thus 'Adrumetus' appears as *Adrumetis* 26. 11 and *Aþrametum* 202. 16. 'Archelaus' is changed to *Archolaus* 144. 12 and to *Arhalaus* 238. 1. The three names 'Antonius,' 'Maximus' and 'Manlius' are of exceptional interest. (*a*) The Latin text has two names, 'Antonius' and 'Antoninus'; the O.E. has only *Antonius* for both. The first time 'Antoninus' occurs in the Latin, the O.E. has *Ponpeius* 266. 20 and each subsequent time *Antonius*. The connexion between *Antoninus* and *Ponpeius* is difficult to understand. Perhaps the scribe did not hear the first syllable, and could not make out what (*t*)*oninus* represented; he had to put something, so he wrote the only name which suggested itself at the moment. Later he heard the first syllable and immediately thought of the name 'Antonius' which he had written many times already. (*b*) 'Maximus,' 'Maximinus' and 'Maximianus' are three names mentioned in the Latin text, pp. 272–94. Previously only 'Maximus' had been used and so had been correctly rendered in the O.E. The names 'Maximinus' and 'Maximianus' appear for the first time 272. 6 and 278. 21 respectively; for each the O.E. still puts *Maximus*, but when 'Maximianus' comes again 280. 1, 2, 17, 18, 23, the O.E. renders it correctly. Then the Latin changes to 'Maximinus'; the O.E. still keeps *Maximianus* but changes when 'Maximinus' reappears. Similarly when this name gives place to 'Maximus,' the O.E. first has *Maximianus*, then *Maximus*. The scribe seems to have realised the differences only when the names came a second time. (*c*) The Latin name 'Manlius' is always rendered by *Mallius* in the O.E. When 'Manilius' makes its appearance for the first and only time the scribe writes it *Mallius*, not perceiving that it is a

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new name. These confusions in such closely resembling words are not strange if the scribe had to rely on what he heard, but they are inexplicable if he had before him the Latin original.

There are many names which are consistently spelt, except in a few cases, e.g., names like 'Asia,' which is always being mentioned, and always spelt with one *s* except in one place, where it has *ss*, 204. 25. The Latin 'Ægypti' is written in the O.E. with initial *Æ* or *E*, but only once is the medial *y* changed to *i*, 34. 32. This is all the more remarkable as the name occurs five times on the same page. Such changes are numerous and must be classed as purely 'scribal errors.' It is difficult to tell whether the scribe made them consciously or not; they are errors such as would be likely to occur in the work of any scribe, in a copy of a MS. just as much as in a work written down from dictation.

The fact that the names were heard and not seen would best explain the wavering between one form and another, the uncertainty even when the correct spelling was hit upon, and the confusion between names of similar sound. Not being able to hear distinctly or to recognise a name immediately would account for many wrong spellings. The only class of names which does not give support to the theory of dictation is that of 'scribal errors,' just treated of, but even here there is nothing to prove the theory a fallacy, for if the original scribe of the O.E. version was not responsible, then the mistakes would probably have arisen when his draft was copied.

It is interesting to note that inconsistencies appear in that section of the O.E. *Orosius* which describes 'Germania' and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, for which there is no Latin original, and which has every appearance of being taken down from direct speech. None of these variants is remarkable in itself, but taken with the other inconsistencies in the rest of the *Orosius* they give rise to the supposition that it made little difference to the scribe whether there was an original which had the correct forms or whether the matter was entirely new and unrecorded. In each case he seems to have worked under the same conditions.

2. *The two MSS. of the O.E. 'Orosius.'*

In the above discussion of the inconsistencies in the spelling of names no notice has been taken of any differences in the readings of the two MSS.[1] of the O.E. *Orosius*, and it might reasonably be objected that the inconsistencies could have crept in through the carelessness of copyists.

[1] See footnote *ante*.

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That the Cotton MS. is merely a copy of the Lauderdale MS. is generally admitted, but it shows not a few discrepancies in the spelling of the names. On the whole, however, the peculiar spellings of L are faithfully copied in C. In a few instances C restores the correct Latin spelling, as when the reading *Detius* of L is changed to *Decius*, but we may note that 'Decius' has previously occurred in L. Hence the form with *t* may have been in the original draft. The later scribe of C was sufficiently awake to notice the minor discrepancies, while the scribe of L just copied the draft before him. This is the case with practically all the names. Where C has the correct spelling the correct form has either already occurred or else the name is such as must surely have been familiar, even to a scribe. It is quite possible that the scribe of C gave the correct spelling without noticing that he was not exactly copying the spelling of L. He may for example not have observed that *Pompeius* had lost the *i* in one instance, or that 'Lacedemonia' was once spelt *Lacedamania* in L.

It is worth noting that C corrects some of the inconsistencies which we have classed as 'scribal errors.' Thus the spellings *Assia*, *Parhte*, *Spaneum*, *Pirus* are corrected, while an obvious mistake like *Hcalisten* is emended to *Chalisten*. In all such instances it would not need much discernment or intelligence to make the corrections. Names which gave difficulty to the writer of L seem to have been a similar stumbling-block to the scribe of C, and so in the latter we find more variants still, such as *Assapias*, *Mægolange*, *Samariam*.

In some cases Sweet has emended the reading of both the O.E. MSS., as when he gives *Constantinus* for *Constans*, to restore the sense, also *Favius* for *Fumus*, *Triballe* for *Tribaballe*, *Vespasianus* for *Vespanianus* (L) and *Vespassianus* (C). However, it is more than likely that the original draft of the O.E. version had the mistakes, and that these were copied by both scribes.

Taking all these things into consideration, it does not appear that the corrections of the Cotton MS. raise any serious objection to the hypothesis of dictation. The main body of inconsistencies is allowed to stand as they are in the Lauderdale MS., and the few emendations that occur are of a very obvious nature; hence the conclusion is that the inconsistencies originally existed and were copied by the scribe of L. Then the later copyist of C repeated the inconsistencies and the errors of L, also making a few corrections and many mistakes of his own.

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3. *The Influence of one Name on another.*

There are many names in the O.E. version which give the impression that the spelling has been influenced by other names in close relationship, whether in position—as in a group of names—or in similarity of sound—as in the already quoted 'Manlius' and 'Manilius,' or in any other kind of connexion. We have already noted that when a number of names come together our scribe might be expected to alter their position and confuse them. The most curious of his mistakes occurs when he has formed one name by running together two Latin names, as when he makes 'Arachosii Gedrosiique' into *Arachasihedros*. Such a fusion is not remarkable if the scribe did not see the Latin, but if he did, one wonders why he should make two distinct peoples into one. A combination more difficult to understand is *Plicinius Crassus* 208. 4 for 'P. Licinio Crasso.' If we attribute this mistake to the scribe, then the 'dictator' himself[1] must have said 'P' and not the 'Publio' for which the letter stands. This suggests a new difficulty, for it is common in a Latin text to indicate the first of a person's names by its initial letter, but in no other case except *Plicinius* is this done in the O.E. version, where the full form or some version of it is always given. In one instance the initial is strangely altered; the Latin has 'Insequenti anno, A. Postumium,' and the O.E. *on þæm æfterran geare Romane sendon Anilius Mostumius* 228. 22. The change of 'Postumius' to *Mostumius* would be more explicable if the preceding name were 'Aulum,' which actually is the reading of one of the Latin MSS. The only solution possible is that as the translation proceeded, the Latin was also spoken aloud, and the scribe, having heard 'anno Aulum Postumium' did not realise the meaning, and confusing 'anno' with 'Aulum,' wrote down *Anilius Mostumius*. A similar occurrence is when the Latin 'itaque postquam a Ctesifonte castra mouit' is rendered *þa he for from Actesifonte þære byrig* 286. 15. If the scribe only heard the O.E. he would not hear the *a* which has been prefixed to *Ctesifonte*. Obviously he *has* heard the *a*, but has not understood it. Thus it would seem that the writer of the original draft of the O.E. version, whether he was the king himself or a simple scribe, must have heard the Latin text read and discussed, and when he had to write a difficult name he might remember part of what he had heard, but was not supposed to put down. Another strange combination is the O.E. *Claudius Nerone* 7 *Marcolia Salinatore* 198. 21 for the Latin 'Claudio Nerone et M. Livio Salinatore.' Here it is evident that the full name

[1] We cannot decide whether Alfred himself wrote the first draft, paragraph by paragraph, as a scholar explained the Latin text, or whether he dictated his version to a scribe.

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'Marco Livio' must have been responsible for *Marcolia*, and not the written form 'M. Livio.' This mistake again points to the two names having been imperfectly heard, and the mixture of nominative and ablative in 'Claudius Nerone' creates a doubt whether the translator himself had fully realised the nature of the names or whether this confusion of cases is again due to the scribe having heard the Latin as well as the O.E.

The dictation hypothesis would further explain those cases where the O.E. names show the influence of other names in the immediate neighbourhood. Confusions often arise whenever a number of names come together, ending in *-os*, *-as*, *-us*, *-is*, or *-es*, and we cannot expect anything else, even if the names were carefully dictated, for only a very deliberate pronunciation of every syllable would make it easy to give the right ending to each name. A levelling of endings has taken place in the passage *he gewonn Drancas þæt folc* 7 *Euergetas* 7 *Paramomenas* 7 *Aspanias* 130. 15, where the Latin has 'inde Drangas, Euergetas, Parimas, Parapamenos, Adaspios...subegit.' Here again the scribe has confused two names of similar sound, and contracted them into *Paramomenas*. It might be suggested that the aim of the translator was to give the names the O.E. masculine plural ending *-as*. If this were so, we should expect to find *-as* used consistently for plural names, and this is not what happens, for *-as*, *-es*, and *-is* interchange. In more than one example there is inversion of the order of the names, which is only what we might expect from our scribe when several names came together. The Latin has 'Getulos, Natabros, et Garamantas,' for which the O.E. has *Natabres* 7 *Geothulas* 7 *Garamantes* 26. 9. Such a change would not be made by any faithful copyist, although the order of the names is not of much consequence.

A different kind of influence exerted by one name over another is that which produces a contraction of one of the names. This is clearly seen when in place of the Latin 'Caecilio Metello' the O.E. has *Celius Metellus* 190. 18, but when 'Caecilius' occurs alone no contraction takes place, e.g., 142. 3. Similarly the Latin 'Lucio Caecilio Metello' becomes *Lucius Mella*, but when 'Metellus' occurs alone it is not contracted, 226. 15, 22. The name 'Caecilius' also contracts to *Ilius* in conjunction with 'Lucius' and 'Metellus' 176. 32. A peculiar mistake which might be included here is the O.E. *Croesus se liþa cyning* 74. 30, for which the Latin has 'Croesus rex Lydorum.' It is difficult to believe that the translator said *se liþa*; what is more probable is that the scribe misunderstood what was dictated. The translator would say *Lyda* [lida]

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cyning, just as he said *Bactriana cyning, Gotona cyning, Pena cyning* etc. The scribe did not recognise that 'Lyda' was a proper name, but taking it for the O.E. adjective *liþa*, 'gentle,' added the definite article. It may be noted that the change of *d* to *þ* or *ð* is very common.

All the mistakes in this class of names tend to confirm the dictation hypothesis, which accounts for the strange combinations and contractions, for the occasional inversion in the order of names in a group, and for the frequent confusion of endings. Moreover, we have obtained some evidence that the scribe sometimes heard the Latin as well as the English, and for the first time, in view of the confusion of grammatical cases, a doubt has been cast on the translator's knowledge of Latin.

4. *The Omission and Addition of Syllables.*

In the dictation of any work involving the frequent use of unfamiliar proper names, the omission and to a less extent the addition of syllables are only to be expected. In each name the accented or tonic syllable would be most clearly heard, while the others would be either not heard at all or heard indistinctly. The addition of syllables might easily take place if there were any consciousness that the name had not been distinctly heard, or if there were any tendency on the part of the scribe to preserve a kind of balance by making the names alike in number of syllables. It is surely a point in favour of the theory of dictation that omission of syllables is very frequent. We can give only a few examples here: the Latin 'Agesilaus' becomes *Iesulause* 98. 13, 'Arestas' becomes *Ræstas*; 'Hispanorum' loses the initial *Hi-* in three cases, otherwise the O.E. has *Ispan-*. Further, 'Insubres, Boii' becomes *Subres* 7 *Euoi*, whilst 'Mosilon' becomes merely *Ion* 12. 27. The most frequent omissions of syllables are those that occur in the middle of a name, as when 'Alaricus' becomes *Alrica*. The name 'Radagaisus' appears as *Rædgotan*, which is also found in the O.E. *Boethius* and seems to have been the usual form. It is not difficult to conceive how 'Peloponnensium' became *Pelopensium*, for unless this and other long names were spoken very deliberately some element would be sure to become blurred.

It has already been shown that there was a tendency to confuse final syllables, but in many cases this tendency is carried still further and the syllables are dropped altogether. Again this occurs chiefly in names ending in a vowel + *s* or *m*. The Latin 'Eumenes' regularly becomes *Eumen*, and *-us*, *-is* are omitted from names like 'Rhodanus,' 'Tiberis.' Often the omission is accompanied by a change in the new final sound,

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as when 'Demoratus' becomes *Damerað* 80. 1, and 'Florianus' becomes *Floriam* 278. 3.

The addition of syllables is not so frequent as the omission, for it can only occur when due either to a conscious attempt to emend some suspected error, or to the influence of neighbouring names. When *Itaxiles* appears for the Latin 'Taxiles' 144. 4, we note that each of the two preceding names also begins with *i*. This would give the scribe the impression that 'Taxiles' should also have an initial *i*, if the names were dictated and he had not seen the correct spellings. The form *Ithona* 144. 5 is interesting because one Latin MS. has 'Python' and another 'Thona.' If the O.E. word is derived from the former, then a final syllable has been added; if from the second, then an initial syllable has been added. It is curious that the O.E. should combine the two Latin variants, unless we assume that the scholar, with the Latin MSS. before him, first read 'Python' and then, correcting himself, 'Thona.'

A scrutiny of the additions and omissions, of which we have only given a few examples, confirms the conclusion that no other factor than dictation will account for them. He would surely be a very careless translator who should make such mistakes, if he had every chance of rectifying his spellings from the original that he was translating. We do not care to think of Alfred in such a light[1]; more probable is it that the scribe had to trust to his memory when once he had heard a sentence or phrase, and either did not know when he was making mistakes or else, when he happened to be conscious of any imperfection, did not wish to interrupt the king to repeat the passage, but remained silent and did the best he could.

5. *Metathesis.*

There are a few names in the O.E. version in which metathesis has taken place, a factor which again suggests that the names were spoken and not merely copied as the translation proceeded. Metathesis of *r* has made the Latin 'Cirtam' into *Cretan* 200. 25; 'Crispinum' becomes *Cirspinus* 198. 19, 'Procopium' becomes *Percopiosus* 288. 12 and 'Hasdrubales' becomes *Hasterbalas* (twelve times). In the names 'Athenae' and 'Athenienses' the O.E. spelling is also *Athen-*, except within pp. 90 and 98 (nine times), and on three other occasions within the next 18 pages, when *Aht-* prevails.

[1] Yet one is at times inclined to suspect that Alfred did not attach any importance to the spelling of the names; he was more concerned that they should not sound too strange to English ears.

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This definite patch of the form *Ahten-* points to some external influence, for the translator would not be likely to alter his pronunciation for several paragraphs and then revert to the correct one. This question we will consider presently. The constant use of *Hasterbal* seems to indicate that it was the form generally used at that time, or it may be that the unaccented syllable *dru* was never pronounced distinctly enough for the scribe to grasp it correctly.

6. *The Recurrence of Definite Peculiarities.*

In the foregoing section we have mentioned the existence of definite patches of a peculiar spelling, and the possibility suggests itself that these may have arisen from the employment of more than one scribe. If anything could be discovered to prove that several scribes took part in writing the original draft of the O.E. version it would account for many of the inconsistencies. One writer would not know how the other had previously spelt the names, many of which when dictated might sound different to the different hearers. Especially would it help to explain the class of names which have different spellings in the earlier and later parts of the text. A close scrutiny however leads to the conclusion that the material offered by the proper names alone is too slight, and that only a minute examination of *all* the words of the O.E. text might settle the question whether more than one scribe took part in the writing of that text.

7. *The Table of Contents.*

A feature worthy of attention in the O.E. *Orosius* is the table of contents, because it has no parallel in the Latin. This table is in many respects a replica on a small scale of the O.E. text, and is characterised by the same peculiarities of spelling. At first the description of the contents of a chapter occupies a few lines; then it grows longer in the middle, where the compiler seems to have become accustomed to making fitting summaries, but at the close of the table the account has dwindled to a mere *Hu Ualens feng to Romana rice.* Just in the same way the last book of the text is condensed into a brief recital of the chief events. At least thirty chapters are indicated by this last type of curt heading, the only change being from *rice* to *anwalde.* In the proper names it is at once evident that the spellings of the most frequently occurring names are either those that are most commonly used in the text, or those that are used last. Thus out of several forms *Asiria* is most favoured in the text, and is the spelling used in the contents. On the other hand, *Corinth-*,

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Mæcedoni-, *Perenei* and *Tarquatus* are the last spellings used in the text, and they alone are used in the table. Only in the cases of *Enilius* and *Numedia* are the spellings adopted from the early part; those of the latter part of the text being *Emilius* and *Numedia*. In some cases however the spelling of the contents differs from that of the text, and thus still more variants are added to the list already recorded.

There can be little doubt that the table of contents was compiled after the translation as a whole was completed, and not as each chapter was finished. The latter procedure might at a first glance seem the more probable, as the summaries on the whole vary as the chapters themselves in length or brevity, and it might be expected that the same cause which made Alfred end the translation with such haste would also account for the meagreness of the later entries in the table. But the proper names do not bear this out, for as we have seen, the spellings are those finally adopted in the text. Moreover the table must have been written in the same manner as was the rest of the work. If the translation was dictated, so was the table; in fact, the increase in the number of inconsistencies, and the very nature of all the spellings, tend to confirm our theory and make it still more probable that the English translation of the *Orosius* really was dictated, or at least written without reference to the Latin text.

Summing up, we may claim to have shown that the scribe could not have had the privilege of comparing his work with the Latin, but had to trust to his memory when once a passage had been dictated, and we have seen how often he must have been puzzled and how hard it was for him to grasp the unfamiliar names. Obviously he was not accustomed to this type of work, and his difficulties were increased by his own lack of education. It was no scholar who wrote down the first draft of the O.E. *Orosius*! We are unfortunately not able to say that there was more than one scribe, nor are we as yet in a position to pass any judgment on the education of the translator, but we hope to have enough material by the end of our next section to settle the latter point and perhaps also some other questions that have arisen.

II

B. THE TRANSLATOR

Up to this stage we have considered the names which point mainly to a scribe writing from dictation, but now we must turn our attention to the 'dictator,' to the translator himself. It is well known that Alfred

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wished above all things to be useful to his people, and that he always considered them when he was making any translation or adaptation. We can see this very clearly in his *Orosius*, where he has omitted and abbreviated on a large scale, making moreover a number of additions and explanations to render the matter more intelligible to his subjects. Especially is this to be discerned in the treatment of the proper names, where various methods have been employed to make them clear and easy to grasp.

1. *Changes, Substitutions, Omissions and Additions.*

Frequently the Latin name is given, and also the English name by which it was known in King Alfred's time. He describes a place as *neah þære ie þe mon hæt Temes, neh þæm forda þe mon hæt Welengaford* 238. 22. For the 'Hibernia insula' we have *Igbernia, þæt we Scotland hataþ* 24. 16. However, the O.E. equivalent is not always retained, for when the name next occurs it often has its Latin appellation alone. Once or twice in translating, the king uses *Punici* instead of *Carthaginienses*, but the first time he does so he explains with the words *Punici, þæt sindon Cartainense* 172. 12. In one instance where the Latin has the long string of names: 'hoc est Marcomanni, Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suebi, atque omnis paene Germania' the O.E. simply has *mid eallum Germanium* 268. 10. As in translating from French into English we should have no hesitation in changing 'Angleterre' into 'England,' so Alfred in interpreting the Latin substituted English equivalents for the Latin names of British towns. Thus *Eforwicceastre* takes the place of 'Eboracum,' and 'Trinobantum' becomes *Cirenceastre* 238. 25. The Mediterranean, in the O.E. *Orosius* as well as in the *Boethius*, is called *Wendelsæ*, but the Latin has 'Mare Magnum' for the whole sea, 'Tyrrhenum' for the part between Italy, Corsica and Sardinia, and 'Adriaticum' for the modern Adriatic. It is evident that *Wendelsæ* is not restricted to any special part, for in 24. 26 it is the equivalent of 'Mare Magnum,' while in 28. 15 we find *se Wendelsæ þe man hæt Tirrenum*, and in 28. 9, 10 occurs *se Wendelsæ þe man hæt Adriaticum*.

In giving geographical positions the translator has often made alterations of various kinds, perhaps in an attempt to make the position more definite. Thus *Tuscania þæt land* 28. 20 is substituted for 'Ligusticum Sinum.' Again, the consul Valerianus was acclaimed emperor by the army in 'Rhetia,' but the O.E. says *he wæs mid Emilitum þæm folce* 274. 18, possibly another instance where the poor scribe has unwittingly written a fragment of the Latin which he has heard, in the present

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instance the word 'militum.' Further, there seems to have been some confusion in locating *Creto þæt igland*, for the O.E. has *westan* 7 *be norðan Creticum se sæ* 7 *be westan Sicilium þe man oðre noman hæt Addriaticum* 26. 32 ff., where the Latin has 'ab occasu et septentrione mari Cretico, a meridie mari Libyco quod et Adriaticum uocant.' Similarly, when locating the islands known as 'Cyclades,' the translator alters the boundaries; the Latin has 'ab oriente finiuntur litoribus Asiae, ab occidente mari Icario, a septentrione mari Ægeo, a meridie mari Carpathio'; but the O.E. changes this into *be eastan him is se Risca sæ* 7 *be suðan se Cretisca* 7 *be norðan se Egisca* 7 *be westan Addriaticum* 26. 36. It is not at all clear what *Risca sæ* means or why *Addriaticum* is here used; it seems as if the translator did not know which part of the sea was called 'Adriaticum.' One wonders indeed whether King Alfred had not a map before him, which would be yet another source of confusion.

There are other instances where the O.E. is totally different from the Latin, but here it is not easy to see why the original has been altered. The changes point to ignorance rather than to any desire to make the translation simpler, as has been the case hitherto. The 'Quadi,' a people in the south-east of Germania, are called *Hunas* 276. 6; the 'barbari' who invaded Gaul are also called *Hunas* 278. 8; yet no mention is made of the 'gens Hunorum' in the Latin until nine chapters later. The first time the 'Alamanni' are mentioned the O.E. calls them *Swæfas* 276. 3. Now the 'Swæfas' are the 'Suebi' or 'Suevi' of the Roman historians, and are quite distinct from the 'Alamanni'; they are mentioned many times in the Latin text of Orosius, but only twice in the O.E. version. Their identification with the Alamanni may be a careless mistake, as further on the O.E. has *Alamanni* correctly; but it is more probable that the translator was not certain of the distinctions between the different tribes that swarmed over Europe in the third and fourth centuries. Again, he does not seem to have known the Ligures; first he calls them *Etusci* 206. 9; then he substitutes *Ligor þæt land* 206. 22, although in the Latin 'Ligures' is used. Sometimes in an enumeration the names and their order are altered without any obvious reason; as when in recording four wars, instead of one being in Macedonia, one in Spain, one in Sardinia, and one against Hannibal, the O.E. says *i. wæs on Ispania, oþer on Macedonia, iii on Capadotia, iiii æt ham wið Hannibal* 192. 30. A similar case occurs in the list of the wars of Octavianus 244. 25. It is difficult to decide whether the change of 'Dyrrhacium' to *on Thraci þære dune* 240. 14 was intentional or due to ignorance, or was simply a mistake in dictation. The name 'Dyrrhacium' is not found elsewhere in

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Orosius, and may possibly have been strange to the translator. In a long paragraph consisting almost entirely of names, where it would be very easy for the translator as well as for the scribe to get confused, there occurs a mistake by which a common noun becomes a proper name, evidently a misunderstanding of the Latin: for the Latin 'in colonias in Indis conditas Python mittitur' the O.E. has *Ithona hæfde Calonie þa þeode on Indeum* 144. 5.

2. *Confusion between Names of Places and Persons.*

Another tendency in transcribing proper names is to confuse persons with places. A striking example of this occurs in the paragraph just mentioned, 142. 21 ff., which contains about sixty-six proper names, being an account of Alexander's successors and the territory they respectively acquired. In the O.E. version the names of men and places are confused; territories are given to the wrong people, names are run together, omitted or contracted, while the spellings are greatly altered. There are other passages full of names, e.g., 42. 1–24, where out of eighteen names only four are as in the Latin; but in such a passage the variants are those which could be made by the scribe if taking down from dictation. They are not jumbled together as on p. 142, where it is obvious that Alfred himself was puzzled by the long list of names and provinces, and was himself responsible for the confusion, if not for the spellings, contractions and other changes in form. A still more curious change occurs in the names of the kings who went to help the consul Crassus against Aristonicus 224. 7. The Latin has 'praeterea a magnis regibus, hoc est: Nicomede Bithyniae, Mithridate Ponti et Armeniae, Ariararthe Cappadociae, Pylemene Paphlagoniae,' that is, four kings and five places. The O.E. takes all these to be names of places: *Craccuse wæron monege cyningas of monegum landum to fultume cumene. An wæs of Nicomedia, oþer of Biþþinia, þridda of Ponto, feorþa of Armenia, fifta of Argeate, sixta of Cappadocia, seofoða of Filimine, eahteþa of Paflogoniam.* The omission of the name 'Mithridate' here is remarkable; it may have been accidental, but it seems more probable that it was so well known as the name of a king that the translator became aware that something was amiss, and preferred to omit it rather than include it as the name of a country.

Where the name of a country is not very different from that of the people inhabiting it, we often find the two names interchanging. Thus the Illyrii are called in the O.E. *Ilirice* and *Hilircos*, from the name of the place, 'Illiricum.' The Sardi become *Sardinie*, through the influence

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of 'Sardinia,' which is in the O.E. represented by *Sardina*. In the same way confusion arises between 'Scythae' (people) and 'Scythia' (place), 'Thraces' and 'Thracia.' In one instance the name of a place is taken as the name of the people. Sulla is sent to 'Æsernia,' but in the O.E. he fights *wiþ Esernium þæm folce* 234. 25. All these confusions can only be due to the translator, and must be ascribed to a lack of acquaintance with the different districts, or to 'Ælfred's imperfect knowledge of Latin' (ten Brink). Schilling's statement that 'many mistakes in translation are due to carelessness and want of grammatical knowledge' and that 'his knowledge of Latin was still small when he translated the *Orosius*' is fully confirmed by the evidence of the proper names. It is strange that Alfred's scholar friends did not correct him when he made such mistakes. It is quite possible, however, that the king did not show his translation to his friends at all.

3. *The Names of Consuls.*

The names of the consuls seem to have presented an almost insuperable stumbling-block to the translator, for although the use of the 'nomen' and 'cognomen' in addition to the 'praenomen' was well established among the Romans, and Orosius himself records the names with unfailing accuracy, yet it seems to have been quite novel to Alfred, and he was slow to realise that a man might have more than one name. It is clear that when the king first met multiple names in the *Orosius* he did not perceive their full significance, but gradually became aware that each of the three Roman names had a function. It is most interesting to trace the development of his treatment of such names in the *Orosius*, and then to compare it with his practice in the O.E. *Boethius*, where he seems to have at last fully realised the possibility of a man having three names, when he writes *þara wæs sum Marcus, oðre naman Tullius, þriddan naman he wæs gehaten Cicero,* Sedgefield's edition, 143. 5; cf. also 43. 6. The first time that multiple names of persons occur in the *Orosius* they are reduced to single ones in the O.E. version. Sometimes the first name is omitted, as when 'Rhea Sylvia' is called *Siluian* 60. 20 and 'Appius Claudius' simply *Claudius* 88. 20; or the first name is retained and the second goes, as when 'T. Geganio et P. Minucio' appears as *Tita* 7 *Publia* 70. 8. This omission of names becomes very frequent later, where possibly the king may have dictated all the names but the scribe did not get them all down[1]. The next stage is when both

[1] Still it is possible that Alfred, not understanding their significance, may have purposely omitted them in his desire to simplify.

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names are given, but the second is used as an alternative for the first. This leads to a rather clumsy method of expression, as can be seen by comparing the O.E. *Laucius þe oþre noman wæs haten Genutius*, 7 *Quintus þe oþre noman wæs haten Serfilius; ða hie wæron consulas* 102. 2, 3 with the more concise Latin 'L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus.' This device is adopted through several chapters before new experiments are made. A curious product is to be found 136. 32, where we are told how Rome was *under þæm twæm consulum, þe oðer wæs haten Fauius* 7 *oðre naman Maximus*, 7 *under þæm þe Cwintus haten wæs* 7 *oðre noman Decius*. The Latin has for this 'Fabio Maximo V. Decio Mure IV consulibus.' Here we have a man's name fashioned out of the number which signifies how many times the consulship was held! That this was not a mistake from carelessness but was due to ignorance is proved by the use of *Cuintus* to refer to Decius, when we are told: *wæs Cuintus se consul ofslagen* 7 *Fauius se oðer consul...sige hæfde* 138. 12. After this Alfred must have come to the conclusion that it was possible for any man to bear two names, and in many subsequent instances the names are given correctly, that is, correctly as to their number and order, for the inconsistencies and mistakes in spelling which we have already attributed to the scribe are always in evidence. No longer is 'Appius' omitted before 'Claudius' 170. 22; 'Cornelius Asina' suffers no change 172. 6, and many other names of this kind are rendered correctly, apart from spelling. Even when two men bearing each two names come together there is no omission or reversal of order. But it is noticeable that in every case where the names are given correctly there are never more than two for each individual. On 176. 24 the names *Serfilius Cepio* 7 *Sempronius Blesus* are correctly given, but eight lines later there occurs a most curious division, which serves to make three consuls out of two. The Latin has 'L. Caecilio Metello, C. Furio Placido consulibus,' for which the O.E. has *On Luciuses dæge Iliuses þæs consules* 7 *on Metelluses Gaiuses* 7 *on Foriuses Blaciduses*....Such a mistake is inconceivable, even in dictation, in modern times when texts are as a rule very carefully edited and punctuated, but it must be borne in mind that the Latin MS. of Orosius used by the scholar explaining the text would have practically no punctuation. It would have been very difficult for the king to decide how the names were divided, even if he saw the Latin MS., and harder still for the poor scribe. Hence we find that frequently names are wrongly separated, so that two men bearing each three names become usually three men with two names each. Thus 'T. Manlio Torquato, C. Atilio Bulbo' appears in the O.E. version as

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Titus Mallius 7 *Torcuatus Gaius* 7 *Atirius Bubulcus* 182. 5. In two cases, in addition to wrong division, one of the names is entirely changed: for 'P. Cornelio Scipione et Ti. Sempronio Longo' we get *Publius Cornelius* 7 *Scipa Publius* 7 *Sempronius Longus*, while for 'Lucius Æmilius Paullus et C. Terentius Varro' the O.E. has *Lucius Amilius* 7 *Paulus Publius* 7 *Terrentius Uarra* 188. 30. In both instances 'Publius' is substituted for the fourth name, and it is not improbable that this was due to the scribe having in each case six names to write down; he might easily forget one, or fail to hear it distinctly, so he substitutes the name that comes first to his mind. In yet another instance, by the simple insertion of 'and,' one consul is turned into three: *Lucius* 7 *Apulcius* 7 *Saturninus* 232. 19 for the Latin 'L. Appuleius Saturninus.' These three names are evidently intended to refer to three men, and are not used as alternatives for the same man, because they are referred to in the plural, and we are told that *Lucius* 7 *Saturninus* 'were' slain.

In the majority of cases however the number of consuls is correctly given, but their names are mutilated or altered. Names are omitted, as when 'L. Valerio Flacco, M. Porcio Catone' becomes *Lucius Ualerius* 7 *Flaccus Marcus* 204. 23. A stranger case is where the initial name is transferred to the final position: thus 'L. Censorino et M. Manilio' changes to *Censorinus Marcus* 7 *Mallius Lucius* 210. 14. In one case the whole of the second consul's names are omitted, 180. 21, the names 'Ti. Sempronio Graccho, P. Valerio Faltone' becoming *Titus Sempronius* 7 *Gratias Gaius*. Here the second consul's name seems to have been coined by the translator when he realised that he had forgotten the names following 'Gracchus.'

It is to be noted that although some of the omissions of names may be due to the scribe, the great majority point to a settled policy on the part of the translator of allowing no man more than two names, for there does not occur a single instance in the O.E. *Orosius* where a man is given three names. The name generally left out is the final one; in one case, the second and fourth are omitted, where the Latin 'Lucio Caecilio Metello et T. Quinctio Flaminino' becomes *Lucius Mella* 7 *Quintus Flamineus* 226. 15. If King Alfred purposely left out names to make them more acceptable to his people, it would not be unreasonable to expect some system in the omissions, and we have seen that in the majority of cases it is the final name that is lost. Hence those few cases which show omissions other than final may not be due to the translator but to the scribe's effort to write down the names which he heard but was unable to remember in their entirety.

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The treatment of these consular names is a good example of the kind of confusion that can arise when to the bewilderment of the scribe is joined the ignorance of the translator. Besides showing us that surnames must have been unknown in England at that time, this enquiry has helped to settle another question. Bosworth gives the chronological order of Alfred's works as *Boethius*, *Bede*, *Orosius* before 893, and *Cura Pastoralis* after 897. We do not propose to consider the question of chronology at this stage, but in connexion with the consular names it may be noted that the development we have traced in their treatment is proof that the *Boethius* was not written before the *Orosius*. This is the opinion now held by the majority of critics.

4. *The Case Inflexions of the Names.*

We have already seen that one of Alfred's drawbacks in translating was his inadequate knowledge of Latin, and this is emphasised still more in the inflexions of the names, where ignorance is joined to a desire to make the translation as English as possible. To have made the names fit in accurately with the rest of the O.E. text would have entailed an alteration of the grammatical endings, which in its turn would have necessitated some knowledge of Latin as well as of English grammar. A scholar would have found no difficulty; he would either have retained the Latin endings, altering them only where the English syntax demanded it, or he would have given every name an English ending. But consistency is not a strong point in the name-forms of the O.E. *Orosius*, and we find Latin and O.E. endings alternating and being confused in a remarkable manner, so that their treatment seems more like an experiment than anything else. Sometimes the case-endings of the Latin names are carefully kept. If the O.E. requires a different case, the Latin inflexion of that case is given correctly; thus we find for the Latin 'Achilleo' (dat.) the O.E. *Achileus* (nom.); for 'Arpos' (acc. pl.) the O.E. has *Arpis* (dat. pl.). In a few instances the O.E. name differs in gender from the Latin, and the inflexion is altered accordingly. In Latin 'pons' is a masculine noun, hence 'pontem Mulvium'; but the O.E. *brycg* is feminine, so we find *æt þære brycge þe mon Moluia het* 282. 26. In a great number of cases the Latin inflexion is replaced by the O.E., which is only what one would expect to find throughout a work which aimed at being a selective adaptation rather than an accurate scholarly translation. In the majority of these names the Latin ending is discarded and an O.E. one substituted; thus we find *Arbatus* (nom.), and *Arbate* (dat.); *Cassander* (nom.), *Cassandres* (gen.), *Cassandre* (dat.);

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while for the Latin 'Marsorum' (gen. pl.) the O.E. has *Mærsum* (dat. pl.). Latin personal names ending in *-o*, and sometimes in *-us*, change the *o* or *us* to *a* in the O.E. and are inflected like weak nouns. The name 'Scipio' well exemplifies this; in the O.E. it is *Scipia*, *Scipa*, *Scipio* in the nom. and *Scipian* in the acc. and gen. singular and the nom. and acc. pl. The name 'Alaricus' becomes in the O.E. *Alrica* (nom.) and *Alrican* (gen. and dat.). Some names have both strong and weak endings; the Latin 'Ravenna' in the acc. becomes *Rafennan* and in the dat. *Refanne*. Masculine strong nouns in O.E. have the nom. and acc. forms alike, and this would account for the many names where the Latin nom. is used where we should expect an acc. It is usual to find *-us* or *-is* used as an acc. termination; hence such a phrase as *Albinus þone man*.

In the above instances there is a degree of accuracy observable which points to a studied translation of the names, and it is to be regretted that either the Latin or the O.E. form was not consistently adopted. However, this accuracy is offset by the many mistakes made in the inflexions of a large number of names, and is not outstanding enough to make us change our opinion as to Alfred's scholarship.

Further, many personal names which are given an O.E. case-ending have it added on to the Latin nominative. Forms like *Iesulause*, *Arcadiusan*, *Brutuses*, *Brutuse*, *Antiochuses* etc. are very common. The name 'Constantinus' has three forms for its dative: *Constantino*, *Constantine* and *Constantinuse*. We need not be surprised that the O.E. case-ending has been added to the Latin nominative, but when we find it added to a Latin oblique case, we are bound to conclude that the translator did not know what the correct form was. In *Antipatrume* (dat.), *Iðasfene* (dat.), *Olimpeadum* (dat.), the ending has been added to the Latin acc.; in *Iofeses* (gen.) to the Latin gen. The Latin oblique cases seem to have puzzled the king on many occasions; in one place the O.E. requires a nominative, but the Latin has an abl. 'Othone,' from which Alfred has derived a nom. *Othon*, also used for the acc. a few lines later, although this time the Latin gives the nom. 'Otho' 262. 9, 15. In the same way he makes a nom. *Nauiða* from the gen. 'Nauidis' 204. 6. The Latin acc. 'Olympiadem' and not the nom. 'Olympias' accounts for the O.E. forms; for all cases the O.E. adds the inflexion to the stem *Olimpiad-* and has *Olimphiade* and *Olimpiadas* for the nom. Very often the oblique cases are taken over from the Latin with little regard for O.E. syntax; thus the Latin 'Asiam' is used as O.E. acc., gen. and dat. The Latin 'Deucalion' (nom.) is treated as a dat., and a nom. *Theuhale*

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is formed from it. In many other cases the nom. is used for the dat. or the acc.; Latin acc. becomes O.E. nom. and dat., and so on. Latin plurals become O.E. singulars, and Latin singulars become O.E. plurals. There are some names which sometimes have a Latin inflexion, sometimes an O.E. one; this chiefly occurs in names which appear very often, but also in a few instances where the name occurs only two or three times. In the O.E., 'Africa' has for its dat. ending *-a*, *-e*, *-um*, *-an*, and for its acc. *-am* and *-um*. 'Taurus' has O.E. acc. sing. *Taurasan*, but acc. pl. *Tauros* and dat. sing. *Tauro*.

We have seen that in any group of names the endings tend to become confused; to this we may add that there is also a lack of consistency in their inflexions. A typical example is the O.E. *from Spaneum 7 of Affrica 7 of Gallium 7 of ealre Italia* 136. 5. Moreover the endings of names, not in groups but occurring singly, are very liable to confusion, which is only to be expected if they were dictated. The O.E. suffixes *-isc* and *-land* are sometimes added to Latin names, but here again there is no consistency. *Affricanum* occurs by the side of *Affricanisc* and we find *Roma* and *Romeburh*, *Romanus* and *Romanisc*, *Romane* and *Romeware*. One paragraph especially has a curious mixture of adjectives; it concerns the four principal empires of the world. First they are enumerated as *Babylonicum, Creca, Affricanum, Romane*, then as *Babylonicum, Crecisce, Affricanum, Romane*, and finally as *Babylonisce, Romane, Crecisce* and *Affricanisce* 58. 28 ff. The general method of expressing a phrase like 'king of the Goths' is by saying *Gotona cyning*; similarly *Bactriana cyning, Pena cyning, Pena folc, Latina weorode, Aetiubena cwen* etc. In one instance where we should expect to find *Siracussa burh* there occurs *sio burh Siracussana* 28. 5, which implies that the town was called *Siracussana*. But this form is really an adjective, for the Latin has 'Siracusana civitas,' with 'Syracusae' for the noun.

In spite of all these mistakes and confusions there is a predominant factor in operation which we must appreciate, although the results are rather unfortunate at times. Alfred does seem to have been doing his best to make his translation as English as possible, and when we have put on one side all the mistakes due to ignorance or to the inefficiency of the scribe, there still remain many names in the O.E. version which must have had a homely aspect, although they were unfamiliar. By this we do not wish to imply that the ordinary reader or hearer would always be thinking of grammatical inflexions; probably he would know very little about them. But a form such as *Bactriana* would be more likely to have been understood than *Bactrianorum*, in the same way as

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many people to-day find it easier to talk of 'geniuses' than of 'genii,' of 'gladioluses' than of 'gladioli' etc.

Summary

In the course of our examination nothing has arisen to weaken our previous conclusion concerning the dictation of the O.E. text of the *Orosius*, or to change our opinion of the scribe's share in the errors. But now we have seen that in many places errors have been made through ignorance, and this is not what we should expect if the king's scholars were present. The supposition that awe of the king made them hesitate to correct him has little weight, because they would be poor assistants if they would not give their opinions freely. Yet Alfred, as we have seen, was not a Latin scholar, and he must have received help from some one. The bishops might have attended sometimes, but they would have their own duties to occupy them, and would not always be able to be present at court. The most satisfactory helper would be one continually at hand, some scholar or scholars who could be ready whenever the king needed them. He would learn the meaning of the Latin text from them, and then dictate to his amanuensis, sometimes when the scholars were present, and on such occasions the scribe would hear the Latin as well as the English. The king might even write down parts of his version himself without dictating. At other times when alone with the scribe, he would dictate what he had previously had explained to him, and under such circumstances errors and confusions were inevitable. It does not seem probable that Alfred received much help when actually dictating, but we have seen how he attempted to remedy his failings. His mistakes are valuable just because they throw light on his character and attainments. We see him as a ruler working for the good of his people, making his version of the *Orosius* simple and familiar, to suit their capabilities and requirements; we also see him as an interested if not scholarly student of history and geography. In addition to this information concerning the king and his merits as a translator for primitive readers or hearers, we have learnt that surnames were unknown to him, and consequently to his people also, when he first met them in the *Orosius*. Lastly, we have obtained some support for the accepted theory which dates this translation before the *Boethius*.

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(*To be concluded*)

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A NICE DERANGEMENT: THE IRREGULAR VERSE-LINING IN 'A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM' Act v, Sc. i, ll. 1–84

In the *Modern Language Review* for July, 1925 (Vol. xx, pp. 340–5), Sir Edmund Chambers protested against Professor Dover Wilson's 'fantastic treatment' of that fantastic comedy, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Yet, though he rejected a good deal, the reviewer accepted the editor's bibliographical study of the mislining in v, i, ll. 1–84, barring only the statistical evidence concerning the metre. I do not propose to deal here with the main problem, the hypothetical second revision (1594–8), but merely to show that Sir Edmund may have conceded too much in agreeing to the importance of the irregular lining.

That irregular lining may be significant no one will deny, although, as in the case of 'broken' lines, most students of the text are not so sure of exactly what is signified as Professor Wilson, whose textual labours lay us all in his debt, and whose solution of certain special problems (the 'three Sallies' in *The Merchant of Venice*, for example) is cogent and very welcome, but whose enthusiasm for his technique sometimes leads him to press his claims for it rather far. Writing with some asperity of Fenimore Cooper's 'literary offences,' Mark Twain declared that the Leatherstocking series ought to be called the Broken Twig series. Without any asperity at all one might describe the 'New' Shakespeare as the Broken Line edition.

On pp. 80–2 of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in that edition may be found the passage in question, 'printed just as it appears in the Quarto, except that the disarranged verse has been italicised and slanting strokes inserted to show where the lines should rightly end.' Since the reader will doubtless consult this edition anyway, I shall not reprint the passage, but proceed, first to comment on Professor Wilson's theory, and then to offer a substitute of my own.

The first question that troubles Professor Wilson is why the compositor should 'go wrong in fits,' lining correctly 'for parts of the way' (actually for about two-thirds), but at eight points 'suddenly swerving aside for a line or two.' It would be stranger, I should think, if he mislined throughout. A favourite high school exercise used to be (perhaps it still is) setting the student a sight passage of Shakespeare's blank verse, either written as prose or incorrectly lined, and requiring him to line it. The careless student produces just such a mixture of regular

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and irregular lining as confronts us in this passage. One error throws him off for several lines, until, coming upon a line which obviously will not conform to his independent scheme, he perpetrates either an egregiously hypermetrical line or an arbitrarily short (or 'broken') line, and then swings back into the regular lining. To misline consistently for eighty-four lines would require a degree of genius which I suppose not even the most ardent partisan of the Elizabethan compositor would be prepared to claim for him. This suggestion is not advanced as proving invalid Professor Wilson's theory that the compositor was working partly from a correctly lined copy and partly from unlined marginal additions, but as going to show that it is only a theory, though an attractive one.

It is when we come to the editor's comparison of the 'added' (italicised) passages and the 'original' (roman) version that his inferences appear to be less sound. 'For,' says he, 'what is left after the twenty-nine lines in italics have been dissected out are fifty-five lines of regularly divided verse, which are complete in themselves both in sense and metre, and must clearly, at some stage in the history of the text, have stood by themselves and run continuously. Nevertheless, though the eight patches of disarranged verse are unnecessary to the bare sense, they contain all the beauty, all the life, all the memorable things of the passage.'

That the remainder of fifty-five lines is regularly lined is incontestable, since regularity formed the principle of division. But is it 'complete' in sense as well as in metre? I should prefer to say that it 'makes sense,' for at several points passages in roman do not join so neatly with the preceding lines in roman as with the preceding lines in italics. It is hardly conceivable that a reviser, expanding certain speeches, should make the new joints less conspicuous than the old, since the new represent elaboration, while the old represent the flow of his thought as originally conceived.

Take, moreover, l. 17, 'Such trickes hath strong imagination.' Though 'such' be wholly proleptic, 'imagination' pretty clearly throws back to the same word in l. 7, neither this word nor any synonym occurring in the roman lines previous to l. 17. Nor is it consistent with either the courtesy of Theseus as a character or the necessities of construction as the lovers enter, that after directing Hippolyta's attention (l. 28) to their approach, he should proceed at once to call for entertainment. Two of the character-groups are at this point to merge, and there ought to be some speech that recognises and allows for their union. We have it,

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of course, in the intervening (italicised) lines. Since this technical device is regularly employed in Shakespeare's plays from the beginning, it is asking too much if we must suppose that in this case it represents a second thought. Again, the explanation of Philostrate (ll. 61 ff.), 'A play there is, my Lord,' is much less adequately motivated by the self-question of l. 57, 'very tragicall mirth?' than by the direct question to Philostrate (ll. 59–60), 'How shall we find the concord/Of this discord?' Nor is the theory that the mislined passages are additions strengthened by such an abrupt cleavage as: 'such seething braines,/*Such shaping phantasies.*'

The description also of the interlude in the schedule read by Theseus specifies four qualities: the piece is tedious, brief, tragical, and merry, all these qualities lying within the 'original' text as segregated by Professor Wilson. But in the next speech, which contains Philostrate's explanation, only 'tedious' and 'brief' lie within Mr Wilson's roman types. For 'tragical' and 'merry' we must subjoin the next patch of italicised lines, one of the additions, as Mr Wilson (incorrectly, I think) regards them. Finally, if we disregard the last of the 'additions,' we find Philostrate suggesting (and the suggestion allowed to go uncorrected) that possibly Theseus will enjoy the play because of the actors' poverty in the quality they profess. He even adds a hint of reproach (l. 81), since, bad as the acting is, the performers have been at 'cruell paine' to do the Duke this service. Can we be content, even in the earliest version, with the cavalier, 'I will heare that play. Goe bring them in'? Of course not. That was never the gentle Shakespeare's way. Though the lines are irregular (and indeed were they printed upside down, or in red ink), they must have stood where they do from the very first, for they lay the issue raised by Philostrate, an issue Shakespeare the dramatist was never callous enough to disregard:

> For neuer any thing can be amisse,
> When simplenesse and duety tender it.

On the other hand, it is too much to say that *all* the beauty of the eighty-four lines lies within the 'added' passages. Granted that most of it does (for which a reason will be offered below), what about this often quoted sentence?—

> The louer, all as frantick,
> Sees Helens beauty in a brow of Aegypt.

Disregarding the question of absolute aesthetic values, I submit that as a matter of sheer fact this is one of the most memorable things in the whole passage.

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Of Professor Wilson's other 'evidence,' the verse-tests have been disposed of by Sir Edmund Chambers. The argument that Philostrate's character is filled in by giving him several more lines is worth slight consideration. A lot Shakespeare cares, as he brings his play to a close, about elaborating so minor a character, unless there is light to be thrown (e.g., Osric and Hamlet) on a major figure. Unquestionably the new rehearsal is invented at this point, as Professor Wilson says; but not to endow the harmless, necessary Philostrate with a heart of gold. These are plot-speeches—not character-speeches. Shakespeare's success in this play, compounded as it is of strangely incongruous ingredients, springs in part from the great care he takes when he brings the various groups into juxtaposition. Philostrate's speeches afford a transition to the court performance of an absurd play; so does Theseus's long reading (ll. 44–55) of the schedule of available amusements. He arrives at the choice of the uncouth piece by process of elimination, and also because the paradoxical description of it tickles his somewhat pompous sense of humour. The aesthetic problem is solved by raising an ethical one, and then justifying the solution in the beautiful lines (82–3) which Professor Wilson regards as an addition!

It is a dangerous assumption that greater maturity gives a man stronger wings of song, or a spirit more vibrant with human sympathy, or a broader comic sense. Did Shakespeare 'as a young man . . . take the muse too seriously to fling a jest at her' in the passage about the Poet? *Love's Labour's Lost* is not exactly an example of such high seriousness. If ever Shakespeare admired a brother poet it was Ovid; yet he loved a jocose allusion, even while his was still a youthful admiration: '*Ouiddius Naso* was the man. And why in deed *Naso*, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancie? the ierkes of inuention.' Moreover, is the passage beginning, 'The Poets eye, in a fine frenzy, rolling,' merely, as Professor Wilson asserts, 'a glorious quip'?

> And as Imagination bodies forth
> The formes of things vnknowne: the Poets penne
> Turnes them to shapes, and giues to ayery nothing,
> A locall habitation, and a name.

That may not be our theory of poetry, but at least it is a rather grand one, having much in common with Emerson's, though it shadows the thought of a realist and a humorist instead of a mystic's. That Shakespeare felt the surge of the poetic power when he wrote those lines I cannot doubt, any more than that, even as he felt it, the devil at his elbow whispered to him the words that Emerson was afterwards to quote at

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him: 'The heavens and the earth and all that is between them, think ye we have created them in jest?'

My only excuse for dwelling so long upon these considerations is the importance which Professor Wilson attaches to this passage: 'Never again in the whole canon may we hope to catch so clear, so unquestionable, so happy a glimpse of Shakespeare at work upon his manuscript.' I have shown, I hope, that the view is by no means clear, and that it is certainly questionable. The reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* of December 18, 1924, doubted on psychological grounds whether a poet would spoil his own line-division for the sake of saving paper. But the more I study this passage the surer I am that, even if Professor Wilson is right in finding some principle behind the two groups of correctly and incorrectly lined passages, what we have in the latter is not additions to an earlier version, but excisions for acting. In other words, if the text he prints in roman really has any integrity, it is probably the acting version, stripped for the stage. This I cannot prove, any more than Mr Wilson can prove the correctness of his contention. But at least my theory fits the state of the text better than his. Mine owes, of course, its inspiration to his recognition that the irregular lining may be textually significant, though, as I have said, I do not regard this as by any means certain.

I have pointed out that Professor Wilson's analysis of the two sets of passages does not agree very well with the facts, though it is true that the 'original' text, without the 'additions,' does make reasonable sense and continuity. Let us now examine the eight irregularly lined passages.

1 and 2. (ll. 5–7, 12–17.) L. 7, since it mentions the Poet, must be excised if the second of these passages, wholly concerned with the Poet, is to be cut; and so the producer may have determined to glide from l. 4 to l. 8, since the transition, though rapid, does make sense. This, remember, is the last scene of the play. It has been preceded by a scene (IV, ii) of slight interest and almost no action, intended as a time-filler primarily, though it also serves to reunite Bottom with the mechanic-group; it is saved, not by any utilisation of the comic possibilities of the reunion—Shakespeare disappoints us a little at this juncture—but solely by Bottom's spirited instructions to his fellow amateurs. In the scene just before, both the intrigue plots have been resolved—there is no more fun to be got out of either the lovers or the fairies. What will keep the audience amused during the fifth act? The play, as plot, is over. Shakespeare even ignores the reconciliation of Egeus and Hermia, a surprising omission, though it may have been represented in a bit of pantomime, as

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in recent productions. The only interest, in fact, now lies in the figure we may expect Bottom and his crew to cut at court. We must not, the producer may have thought, waste any time on background. We must get Theseus and his bride on stage, and then the lovers on, justify Theseus's extraordinary choice of entertainment, and then yield the interlude the boards as quickly as we can. On this principle, he slashes Theseus's opening speech, which after all is a dead weight at the commencement of the last act. He may have approved the speech for court performances, but doubted its value in the public theatre. At any rate, he makes his way through these preliminaries, removing poetic passages that are not indispensable as drama, but retaining such expository passages, linking the scene with what has gone before, as Hippolyta's speech, ll. 23–7.

3. (ll. 29–31.) Here the reduction is obviously designed to speed up the action and get on with the interlude.

4. (ll. 32–5.) The same reasons apply here. The passage is explicable as an excision, but 'Is there no play?' can hardly have been absent from the original version.

5. (ll. 58–60.) These lines probably appealed to the producer as merely repeating the thought conveyed by the expression and inflection of the actor in ll. 56–7.

6. (ll. 66–70.) Here we have simple curtailing, even though, as noticed above, it involves failure to carry on the motive of 'tragicall mirth.' The producer may also have recognised that no one cares two straws about Philostrate's capacity for laughter, and that it is not the best introduction to a burlesque to explain how side-splitting it is going to be.

7 and 8. (ll. 77–8, 82–3.) In l. 76 Theseus decides to hear the play. The sooner it begins the better. Yet the producer may have reflected that the thought of ll. 82–3 is repeated in Theseus's speech, beginning, 'The kinder we...,' the length of which is justifiable as a time-filler while the actors are summoned. Yet from the excision of these lines I would argue that whoever it was that cut this passage for the stage, it was not Shakespeare.

Not for a moment would I maintain that all this is what actually happened. I suggest only that, *if* there is a principle in the compositor's mislining, it is more likely that the erroneous passages were stage-cuts than that they were poetical embroideries interpolated by the author at the time of the second revision. Unfortunately, we know next to nothing about Elizabethan stage-cuts, but we do know how a number of Shakespeare's plays were cut later in the seventeenth century. The principle

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at that time is quite clear—cut or reduce the elocutionary arias (e.g., some of Hamlet's soliloquies, Polonius's advice to Laertes, etc.), and leave things essential to getting forward with the play and keeping the exposition plain. It seems likely that this principle controlled the Elizabethan stage as well. At any rate, as Professor Wilson observes, it is the poetic, rather than the expository, that stands mislined in the passage before us. His theory of marginal interpolations, unlined, and therefore contributory to the compositor's blunders, may be right. It is conceivable that the copy gave the acting text only, and was enriched by marginal interpolations copied, hardly by the poet, from Shakespeare's original manuscript. But here I, too, grow speculative.

HAZELTON SPENCER.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

[The Editor has been good enough to invite me to make a 'brief comment' upon the foregoing article. At the moment, the opening of a new session, I have not time to be anything but brief, but I am glad to have an opportunity of saying that I find Professor Spencer's article very interesting and that I hope all textual students of Shakespeare will take note of it. My own rejoinder to his criticisms can fortunately be set down in a few words. What I have to say is without prejudice to the issue between Sir Edmund Chambers and myself with which it is not here the place to deal.

(i) Mr Spencer tries to throw doubt upon the axiom at the basis of my theory with talk of 'high school' students doing exercises in line-arrangement. Elizabethan compositors were not set tasks of this kind; their duty was to follow their 'copy,' and it is certain—Mr Spencer must forgive my positiveness—that if the compositor who set up *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1600 had found the first eighty-four lines of v, i, arranged as prose in his manuscript he would have printed them as such. Mislining in a 'printed' text, when not resorted to by the printer to save space (of which there is no question here), means mislining in the copy. I note that, in the end, Mr Spencer accepts the axiom and founds his own theory upon it.

(ii) Most of his article is taken up with an attempt to prove that the correctly lined portions of the passage are not by themselves as complete or as continuous as I contend. I remain unshaken by his arguments, and am content to leave the issue to the judgment of others. But he has failed to observe that, even if I granted all he urges upon this head, my

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main position would remain untouched. In setting forth my theory I was careful to allow for the possibility of deletion, suggesting (p. 83 foot) that some of the additions *may* have been written to 'take the place of cancelled matter containing the same idea less admirably expressed.' Personally, I say, I do not believe that Shakespeare needed to blot a line, but it is obvious that cancellation would explain all the clumsy joins and awkward turns of expression which Mr Spencer professes to discover.

(iii) There remains his own theory, which I find the most interesting part of his article and to which I wish he could have devoted more space. For, once bibliographical irregularities have been noted in a Shakespearian text, the important thing is that all possible explanations should be tried out. Some day I hope to give closer consideration to Professor Spencer's alternative explanation than I have time to do now. For the moment, I can only jot down one or two objections to it which occur to me. Thus, while one expects stage-cuts in *Hamlet*, the longest of Shakespeare's plays, their presence in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the shortest but three, surely needs some special justification. Again, the 1600 text would, on Mr Spencer's showing, be nothing but a stage-abridgment filled out by a playhouse transcriber, a theory which might suit the Pied Bull *Lear* well enough, but is surprising when applied to one of the finest of the 'good quartos,' in which (speaking for myself) an editor feels at every point his close proximity to Shakespeare's original. Grant it, however, and there are further difficulties. Is it likely that an abridger, who is so anxious to save thirty-three lines in v, i that he cuts out some of Shakespeare's finest poetry, would have left the rest of the text untampered with? Mr Spencer says nothing of this and offers no evidence of abridgment elsewhere. But it is perhaps the character of these supposed 'cuts' which raises the most obstinate questionings. The abridger must have been a skilful fellow to peel the scene of eight strips in such a fashion as to leave the context with what Mr Spencer calls 'reasonable sense and continuity'; those who have studied stage-abridgment in 'bad quartos,' Shakespearian and other, look for cruder methods. Strange too, is it not, that he should not only cancel the best poetry but also cut out the Poet himself? Yet he possessed some appreciation of differences in poetic style, seeing that in the speech of Theseus he throws overboard all the verse that overruns and retains nothing but end-stopped lines. Altogether, the whole business must have cost him a good deal of thought and trouble. And he might have taken such a much easier way to his end, if only he had been a little less

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clever! For instance, he could have saved eighteen instead of eight lines in the Theseus speech alone by just running his pen through ll. 4–22, and leave the scene (from his point of view) not a whit the worse.

Mr Spencer seems to think I need reminding that my explanation is 'only a theory.' Until we recover Shakespeare's original manuscripts all discussion of the copy used by his printers belongs, of course, to the realm of theory. But men *will* theorise about Shakespearian manuscripts as about the nature of the universe, and in the one sphere as in the other the theory which best fits all the known facts holds the field.

J. Dover Wilson.]

London.

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LUCAN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

With special reference to the Old French Epic

I

LUCAN AS AN HISTORIAN

It is remarkable how little attention has been given by scholars to the work of Lucan as a source of inspiration to mediæval authors in various branches of literature. And yet there is plenty of evidence to show that his popularity, though second perhaps in degree to that of Virgil, was quite as widespread and, in result, more effective. Not only is he frequently mentioned by name in the works of mediæval writers both Latin and vernacular, but the whole trend of thought, and the attitude of thinkers towards the wonders of the universe, show distinct traces of the mark which Lucan's work had made upon them. We will look first at the direct evidence of the esteem in which he was held, and then consider to what extent his mode of thought is reflected in mediæval works with particular reference to the Old French epic.

It is difficult to classify Lucan. As an historian his bias was so obvious that he was difficult for a fair-minded person to follow. And yet it is as history that the educationalist Alexander Neckam recommends the study of his work in the curriculum for a liberal education, along with the *Thebaid* and the *Æneid*: 'A thebaide jocunde transeat ad divinam eneida, nec neggligat vatem quem Corduba genuit (= Lucan) qui non solum civilia bella describit sed et intestina[1]'; and, in his list of examples of the evil brought about by envy, he cites the *Pharsalia* again amongst the 'historias': 'Quantum exitium orbi contulerit invidia Magni in socerum nobile opus eximii vatis quem Corduba genuit declarat[2].'

It is as history that the *Pharsalia* was utilised by writers on ancient history in general, or on the exploits of Julius Cæsar in particular. It was as an historian that he appealed to the romantic chroniclers of British history, who, after the fashion of those times, filled in a skeleton of fact with fabulous and fantastic substance. The description of Cæsar's flight in the battle with Cassibellaun was hardly likely to pass

[1] *Sacerdos ad altare*, p. 47. Printed in Haskins, *Studies in Mediæval Science*, p. 372. Professor Haskins gives in a footnote an interesting gloss from the Caius College MS. (which contains the *Sacerdos ad altare*) showing the mediæval view of Lucan's work: 'Et nota quod Lucanus non ponitur in numero poetarum quia historiam composuit et non poema.'

[2] Cf. *De naturis rerum*, cap. CLXXXIX: De Invidis. Ed. T. Wright, p. 337.

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unnoticed in a panegyric of the British people. 'Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis[1]' is quoted with evident relish by both Geoffrey of Monmouth[2] and Richard of Cirencester in their respective histories, and the latter author cites at length Lucan's description of the Druids and many geographical details concerning places mentioned in his chronicle.

The French chroniclers naturally viewed the work of the Latin poet from a different standpoint. There was nothing to be gained from their point of view in vilifying Cæsar; indeed, it is interesting to note the complete transformation which the Latin work underwent when treated by the French historians of the thirteenth century to whose interest it was to glorify their Latin ancestors. Amongst the compilers of history in the vernacular Jehan de Tuim furnishes us with an excellent example of history writers somewhat after the fashion of the chroniclers already mentioned. In *Li hystoire de Julius Cesar*[3], which the author professes to have translated 'de latin en roumans selonc les x livres de Lucan,' there is no doubt that the Latin poem has furnished the framework of the history from its opening lines to the passage corresponding to the one where the *Pharsalia* breaks off. But into the interstices of the historical framework the author has introduced all the baits which were likely to allure the public of his epoch nourished on the *chansons de geste* and the *romans d'aventure*. The siege of Marseilles in Chapter III reads like a mediæval chronicle:

Les dames et les damoiselles, ki sour le port estoient et ki ceste desconfiture avoient veüe tout apertement, quant eles voient les cors des mors ki vienent hurtant as pors elles commencent un dol si grant, les unes por lor amis et les autres por lor maris, que on n'i oïst Deu tonant. Mais se cil de le chite en mainent dol, Brutus et li sien en sont joiant.

The single combat between Curion and Saburran in Chapter IV, which is a pure invention of the French writer, reads like a prose version of a description in a *chanson de geste*:

Lors fiert le cheval des espourons encontre Sabburam tous embrasés d'ire et de maltalent et Sabbura enviers lui, et s'entre-fierent ambedui sour les escus des lances et fu Sabbura mout durement navres et au paroutrer Sabbura redonne tele a Curion de la lance enmi le pis k'il li pierce l'escut et le hauberc et li entame le car sour le mamiele et volent ambedeus les lances jus en tronçons et chaient ambedui li chevalier a terre et li cheval s'en vont fuiant li uns ça et li autres la.

In the style of the *chansons de geste*, too, is Cornelia's lament for her dead husband:

Ha Pompée, gentius hom, frans cuers et deboinaires et boins de toutes bontes, com mar fu vostre gens cors, vostre grant courtoisie, etc. (Ch. VIII.)

[1] *Pharsalia*, II, 572. [2] *Hist. Brit.*, Bk IV, ch. 9.
[3] Jehan de Tuim, *Li hystoire de Julius Cesar*, publ. by Settegast, Halle, 1881.

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More in the style of the *roman courtois* are the conventional description of Cleopatra's beauty[1] and the discourse on the power of Love which is able to subdue such a proud heart as that of Cæsar[2]. And here we may remark on the complete change of spirit as regards the character of Cæsar. The Cæsar of Lucan, the violent man of blood, the 'démesuré,' has become a generous and pitiful conqueror: 'et gentillece, ki en son cor estoit, francisse et pitiés et misericorde l'ont a cou amenet k'il pardoinst son mautalent a cascun' (Ch. IV, p. 67). This change is noticeable as it represents the mediæval attitude towards Julius Cæsar which does not seem to have adopted the view of his character held by the obviously prejudiced republican poet. We note the same deviation from source in Jean de Tuim's versifier Jaques de Forest and in another work on ancient history contained in a MS. of the fourteenth century[3]. The author, who explains his reasons for calling his work *Commentaires de Cesar*, has compiled it, as he himself tells us, from Sallust, Suetonius and Lucan. The account of the Civil War between Pompey and Cæsar, which is the only part of the work for which Lucan has served as a source, begins at Chapter X. The crossing of the Rubicon is told with many additions of minstrels and jongleurs which the author did not find in Lucan. In spite of constant reference to his source ('Lucan tesmoigne,' 'Ancores dist Lucan,' etc.), we find the same characteristics as in the work of Jean de Tuim, viz., the introduction of many fantastic details, the complete 'mediævalising' of the descriptions of battles, etc., and, most noticeable of all, the transformation of the character of Cæsar, whose reputation he feels obliged to vindicate. 'Hors d'ayr estoit le plus humain recreatif et joienz de tous hommes,' he tells us, although he admits that he began to sigh when Pompey's head was presented to him only because 'autrement ne pouoit mieulx couvrir sa joye' (fol. 315).

This interesting work is only one of several versions of what appears to be the first 'ancient history' in the vernacular in France. It is compiled from well-known sources in the approved mediæval style. Other versions (still in manuscript) under the title of *Li Fait des Romains* are extant and have been studied briefly by Paul Meyer in the fourteenth

[1] Cf. Bk IX: 'Le front ele avoit large, plain et bien polit et estoit si blans comme nois negié: encontre çou elle ravoit les sorcius bruns, voutis et bien aligniés, si ke mout bien convenoit la brunours des sorcius et la blancours del front. Li nes fu drois et bien fais et bien assis et traitis selonc raison,' etc.

[2] The discourse terminates in a panegyric of 'mesure,' the essential quality of the 'fin amant': 'Ki veut amer...li convient avoir mesure. La mesure est quant on se set amesurer et atemprer et retrere d'aler et de venir a s'amie et dou parler,' etc.

[3] Brit. Mus. Royal 169. VIII.

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volume of *Romania*, but the connexion between the various compilations comprised under this head still stands in need of elucidation. The samples given will suffice, however, for our purpose here, viz., to indicate briefly the way in which Lucan as an historian was utilised by the mediæval chroniclers and historians. Lucan's picturesque and romantic method of relating historical facts may have been partly due to the poetical form of his narration, but his fame as an historian was great, and that his work served as a source of inspiration to mediæval historians is certain. Chaucer, in his *House of Fame* (ll. 1497 ff.), depicts him standing upon a pillar of wrought iron and bearing upon his shoulders the fame of Cæsar and Pompey:

> And by him stoden alle these clerkes
> That writen of Romes mighty werkes.

II

LUCAN AS A POET AND A PHILOSOPHER

In a treatise entitled *De animae exsilio et patria, alias De Artibus*, Honorius Augustodunus[1] describes the journey of the soul from its place of exile (*ignorantia*) to its fatherland (*sapientia*) along the road of knowledge (*scientia*). Along the road cities and the houses appertaining thereto are scattered, and the first of these cities to be reached in this pilgrim's progress is the city of Grammar. In this city Donatus and Priscian give suitable instruction to the pilgrim; the four 'villae' which are attached to it (*subditae*) are the four species of poetry—tragedy, comedy, satire and lyric poetry—each represented by a single poet. 'Tragoediae sunt quae bella tractant, *ut Lucanus*. Comoediae sunt quae nuptialia cantant, ut Terentius. Satyrae, quae reprehensiva scribunt, ut Persius. Lyrica, quae odas, id est laudes deorum vel regum...ut Horatius.'

'Tragoediae sunt quae bella tractant, ut Lucanus.' The celebrity of the *Pharsalia* was due largely to the subject of which it treated. The ancients did not rank Lucan very high as a poet. 'Oratoribus magisquam poetis imitandus,' says Quintilian (*Instit. Orat.*, x, Ch. 1). And yet in the Middle Ages he was often put above Virgil, and in the schools he was studied regularly along with Pindar, Homer, Horace and Virgil as a master of style. Benzone, bishop of Alba, in his *Panegyricus ritmicus*, cites him along with these poets. All the ecclesiastics seem to have a special affection for him; the anonymous author of the *Vita St Oswaldi* classes him with Homer and Walter of Chatillon as one of the three

[1] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Tom. 172, *Honorii Augustoduni Op.*, Pars IV, cap. I and II.

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greatest poets[1], and Moses of Bergamo cites a line of the *Pharsalia* ('Interea Caesar victis remeabat Iberis') in order to illustrate a point of versification[2]. Indeed, so great was the attraction of this profane poem that its author was in danger of becoming a snare to the 'clerics' of those times and of luring them from their spiritual exercises. Peter of Blois (died *c.* 1200), in one of his pastoral epistles, reproaches the aged Radulphus of Beauvais in very strong language for applying his mind to such frivolous occupations as grammar and rhetoric: 'Verecundum siquidem et onerosum satis mihi quod omnes coaetani vestri in montem eminentioris scientiae ascenderunt, et vos in coeno crassioris intelligentiae cum asino remansistis. *Priscianus et Tullius, Lucanus et Persius: isti sunt dii vestri.*' He terminates a scathing rebuke by prescribing 'cogitatio mortis scilicet assidua' as a more suitable mental exercise than that of 'assidue disputantes...circa litteram et syllabam[3].' The Benedictine monk Othlo of St Emmeran (eleventh century) takes Boethius seriously to task for certain errors that he had committed: 'inter quae illud est quod ex persona philosophiae loquens Lucanum gentilem et infidelem, familiarem suum appellat, dicens: et familiaris meus Lucanus. Quod enim nulli conveniat dicere, gentilem aliquem verae philosophiae, id est, Divinae sapientiae familiarem esse.' And the same Othlo was himself engaged 'in lectione Lucani' when his first vision occurred in the form of a 'ventus urens et vehemens' which attacked him three times with such force that he dared sit no longer out of doors, but, 'libro assumpto,' he hastened within and promptly fell into a kind of faint[4]. It was as poet then that Lucan made his greatest appeal to the cultured world of that epoch, but the rôles of poet and philosopher were not very strictly defined in those days, and, if we turn to the scanty literature in the vernacular on such a subject, we find Lucan amongst the philosophers.

Alars de Cambrai, in his *Livres estrais de Philosophie et de Moralité*, places him fifth amongst the philosophers, after Tullius, Salemons, Senekes and Terence.

> Et li quins maistres ot nom Lucans
> ...Cil fu soltils et conisans
> De maintes clergies diverses[5].

[1] Cf. A. Graf, *Roma nelle memorie e nell' immaginazione del medio evo*, Torino, 1882.

[2] Cf. Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[3] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Tom. 207, Petrus Blehenensis, Ep. VI, *Ad Radulfum Bellovacensem.*

[4] *Pezii Thesaurus Anecdot. Noviss.*, Tom. III, Pars II: Venerabilis Othloni monachi St Emmeranensis ord. S. Benedicti *Dialogus de Tribus Quaestionibus*, Prol. p. 146; Liber Visionum, Visio tertia.

[5] Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Dits des Philosophes ou Proverbes as Philosophes.* Description of MS. B.L.F. 283. The editor mentions several other 'Dits des Philosophes' in which Lucan's name also figures as an author of wise sayings.

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In the *Bible* of Guiot de Provins also he figures amongst the philosophers, known and unknown:

A Arle oi conteir molt gent
Lor vie, en l'eglise Saint Trophe.
Molt furent nei li philosophe
Tieus estoit lor generals nons.
Therences en fut et Platons,
Et Seneques, et Haristotes;
Viergiles en refut et Ostes,
Cleoo le viez, et Socrates,
Et Lucanus, et Diogenes...;
Li philosophe tel estoient
Que a nulle rien n'entendoient
Maix qu'a bien dire, et a reprendre
Les malvais vices[1].

Dante, who may be said, in a sense, to sum up the lore of the Middle Ages, is unstinted in his praise of Lucan as poet. For him he is the 'admirabilis Lucanus[2],' 'quello grande poeta[3],' whom he quotes on every possible occasion. Four great shades come to meet Virgil and Dante as they enter the first circle, and Virgil points each of them out in turn to his companion:

Quegli è Omero poeta sovrano,
L'altro è Orazio satiro, che viene,
Ovidio è il terzo, e l'ultimo Lucano—

and, as the poet looks upon them in admiration and pride at finding himself among their number, he exclaims:

Così vidi adunar la bella scuola
di quei signor dell' altissimo canto,
che sopra gli altri, com' aquila, vola[4].

But the philosophy of Lucan appealed to Dante as much as his poetic gift. Not for him the censure of Peter of Blois. Priscian, the poor grammarian, it is true, he thrusts down to the seventh circle amongst other clerks and scholars of renown, but Lucan has almost the authority of Holy Writ: 'Et Sapientia dicit quod "Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum."...Quod etiam scriptura paganorum contestatur; nam Lucanus in nono: "Iuppiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris[5]."' His works, like those of his master Brunetto Latini[6], are sprinkled with his wise saws:

[1] Cf. *La Bible de Guiot de Provins*, ed. by J. Orr, Manchester Univ. Press, 1915, ll. 70–8; 95–8.
[2] *Monarchia*, II, viii.
[3] *Convivio*, IV, xxviii.
[4] *Inferno*, IV, 88 ff.
[5] *Epistolae*, X, 22.
[6] *Li Livres dou Tresors*, Livre II, Part. II, ch. LXXI, etc. Almost on every page, amongst quotations from Ysaïe, Salemons, Augustin, etc., we find 'Lucans dit,' 'e por ce dit Lucans.' In the chapter *De fiance*, for example, we find: 'Lucans dit de Jule Cesar, que il ne li estoit avis qu'il eust rien fait tant comme il avoit riens a faire.' Philippe de Novare quotes with approval the same passage: 'Luquans dit que quant Jules Cesar en prenoit une chose, il ne cuidoit rien avoir fait tant comme il i eüst riens a faire.' *Des* IIII *Tenz d'aage d'ome*, III, 159.

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E ciò vuol dire Lucano nel quinto libro, quando commenda la povertà di sicuranza, dicendo 'Oh sicura facultà de la povera vita,' etc.[1]

and a little before in the same work:

E ciò testimonia Lucano, quando dice: 'Sanza contenzione periro le leggi; e voi ricchezze, vilissima parte delle cose, moveste battaglia[2].'

The story of Cato and Marcia as told by Lucan (*Pharsalia*, Bk II) furnished him with a most ingenious allegory in which Marcia ('per la quale s'intende la nobile anima'), in her different relations with Cato, represents respectively *adolescenza*, *gioventute*, *senettute* and *senio*[3]. Cato, on account of his noble character, actually represents God: 'E quale uomo terreno più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone?' asks the poet. 'Certo nullo' is the reply.

And yet, however highly Lucan may have been rated as a philosopher, and however much his ideal characters might lend themselves to allegorical treatment, it is as the poet of romance that Lucan really made his greatest appeal. Lucan represents the transition from the realm of high poetry to that of romance. He had studied all manner of works on geography and natural history—fabulous and otherwise. He threw open the door leading to the garden which contains all the marvels of nature and science, and the mediæval poets and scientists needed no pressing to enter and cull the fruits. The sources of the Nile, the winds, the planets, the marvels and horrors of the Libyan desert, nay even the secrets of the dead, nothing was too sacred to be investigated—everything was alluring. Alexander Neckam puts him under contribution when describing the wonders of nature[4]; Brunetto Latini gathered many of the fruits into his treasure-house[5]; and Dante, again a sure guide to the taste of the age, consciously seeks to outdo Lucan in his descriptions of loathsome monstrosities. 'Let Libya boast no longer with its sand,' he cries when describing the chasm swarming with hideous reptiles, suggested by Lucan's description of the Libyan desert (*Phars.*, IX, 708–805), and even more explicit is he in his intention of improving on his model when, enlarging on the fate of the miserable thief, he exclaims:

> Taccia Lucan omai, là dove tocca
> del misero Sabello e di Nassidio,
> ed attenda ad udir quel ch' or si scocca[6].

Lucan's influence on Dante is obvious. The Italian poet cites his model so often as to leave us in no doubt as to the source of many of his ideas and inspirations, and he serves in this way as an indicator of the lines on which we may approach the more elusive part of our subject.

[1] *Convivio*, IV, 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV, 28.
[4] *De naturis rerum*, cap. CV ff.
[5] *Op. cit.*, Livre I, Part. V, etc.
[6] *Inferno*, XXV, 94 ff.

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viz., how far the *Pharsalia* may be considered one of the sources of inspiration utilised, consciously or otherwise, by the Old French epic poets.

Lucan and the Old French Epic.

The Hague Fragment. That this curious product of the tenth century is reminiscent of classical poetic style cannot be doubted, and Suchier has pointed out the method by which a phrase from the classics is introduced with a slight change in the order of words, possibly to disguise the original poetic form of the piece. For example, Virgil's 'nox incubat atra' has become 'incubat atra nox,' 'rura natant' has become 'natant...rura'; many other phrases occur strongly reminiscent of the classical poets, and probably of frequent occurrence in the Latin writers of the period. Much more striking, however, than the repetition of these poetic tags culled from the various well-known Latin authors (Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, etc.) is the resemblance of the *Fragment*, both in matter and diction, to the parts of the *Pharsalia* dealing with the same subject. The subject is the favourite one: 'la grande bataille,' in this case more precisely a siege. Whether the besieged town was Narbonne or Gerona has no interest for us here, as we are not concerned with the historical side of the document. The plot is complicated. It is the besiegers who, under the imperator (Carolus) and a leader called indiscriminately 'comes' or 'dux,' seem to have suffered the pangs of hunger ('vis suorum...nescia sicci ventris atrocisque gulae') and would appear by no means to have carried all before them. The besieged fight furiously. First the oncoming enemy are checked by the dead bodies of their own front rank hurled back upon them (*Fragm.* I); but their covering of shields protects them from the cloud of darts which rebound upon them like hail ('ut sit grando'). Again the imperial soldiers ('Cesarius miles') seek to reach the ramparts, but from above the sharpened stakes ('acutus palus') and the fragments of wall come hurtling on to their mingled arms (*Fragm.* III). A mere glance at either of the well-known sieges in the *Pharsalia* (viz., Massilia and Dyrrachium—Bks III and VI) will give us at once the model for the siege in the *Fragment*. Let us look for a moment at the siege of Dyrrachium as described by Lucan. Cæsar's besieging army surrounds the town but is itself a prey to acute hunger ('sed patitur saevam famem,' VI, 108) like the 'Caesarius miles' in the *Fragment*. This army is surrounded in its turn by Pompey's forces and Scæva is obliged to adopt vigorous siege tactics. First he overwhelms the foe by rolling down dead bodies upon them ('primumque cadavera plenis | turribus evoluit subeuntisque obruit hostis | corporibus,' VI, 170). The ruins, too, afford him weapons

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('tela') to hurl, and now with sharp stakes, now with a strong pole, he thrusts down opposing breasts ('nunc sude nunc duro contraria pectora conto | detrudit muris,' 174–5) and wins the fight single-handed. In the siege of Massilia we find yet another point of contact with the *Fragment* in the description of the missiles rebounding uselessly off the locked shields of the testudo, which resound 'ut grandine tecta | innocua percussa' (III, 482–3).

In the description of the general battle—'la bataille commune'—we find distinctive traits of Lucan reproduced in the *Fragment*. Twice over in the *Pharsalia* the dense crush of battle makes it impossible for the soldiers to hurl their weapons:

> ...*non arma movendi*
> *iam locus est pressis*, stipataque membra teruntur. (IV, 781 f.)
>
> Sed quota pars cladis iaculis ferroque volanti
> exacta est! odiis *solus* civilibus *ensis*
> *sufficit*, et dextras Romana in viscera ducit.
> Pompei densis acies stipata catervis
> iunxerat in seriem nexis umbonibus arma,
> *vixque habitura locum dextras ac tela movendi*
> constiterat gladiosque suos compressa timebat. (VII, 489 ff.)[1]

With but slight change of actual words we find the same detail in the *Fragment*:

> *Hic caret hasta loco, sed solus dimicat ensis, namque vacat omnis plaga, nisi furtim dedita utero seu pectoribus: quia talis erat pressio, ut non potuit ulla manus suspendi ictu.* (X)

In the *Fragment*, too, we find all the horrible details in which Lucan delighted in the same or synonymous terms—the 'arma feralia' (*Phars.*, passim, *Fragm.* XXI), the 'fusa vitalia' (*Phars.*, VII, 620) corresponding to the 'egestaque viscera' (*Fragm.* XXI, 158), the 'lingua proiecta' (*Phars.*, IV, 755; *Fragm.* XIX). At times the *Fragment* seems almost like a parody of the Latin epic. In Lucan the fields swim in blood: 'Caesar, ut Hesperio vidit satis arva natare | sanguine...' (VII, 728–9). In the *Fragment* not only the fields, but the houses, the tables, the doorposts perform the same feat: 'Natant atria, rura, domus, tabulaeque, limina, postes; in alta tabe madescunt sublimia saxa' (*Fragm.* XII). One is almost tempted to see a parody too of the fine passage in Book IX of the *Pharsalia*: 'Estque dei sedes nisi terra et pontus et aer | et caelum et virtus?... Iuppiter est quodcumque vides...etc.' in the ridiculous lines of the *Fragment* where Carolus imperator...'fixus pietate Tonantis, *quam semper* sciebat *presentem largamque*...tollit lumina ad sidera, soluta mananti rore lacrimarum, humectatque genas' (*Fragm.* XVII).

[1] All quotations from the *Pharsalia* in this article are taken from the edition of Housman, 1926.

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The introduction of the title 'Tonans' as applied to God here brings us to another important point in which the *Fragment* reflects the *Pharsalia*, viz., the nomenclature. Lucan constantly employs 'Tonans' for the supreme god ('templa Tonantis,' VI, 260; 'sciret adhuc caelo solum regnare Tonantem,' III, 320, etc.).

In the *Pharsalia* 'cornipes' is one of the names for the horse ('cornipedem exhaustum,' VIII, 3), and sure enough in the *Fragment* we find the same word used actually in the same combination ('exhausto cornipede,' VII, 44). Another title which Lucan uses on several occasions is that of 'rector Olympi' (II, 4; V, 620); this the author has changed into a more suitable one for Christian times, viz., 'vector celorum' (*Fragm.* XV).

These are surely not chance coincidences. They represent a conscious adaptation of the diction of the classical poem just as the apostrophes (e.g., 'O vector celorum') and exclamations ('O pactum telorum nec jam saturabile!' *Fragm.* XIII, 89) represent a conscious imitation of the Latin poet's style (cf. 'O rabies miseranda ducis,' *Phars.*, II, 544, etc.). If in the *Fragment de la Haye* we have, as Suchier supposes—and there seems no better explanation of the text—'trois exercices d'écoliers[1],' there can be no doubt but that the scholars had been bidden, whilst culling phrases from varied sources and introducing the names of characters well known in the 'cycle de Guillaume,' to model their descriptions and their descriptive phrases on those of the *Pharsalia*.

The National Epic. Through the *Fragment de la Haye* we arrive at the Old French epic and the question as to the extent to which Lucan constituted a source of inspiration becomes a still less immediate one.

That Lucan was familiar to all those who had had a 'clerical' education in the Middle Ages, the preceding pages have, we hope, made sufficiently clear. He was put on the same plane as Virgil, nay sometimes even ranked above him. It behoves us then at this point to consider the questions: What was it that attracted attention to Lucan in the first case? What did he supply that was lacking in his predecessor Virgil? On what head was he likely to make a greater appeal to the mediæval writer than Virgil?

The answer to the first of these questions lies, we think, in the subject matter rather than in any quality of the treatment or the style. Lucan was the father of tragedy in the mediæval sense of the word. 'Tragoediae sunt quae bella tractant,' as Honorius Augustodunus said, and wars were the only matters of engrossing interest to the dwellers in the early

[1] Cf. Suchier, *Les Narbonnais*, II, Introd., p. lxviii. (Société des anciens textes français.)

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Middle Ages. Virgil had treated of warfare, it is true, and to him we may go back for the finer qualities of conception and technique. In the *Æneid* the mediæval poet would find the well-conceived plan, the parallel treatment of episodes, the funeral dirges and many an episode which did in fact strike the epic poet's imagination. But the *Æneid* contained much more than the account of the conflict between Æneas and Turnus, and its lofty strains must often have been lost on the poets of an unenlightened age. But the subject of the *Pharsalia* is limited to one big campaign, whether by sea or land, and it is related with all its gruesome details. Here we find the gushing entrails, the transfixed bodies, the hewn-off arms and legs which are scattered on every page of the Old French epic. Here we find the dreadful portents which unnerve the soldiers ere the battle even begins: the whole sky seems to oppose the oncoming army, lightnings and fierce serpentine forms flash across the sky and strike the very crests from their helmets and melt the very swords in their hands:

> Nam, Thessala rura
> cum peterent, totus venientibus obstitit aether
> adversasque faces inmensoque igne columnas
> et trabibus mixtis avidos typhonas aquarum
> detulit atque oculos ingesto fulgure clausit;
> excussit cristas galeis capulosque solutis
> perfudit gladiis ereptaque pila liquavit,
> aetherioque nocens fumavit sulpure ferrum. (*Phars.*, VII, 152 ff.)

How exactly these portents are reproduced in the vision of Charlemagne before the battle, a mere glance at the Old French text will show:

> Carles guardat amunt envers le ciel,
> Veit les tuneires et les venz et les giels
> E les orez, les merveillus tempez;
> E fous e flambes i est apareillez:
> Isnelement sur tute sa gent chiet.
> Ardent cez hanstes, de fraisne et de pumer
> ...Cruissent osbercs et cez helmes d'acer.
> ...Serpenz et guivres, dragun et averset,
> Grifuns i ad plus de trente millers. (CLXXXV, 2532 ff.)

Nor is it merely warfare as such that Lucan depicts. The war of the *Pharsalia* is civil war. It is as illustrating the horrors of civil war that he is prescribed by mediæval educationalists. We can trace his influence in the 'seconde geste' of the Old French epic, viz., the 'geste de *Doon de Mayence*' which depicts civil wars in all their horror. *Raoul de Cambrai* and *Garin le Lorrain* carry on worthily the Pharsalian tradition and our admiration for the indomitable heroes both of the classical and the mediæval epic is tempered by horror at their unscrupulous methods and the misery they bring in their train.

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In Lucan too we have 'le thème de la défaite,' the theme which was so dear to the mediæval epic poet and which makes the warfare of such engrossing interest. Pompey is the tragic hero *par excellence* (we shall come back to his character in a moment), and it is his epic struggle against a stronger enemy which reappears again in Old French poetry as the epic struggle of a Roland or a Guillaume against an overwhelming foe. Lucan's fine words in praise of Cato: 'victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni' (*Phars.*, I, 128), give us the key, not only to the popularity of Cato himself, in the Middle Ages, but also to the universal appeal to the human heart contained in the tragic struggles of Roncevaux and Alischans.

Of course it may be objected that all descriptions both of wars and their results have much in common, and this brings us to attempt a reply to the second question, viz., What did Lucan supply that was lacking in Virgil? To this we can answer with assurance that, besides the romantic treatment of his subject to which we shall return later, Lucan supplied a galaxy of portraits which could hardly fail to strike the popular imagination. The hero of the *Pharsalia* is not one—his name is legion. There are Cato and Pompey and Cæsar in the first rank, there are Scæva and Brutus and Metellus in the second rank, there are the noble wives Marcia and Julia—all of them much too tempting to be left uncopied by later artists. Not only do we note the same tendency in the Old French epic to have a duplicity (or even a triplicity) of heroes in any particular *chanson*, so that one hardly knows whether to give our greater sympathy to Vivien or to Guillaume, to Raoul or Bernier, to Charlemagne or Roland or the archbishop Turpin, as the case may be, but the characters themselves bear so clearly the stamp of their origin—the Rolands, the Guillaumes, the Raouls, inherit so directly from antiquity, and are in such marked contrast to the heroes of the later epic—that it is impossible to mistake their origin.

Cæsar (as depicted by Lucan), the 'démesuré,' the man of blood: 'acer et indomitus' (I, 146); 'atrox' (II, 658); 'in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso | gaudet habere vias' (II, 439–40); 'in omnia praeceps, | nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum' (II, 656–7), so ambitious that he cannot bear his rival even to sit in a corner of his land (II, 659), rejoicing to achieve his end by destructive means, daring to lay sacrilegious hands on the sacred grove, shares obviously with the Turnus of Virgil the merit of being the typical unbridled man. We are not surprised to find him reproduced in the unlovable side of Roland's character and more completely in *Raoul de Cambrai*, whose every feature and every impious

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act recalls the bold, unscrupulous hero of the *Pharsalia*. But, if the outline of Cæsar's character as portrayed by Lucan is thus clearly discernible in the Old French *chansons*, still more unmistakably does that of Pompey come out into relief. It is impossible to read side by side the account of the vanquished Pompey repairing alone, disheartened and hopeless, to his wife, and that of Guillaume returning solitary and despairing to Guibourg after his defeat at Alischans, without being struck by the similarity of the two descriptions and of the two heroes. Pompey is apprehensive in the battle; in spite of his great renown and the many achievements which form a kind of background to his character in the poem, he has no longer the self-confidence which is needed for success. On seeing the momentary success of his rival he becomes faint-hearted—'stat corde gelato | attonitus,' and so serious was this for the success of his arms that the author adds gravely: 'tantoque duci sic arma timere | omen erat' (*Phars.*, VII, 340–1). He no longer has the vigour of youth:

> alter vergentibus annis
> in senium longoque togae tranquillior usu
> dedidicit iam pace ducem.... (I, 129 ff.)

He is like an ancient battered oak tree which raises its bare arms to the winds and gives a shade by means of its trunk rather than of its branches. It is but the shadow of a great name ('stat magni nominis umbra'), and yet, although the other trees of the wood stand flourishing all around, he alone is venerated ('sola tamen colitur...,' I, 143). He flees from the battlefield—not for him the desperate courage of the unfortunate who do not scruple to drag others to ruin with themselves (VII, 654–5). He flees because he fears that the sight of his mangled body might cause his men to give up in despair (VII, 671–2). He is dignified in his defeat; he fears not the weapons at his back, nor does he give way to his grief until his firmness breaks down at the sight of his sorrowing wife. Cornelia has been waiting in deep anxiety far from the field of action, and she realises in a moment that all is lost: 'victus adest coniunx' (VIII, 53); and when she sees his haggard face, his white hairs and his garments filthy with gory dust, she sinks to the earth in a death-like swoon (*ibid.*, 56, etc.). Pompey raises her gently from the ground and bids her show fortitude in misfortune, and the noble pair mingle their tears in their common grief (105–8).

What clearer prototype could we have of Guillaume d'Orange, as we know him in the earlier *chansons* of the Guillaume cycle? Guillaume is old and past his prime. 'Vieilz sui et feibles,' as he himself tells us (*Chanson de Guillaume*, 1338). And yet his reputation is so great that

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if any battle is won and he is present with but few followers, or even none, he alone would reap all the glory. Says the jealous Esturmi:

> vienget Guillelmes, e des suens n'ait que cinc,
> u treis u quatre, vienget a eschari,
> tu te combates e venques Arabiz,
> si dit hom co: que Guillelmes le fist.
> Suens, ki ques prenget, tote veie est le pris, (*Ibid.*, 66–70)

and yet, like Pompey, he flees from the battlefield. Not for him the boastful vaunt of a Roland or the rash vow of a Vivian never to turn his back on an enemy. He justifies his own action:

> C'est grans proece, ce dist, de lui garir;
> Mavais tornois fait maint home morir.
> Puis ke il voit k'il ne puet avancir
> Et ke sa force ne li puet esforcier,
> S'il plus demeure, por fol se puet tenir. (*Alischans*, 622 ff.)

But he is dignified in his flight. He goes quietly without undue haste or fear of the enemy at his back, and his tired steed is neither spurred nor galloped (*ibid.*, 668–9). He, too, returns to a loving spouse who falls fainting when she hears the extent of the disaster; then the tragic pair, each touched by the other's grief, weep together over the fate of others: 'Plurat Guillelmes, dunc lacrimat Guiburc' (*Chanson de Guillaume*, 1317). The analogy between the characters of Pompey and Guillaume d'Orange in the 'cycle de Guillaume' is a very striking one. The depression, the hesitation, nay even unwillingness on occasions, to return to the fight shown by Guillaume is in marked contrast to the attitude of other heroes of the *chansons de geste* and seems to us to be without a doubt a legacy of the Latin poem. Cato, too, as depicted by Lucan, has not been without his influence on mediæval poets, and Lucan probably more than any other writer is responsible for the legendary reputation enjoyed by Cato in the Middle Ages. Dante follows his description closely when he describes the venerable sage who had charge of the seven kingdoms of the *Purgatorio*[1]. Here is the ideal which, to a certain extent, we have found in the character of Æneas as compared with that of the violent Turnus. In Cato we find personified that ideal of moderation, of 'mesure,' which was to become the coveted aim of mediæval knighthood. Lucan sums it up in a few words:

> ...hi mores, haec duri inmota Catonis
> secta fuit, *servare modum* finemque tenere
> naturamque sequi *patriaeque impendere vitam*
> nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo. (II, 380 ff.)

[1] Cf. *Purgatorio*, I, ll. 31 ff.

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'Modum,' 'mesure,' 'mâze'—the word runs through the writings of the Middle Ages: 'Mielz valt mesure que ne fait estultie,' cries Oliver when it becomes clear that Roland's 'démesure' has brought disaster upon the French army. And along with 'mesure' goes the capacity for enduring hardship, the scorn of luxury, the willingness to lay down one's life for one's country or one's lord: '*patriaeque impendere vitam.*' To Cato it was a feast to have conquered hunger, a mansion to keep away the cold by a mere roof (*ibid.*, 384). Those who wish to be his companions must think it becoming for a Roman to suffer the most grievous torments—be it torrid heat or thirst or venomous snakes: 'serpens, sitis, ardor harenae | dulcia virtuti; gaudet patientia duris' (IX, 402 f.).

'Pur sun seignor,' cries Roland voicing the mediæval ideal,

deit hom suffrir destreiz
Et endurer et granz chalz et granz freiz
Si'n deit hom perdre et del cuir et del peil!

To sum up. It is impossible to mistake the classical ideals as they crop up again in the literature of the twelfth century in spite of their unaccustomed dress. Whether it be the 'pietas' of Æneas, the moderation and stoicism of Cato, the pathos of Pompey, the 'démesure' of Turnus or Cæsar, we meet all these moral qualities again in the Olivers, the Rolands, the Guillaumes, the Raouls of the Old French epic, and they have lost nothing in the transmigration. Nor is it only the qualities which reappear, the characters themselves appear in an appropriate setting. Even the womenfolk, in spite of the secondary rôle they play both in the classical and the Old French epic, are distinctly marked by similar characteristics. Marcia, the faithful wife of Cato, is of the same breed as Guibourg and Ermengart. So great was the appeal she made to the mediæval poets that we find her more than once included in the lists of famous lovers along with Iseult and Eleyne[1].

Lucan and the Romantic Epic.

The third question we set ourselves to answer, viz., What was the special appeal that Lucan made to the mediæval mind? brings us to the consideration of Lucan as the father of romance. It is in the history of

[1] Cf. Chaucer's ballade in the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* (Text B), Skeat, *Geoffrey Chaucer, Works*:

Penalopee, and Marcia Catoun,
Mak of your wyfhod no comparisoun;
Hyde ye your beautes, Isoude and Eleyne, etc.

Also Lydgate(?): *Wourdly Mutabilities*; (cf. E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXV, p. 289):

Alceste, Dido and fayr Eleyne
And eek the goodly wyves tweyne,
Marcya and Penelope, etc.

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'le merveilleux' that Lucan plays perhaps his most important rôle. In the *Pharsalia* the divine 'miraculous' is replaced almost entirely by the scientific 'miraculous.' Divine intervention and converse with mortals, as we have it in the *Æneid*, plays no part in the *Pharsalia*. The marvels of nature, the terrors of the supernatural have taken its place. This was what appealed so powerfully to the poets of the Middle Ages for whom the classical divinities carried on a miserable existence as sorcerers and heathen deities. It is Jupiter who conducts the heathen enchanter Siglorel to hell in the *Chanson de Roland*, and Apollo reappears in company of Mahomet and Tervagant. Lucan, with his astronomical details, his treatises on weird venomous beasts, his descriptions of druids and wild Thessalian witches and impenetrable woods, satisfied just that craving for the mysterious, for horrible and hair-raising details which Christianity did not satisfy.

The taste for marvellous descriptions, which is one of the chief characteristics of the 'romans imités de l'antiquité,' is a direct heritage from the Latin poem. We find in the *Pharsalia* the germ of everything: animals that speak[1], images that sweat[2], love philtres that cause illicit flames, enchantments and magic herbs, nothing is too fantastic for the Latin poet. Oftentimes it is more than the germ. Obviously Lucan revelled in the long description of the Thessalian witches[3]; of the deadly serpents and their gruesome bites[4]; of Cleopatra's robe and marvellous palace[5]. Let us take, as an example of the way in which Lucan was utilised by mediæval writers, the descriptions of the sorceress in the Old French epic. We do not find her on the battlefields of the *chansons de geste*. The national epic was too serious and sombre for such an apparition. We find her in the romances and first, perhaps, as we should expect in the 'romans imités de l'antiquité.' Here is the description of the sorceress consulted by Dido in the *Roman d'Énéas*:

ici pres a une sorciere,
molt forz chose li est legiere,
el resuscite homes morz
et devine et giete sorz,
e lo soleil fait resconser
androit midi et retorner
tot ariere vers oriant,
et de la lune ansement;
ele la fait novele ou plaine
trois foiz ou quatre la semaine,
et les oisiaus fait el parler
et l'eve ariere retorner;

[1] *Phars.*, I, 561: 'tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae.'
[2] *Ibid.*, 556 f.: 'urbisque laborem | testatos sudore Lares,' etc.
[3] *Ibid.*, Bk VI. [4] *Ibid.*, Bk IX. [5] *Ibid.*, Bk X.

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d'enfer trait les infernaus Fuires,
qui li annoncent les auguires;
les chasnes fait des monz descendre
e les serpenz donter et prendre
la terre fait sos ses piez mure
anchanter set et bien d'augure;
el fait amer ou fait haïr,
de tote rien fait son plaisir. (1907 ff.)

M. Faral has pointed out that certain features of this description are contained in the poet's main source (Virgil), but that others were culled from other sources, and he finds individual ones in Tibullus, in the *Metamorphoses*, in the *Heroïdes* and in the *Remedia Amoris* of Ovid, thus accounting for them all with one or two exceptions, notably the one concerning the calling up of the Furies[1]. But they are *all* to be found in Lucan in the famous description of the Thessalian witch Erichtho (Bk VI, 435 ff.), who calls back the dead man to life and summons the Furies from the lower world (735 ff.) in order to learn the future course of events. She too disturbs the course of nature[2], she too causes the water to run backward[3], she too causes the tops of the mountains to descend[4], tames the serpents[5], and shakes the earth upon her axes[6]. Through her charms love, not induced by the Fates, has entered into the hardest hearts[7]; everything that is difficult to believe lies within her province—'quidquid non creditur ars est.'

Without doubt the above mentioned Thessalian women were in Chrétien's mind too when he described the nurse of Phenice:

Sa mestre avoit nom Thessala,
Qui l'avoit norrie d'anfance,
Si savoit mout de nigromance.
Por ce fu Thessala clamee,
Qu'ele fu de Thessaille nee,
Ou sont feites les deablies,
Ansegniees et establies;
Car charmes et charaies font
Les fames qui del païs sont. (*Cliges*, 3002–10)

...Je sai garir d'idropique,
Si sai garir de l'artetique,
De quinancie et de cuerpous;
Tant sai d'orine et tant de pous
Que ja mar avroiz autre mire:
Si sai, se je l'osoie dire,
D'anchantemanz et de charaies
Bien esprovees et veraies
Plus qu'onques Medea ne sot. (*Ibid.*, 3022–30)

[1] Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1913, pp. 307 ff.
[2] *Phars.*, VI, 461 ff.: 'cessavere vices rerum, dilataque longa | haesit nocte dies: legi non paruit aether,' etc.
[3] *Ibid.*, 472 f.: 'de rupe pependit abscisa fixus torrens, amnisque cucurrit | non qua pronus erat.'
[4] *Ibid.*, 476.
[5] *Ibid.*, 488–91.
[6] *Ibid.*, 481.
[7] *Ibid.*, 452–4.

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M. Faral sees in the above passage also 'un souvenir d'Ovide[1],' but the nurse's name, the reference to the charms of the 'fames del païs' (cf. *Phars.*, VI, 452 f. 'carmine Thessalidum dura in praecordia fluxit... amor,' etc.), the allusion to their superiority over Medea in the matter of magic (cf. *Phars.*, VI, 441 f. 'et terris hospita Colchis | legit in Haemoniis quas non advexerat herbas')—everything recalls Lucan's well-known description.

Very distinctly again we recognise her features in the sorceresses who play an important part in the romance of *Amadas et Ydoine*[2]. In despair at being affianced against her will, Ydoine, as a last resort, consults three witches as to her future course of action:

Trois sorcieres, sans demorance,
A quises, qui de ingremance
Sevent entr'eles toute l'œvre;
...Car en cest monde terrien
N'erent mais anceles trouvees
Ne de si grant sens esprouvees,
Qu'eles sevent de nuit voler[3]
Par tout le mont, et de la mer
Faire les ondes estre em pais[4]
Comme la terre, et puis apres
Defors de la graine venir
Arbres, naistre, croistre et florir,
Et sevent par encantement
Resusciter la morte gent[5],
Des vis l'une a l'autre figure
Muer par art et par figure,
...Bestes orgener en forest[6],
Murs remuer et trembler tours,
Et les euwes courre a rebours[7]
Ne puis pas dire ne conter
La disme part, ne raconter,
Qu'eles sevent de mauvais ars..., etc.
(*Amadas et Ydoine*, 2007–22, 2036–41)

Here we have all the well-known features and others added still from the same source[8].

We do not wish to insist on detail, still less on verbal imitation, but the source of inspiration is unmistakable. Witches, love philtres, magic brews, resuscitations, supernatural powers, all such manifestations Lucan revels in. In Lucan, too, we find the germ of that taste for marvellous

[1] Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 317. [2] Not mentioned by Faral.
[3] Cf. *Phars.*, VI, 518–20.
[4] Cf. *ibid.*, 469–71: 'aequor...conticuit turbante Noto.' [5] Cf. *ibid.*, VI.
[6] Cf. *ibid.*, VI, 485–8. [7] *Loc. cit.*
[8] Dante, to whom Lucan's witch suggests a fresh horror, as usual makes no secret of his source and calls her by her name:

Ver' è ch' altra fiata quaggiù fui,
congiurato da quella Eriton cruda
che richiamava l'ombre ai corpi sui. (*Inferno*, IX, 22 ff.)

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mechanical devices which was developed during the Byzantine period and exploited *ad nauseam* by the mediæval poets, so that on this side also the uninterrupted tradition is maintained. In the *Pharsalia* we read of 'the brass of Jove' ('aere Iovis') which resounded in the forest of Dodona and divulged the divine will when played upon by the wind amongst the oak trees. (Cf. *Phars.*, VI, 425–9.) Stephanus Byzantinus, in the sixth century, develops this further, and elaborates by many details the simple mechanical device by which the brass gongs of Jove were made to sound[1]. Pretending to quote ancient authority he says:

In Dodone sunt duae columnae sibi invicem paralellae et vicinae. In altera quidem est aeneum vas non magnum, simile lebetibus hodiernis, in altera puerulus, habens in manu dextra flagellum, ad cuius dextrum latus constitit columna pelvim sustinens: cum igitur ventus incepit flare, etiam flagelli funes aenei, non secus ac veri et naturales funes, cum a vento attolluntur percutiunt illud aeneum vas sine intermissione, quamdiu ventus durat.

The author of the *Pélerinage de Charlemagne*, when describing the palace of King Hugue, has a variation on the same theme:

De cuivre et de metal tres-jetet dous enfanz.
Chascuns tient en sa boche un corn d'ivoire blanc.
Se galerne ist de mer bise ne altre venz
Qui fierent al palais dedevers occident,
Il le font torneier et menut et sovent
Come roe de char qui a terre descent.
Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement.

(*Pélerinage*, 352–8)

A century or so later the action of the wind has become even more fantastic. In *Floire et Blancheflor* two statues of children are placed upon the tomb of Blancheflor. When the wind blows upon them they begin to kiss each other:

Tant com li vent les atouchoient,
Et li enfant e'entrebaisoient;
Et quant il laisse de venter,
Dont se prenent a reposer.

About this date the examples abound and the descriptions of mechanical contrivances become more and more ingenious and impossible[2] and further removed from their source of inspiration. But the source was there and it was tapped unscrupulously by the authors of romance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Whether it be the haunted impenetrable grove ('lucus erat...,' *Phars.*, III, 399 ff.) which inspires Chrétien de Troyes[3]; whether it be the fantastic horrors of snake-bite

[1] Cf. *Stephani Byzantini Grammatici Fragmentum de Dodone*, ed. Gronovius, pp. 9, 10.
[2] Cf. Faral, *loc. cit.*
[3] Cf. *Erec et Enide*, 5739 ff.: 'El vergier n'avoit anviron; Mur ne paliz se de l'er non; Mes de l'er est de totes parz Par nigromance clos le jarz, Se que riens antrer n'i pooit Se par dessore n'i voloit,' etc.

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which inspire Brunetto Latini, and the authors of the *bestiaires*[1]; whether it be the palace of Cleopatra, with its walls of coloured stone ('achates | purpureusque lapis,' *Phars.*, x, 115 ff.), its doors adorned with tortoise-shells dotted with emeralds and its solid ebony columns (*ibid.*, 119–22), which inspires the author of *Énéas* when describing the palace of Dido[2]; whether it be the fascinating details of winds and planets and tides which inspire the writers on natural history and science (cf. the lists of authorities quoted by writers on science in the Middle Ages in which Lucan's name almost invariably figures[3]), the study of which would take us beyond the scope of this article; we find the traces of the romantic Latin poet in every branch of science and literature which preferred the flights of the imagination to the dull registering of events and facts.

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[1] Cf. *De naturis rerum*, cap. cv ff.; also Philippe de Thaun, *Bestiaire*, 1655 ff.: 'Cil cui alquant puindront Eneslepas murunt, Et alquant enflerunt Puis a lunc tens murunt; Alquant seillerunt E par ardur murunt (E) alquant sanc bevrunt De cels que il puindrunt,' etc.

[2] 'Li carrel sont de marbre bis | De blanc et d'inde et de vermeil | ... De chieres pieres naturalz | Ot un mui enz el mur assis | e set mile esmalz i ot mis | es pilers,' etc. (*Énéas*, 422–3, 508–14); cf. *Thèbes*: la chambre de beauté, and many another description.

[3] Cf. Haskins, *Science in the Middle Ages*, pp. 372, etc.

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THE EPILOGUE TO GAIMAR'S 'ESTOIRE DES ENGLEIS'

THERE are extant two epilogues to Gaimar's surviving work: (*a*) one of twenty-two lines found only in the D(urham) and L(incoln) MSS. of the *Estoire* (Hardy and Martin, Rolls Series, I, p. 278[1]); (*b*) one of ninety-eight lines found only in the R(oyal) MS. of the *Estoire* (Hardy and Martin, Rolls Series, I, pp. 275–7).

The manuscript tradition carries back the date of the shorter epilogue to the end of the twelfth century, but introduces an uncertainty of another kind. In D this epilogue follows the 'Description of Britain' (based on Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, lib. I, §§ 4, 5, 7) which in L it precedes, but, as there are signs of deliberate displacement in the former, it seems that the arrangement of the latter is more trustworthy (cf. my *Lai d'Haveloc*, p. 88). The rimes throw no light on the question of authenticity, for they contain nothing which can be definitely dated after the middle of the twelfth century, but the metre, even in so short a piece, does raise doubts, for it is not so regular as that of Gaimar and the lines as a whole cannot, without drastic and unjustifiable alteration, be improved to his standard. The allusion to Adeliza of Louvain ('la bone reine A qui Deus doint grace divine') can hardly be the work of the author of the longer epilogue who speaks of her, rather off-handedly, as 'la raine de Luvain.' Also there seem to be two tones distinguishable —one, which predominates, is reminiscent of the writers of religious verse and is in no wise characteristic of Gaimar, the other appears in four lines near the end (ll. 16–20) and does suggest the historian. Altogether it seems to me most probable that this shorter epilogue is not authentic, that it was added by the common ancestor of D and L, that it may possibly have been freely adapted from an earlier, though not necessarily a shorter, epilogue by Gaimar and that it need not be considered in the study of the origins of the *Estoire des Engleis*.

Although the longer epilogue is preserved only in one MS., which belongs to the late thirteenth century, there appears to be some support in the manuscript tradition for its authenticity. This same manuscript contains the West-Saxon genealogy which I have shown (*Philological Quarterly*, II, p. 173) is by Gaimar; all four MSS. of the *Estoire* contain

[1] Quotations from the *Estoire* are taken from this edition; for Gaimar's Haveloc episode I quote from my edition of that text (*Le Lai d'Haveloc*, Manchester, 1925).

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an addition (ll. 897–920) dealing with an eponymous Danish king, Wasing; and all four MSS. insert a description (ll. 2316–40) of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and its compilation into a list of the Bretwaldas. Each of these passages is of the same length; each contains textual uncer tainties; and two of them (the first and third) have an actual lacuna. Curiously enough, the longer epilogue is an almost exact multiple in length of those passages and like them shows a lacuna—there seems to be something lacking between ll. 6469 and 6470 where the writer, having stated that he has improved his book by comparison with another, continues (6468 ff.):

E del estoire de Wincestre
Fust amende ceste geste
De Wassingburc un livere Engleis
U il trovad escrit des reis....

The rimes show nothing incompatible with Gaimar's authorship and include *Wincestre* : *geste* which he employs a number of times in his *Estoire*. The metre is at first sight very incorrect, but further examination shows that this is due to the suppression of the pretonic vowel in hiatus and to other similar changes by the thirteenth-century copyist. When the full twelfth-century forms are restored, the metre becomes quite correct and is then indistinguishable from that of Gaimar. In this connexion we may note l. 6449: 'pur le livere Walter Espac,' where the position of the appositional genitive makes a metric parallel to l. 165: 'pur la terre Adelbriht tolir'; and ll. 4004, 4013: 'a la meison Elstruet ala (turnat).' The style and diction of this epilogue are also quite compatible with its authenticity. Cf. ll. 6482–3: 'E ki ne creit co ke jo di Demand a Nicole de Trailli'; and ll. 6434–5: 'Ki co ne creit alt a Wincestre Oir i purra si vair pot estre'; and also ll. 6485–6: 'Ore dit Gaimar sil ad guarant Del rei Henri dirrat avant'; and ll. 2925–6: 'Mes si Gaimar eust leisir Il parlast plus del seint martyr'; and l. 3893 for a similar introduction of his own name.

The strong presumption in favour of authenticity thus created is reinforced by consideration of the contents of this epilogue. In the first place, it is stated that Gaimar used English, French and Latin books in writing his *Estoire*. On more than one occasion he actually refers to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* by name, and as an English book, so that a later writer could derive information on the first head from a perusal of the *Estoire*. Though there is no specific reference in Gaimar's extant work to a Latin source, there are traces of his use of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, of which his lost *Estoire des Bretuns* was in part a translation; moreover, as this was early eclipsed in popularity by

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Wace's *Roman de Brut* and consequently no longer copied, a later writer is less likely to have derived information on the second head from the work itself. Into his account of the Danish invasions under Guthrum, derived from the *A.S. Chronicle*, Gaimar weaves the story of Gormond, which, various indications show, he took from a French source; this is not information which a later writer could derive from a reading of the text. This triple indication of sources is thus a further slight confirmation of the authenticity of this epilogue[1]. Secondly, it is stated that Gaimar obtained a book about the British kings from Walter Espec (*v. infra*) and added to it information from the book of Walter the Archdeacon which was already in his possession. In the absence of his *Estoire des Bretuns*, we are unable to verify the fact asserted, but it is in favour of the authenticity of the epilogue that the method indicated is practised by Gaimar in his extant work. Thirdly, he is made to criticise a life of Henry I for omitting all the gay social and amorous side of court life, and to indicate his ability to supply this were he to undertake the writing of an account of that monarch's reign. The case for authenticity is much strengthened when we remember how exactly this describes what Gaimar has done in his account of Edgar and Ælfðryð, of Rufus and his feast in Westminster Hall, and of Earl Hugh of Chester and his munificence.

There can thus be no reasonable doubt that Gaimar wrote the epilogue preserved in the R MS.; and it is now possible, on the basis of its authenticity, to consider in greater detail some of the statements he makes and the conclusions which may be drawn from them.

In his epilogue Gaimar refers in some detail to four of the books used by him; though they must have been easily recognisable by his original readers, they are for us more or less veiled in obscurity. They were discussed by Martin in his introduction to the second volume of the Rolls Series edition (pp. xvii–xix), but since then there does not appear to have been any general study of their problems.

(1) *Le livere Walter Espac* (l. 6449), which the Fitz Gilberts obtained from Helmsley, the home of this famous Yorkshire baron, is the first of the books mentioned by Gaimar. It has generally been identified with the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was dedicated to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, but we have only circumstantial evidence in support—Gaimar made use of Geoffrey's work and the epi-

[1] Though proof of Imelmann's hypothesis of an ultimate connexion between this passage and the introduction to Layamon's *Brut* would also prove the existence of this epilogue at the end of the twelfth century, it would, in view of the composite nature of the English writer's source, be no argument either for or against the authenticity.

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logue says that Walter Espec's book was a translation, made for Robert, from books about the British kings belonging to the Welsh. It need cause no surprise that Gaimar is silent concerning its author, for this is also true of Alfred of Beverley who abridged the *Historia*. The wording of the epilogue (ll. 6460 ff.) seems to indicate that Gaimar had already begun the writing of a history before Walter Espec's book reached him, had begun possibly even before he heard of Geoffrey's work, and this fits in with the later statement (ll. 6529–30) that he dealt with Jason and the Golden Fleece at the commencement of his history. It will be seen that this assumption involves a somewhat earlier date for the *Estoire* than the one usually given (*c.* 1150), for by then no one of Gaimar's ability who contemplated writing a history of the country could be ignorant of Geoffrey's popular work. Certain considerations, however, make it possible, in my opinion, to push back the date of composition rather more than a decade.

It is clear from the epilogue that Gaimar's preparations and collection of materials at least took place before the death of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, in 1147[1]. In view of Walter Espec's share in the Battle of the Standard, is it not probable that he would be on less friendly terms with Robert and less likely to borrow books from him after that event than before? And is not the line in the epilogue (l. 6528)—'or avom pes e menum joie'—more appropriate to the comparative quiet of the first three years of Stephen's reign than to any later period? Further, the reference to Adeliza of Louvain, to me at any rate, suggests that we should consider a date not too far removed from the death of Henry I in 1135 and not too long after—if not rather before—her re-marriage in 1139. There is not much evidence for the date of composition to be found in the *Estoire* itself, but the little available is quite compatible with the suggested earlier date. On general grounds it does not seem advisable to separate too much the writing of the *Estoire* and the deaths of the Norman barons who are singled out for special mention in it—Hugh, Earl of Chester, for his munificence and for his assertion of independence at the great feast held by William Rufus in his new hall at Westminster, and Robert Fitz Hamon and others for the part they played after the wounding of that monarch in the New Forest—but it does not seem possible at present to draw more detailed conclusions from these data. A little light is thrown on this question of date by two other passages. The first, which gives but a fitful gleam, occurs at ll. 2145–50. Gaimar

[1] This shows the accuracy of the reference to Helmsley, for it was not until 1151 that Walter Espec entered the monastery of Rievaulx.

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is translating the entry of the *A.S. Chronicle*, s.a. 793, and has not quite understood the nature of the wonders described; but a phrase he uses —'cum escarletes sestendeient'—would be more explicable if he had in his mind the red curtain-like glow of the aurora borealis, of which, we learn from the chroniclers, there was a display in 1138. The second, which is more convincing, is his allusion (ll. 4087–94) to the penitence and death of Ælfðryð at Wherwell Priory, from which he seems to have derived his information about her. He speaks rather as though services were still being held in her honour when he wrote, but the building was sacrilegiously burnt to the ground in 1140. If he was still living in Hampshire, this could hardly have escaped his notice, and, if we assume this event was unknown to him because he was then resident in Lincolnshire, we must still accept an earlier date of composition, because he had already written much of his *Estoire* before he moved to the north.

(2) *Le bon livere de Oxeford* (l. 6465), which had belonged to Walter the Archdeacon and which Gaimar had obtained before Walter Espec's book reached him, is a most tantalising item. Geoffrey of Monmouth claimed that his work was the translation of a 'most ancient book in the British language' which Walter the Archdeacon had brought to his notice, and here we find Gaimar claiming to have used a book on British history which he had obtained from the same source. Are the two books identical? Of course, for those who believe that Geoffrey's assertion is a pure fiction, this question does not arise; but if, with more recent criticism, we accept the existence, though not the description, of Geoffrey's source, then an answer must be attempted. The language of Gaimar's allusion is rather obscure, but thus much seems probable: he regarded the *Historia Regum Britanniae* as a translation from books in Welsh whereas the Oxford book was in Latin, and he used the latter to supply deficiencies in those histories, not to put in matters left untranslated by Geoffrey. This points to the conclusion that the famous British book of Geoffrey is not the same as the Oxford book of Gaimar; that this passage, after all, does not prove the existence of that much disputed source; that it does not invalidate Geoffrey's claim to have used such a source. In the absence of Gaimar's *Estoire des Bretuns*, it is useless to speculate further on the nature of this book which had belonged to Walter the Archdeacon; but it would be interesting to know whether a closer adherence of Wace's *Roman de Brut* to Geoffrey's version of British history was a contributory cause of the disappearance of Gaimar's account, and whether, as seems probable, the insistence on his sources in the epilogue is Gaimar's answer to criticisms of inaccuracy based on differences between his

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Estoire and Geoffrey's *Historia* or whether, as is possible, he is forestalling such criticism.

(3) *L'Estoire de Wincestre* (l. 6468), to which Gaimar makes frequent reference under this title and which he also cites as *croniche*, is to be identified with the *A.S. Chronicle* and the problem here is the nature of the MS. used by him. There can be no doubt that Gaimar regarded Winchester as the headquarters of the *Chronicle* and that he was aware of the tradition which ascribed its origin to Alfred (cf. l. 2333), and his description seems to indicate the presence of episcopal lists[1] (cf. l. 2329) and possibly also of laws (cf. l. 3452) in the MS. used by him; these same two features occur in the Parker MS. of the *Chronicle* and were also present in the Cottonian MS. Otho B. XI, now almost completely destroyed. This latter belonged to Southwick Priory in the twelfth century, and, as the Fitz Gilberts were benefactors of that foundation, it is tempting to suppose that Gaimar used it in the compilation of his *Estoire*. There are, however, two obstacles to such an assumption. Firstly, the Cottonian MS. was a transcript of the Parker MS. made at Winchester before the latter MS. migrated to Canterbury, but it is not known when the former came to Southwick; if we assume that the mark of ownership was added on its arrival there, this must have taken place later than 1145, for the original foundation was at Porchester and the removal to Southwick took place at some date between 1145 and 1153; this would give a later date for the composition of the *Estoire* than was suggested above. Secondly, the investigations of Plummer and of Gross have demonstrated that Gaimar actually used a northern recension of the *Chronicle* akin to, but not identical with, the Laud MS., whereas the Cottonian, like the Parker MS., contains a southern recension. Therefore we must conclude that Gaimar did not use Otho B. XI, though it may have been still in Winchester when he wrote, and come to Southwick as an indirect result of his historical labours.

This is not the place in which to enter in detail upon the question of the relationship of the *Estoire* to the *A.S. Chronicle*, the more so as the work has been done by the two scholars mentioned above; but it is as well to state that there can be no reasonable doubt that the version used by Gaimar was in English, not, as is theoretically possible, in Latin. Not only does he constantly refer to it as such, but his claim is supported (*a*) by the frequent extremely literal rendering of the Old English, e.g., *A.S. Chronicle*, s.a. 710: '7 þam ilcan geare feoht Beorhtfrið ealdor-

[1] If ll. 4095–4104 (the immediate successors of Dunstan) do not derive from the Wherwell account of Ælfðryð (cf. 'Gaimar and the Edgar-Ælfðryð story,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXI), they are possibly based on such a list rather than extracted from separate annals.

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man wið Pyhtas betwix Hæfe 7 Cære 7 Ine 7 Nun his mæi gefuhton wið Gerente . . . 7 þam ilcan geare man ofsloh [S]ygebald'; *Estoire*, ll. 1625–34: 'En icel an Dan Berefrid | od les Picteis se cumbatid | Entre dous ewes Hese (*l.* Hefe) e Ciere | . . . E Ine e Nun [un] son cosin | Tindrent bataille a Gerentin | . . . E Sibald fu cel an oscis | Uns riches home ert del pais'; (*b*) by occasional mistakes which yet show a knowledge of Old English, e.g., *A.S. Chronicle*, s.a. 697: 'Her Suðanhumbre ofslogon Ostryðe'; *Estoire*, l. 1588: 'Ultre le Humbre devers le suth'; where *suðan* and *humbre* have been taken separately and treated in exactly the same way as *be norðan sæ* (s.a. 685), which becomes *ultre la mer devers le nort* (l. 1498), and *be suðan gemære* (s.a. 716), which becomes *en la marche devers midi* (l. 1645); (*c*) by the usual faithful rendering of the Old English personal and place-names—a question which has been studied in detail for the former by Rathmann (*Die lautliche Gestaltung englischer Personennamen in Gaimar*, Kiel, 1906)—especially by the scattered indications that in many such names he still recognised the presence of the spirant *h*.

The suggestion made by Plummer, in his edition of the *Chronicle* (II, p. cxxi, n. 4), that Gaimar used a northern ancestor of the Laud MS., is quite acceptable and in further support may be urged these considerations. From the accession of Cerdic to the reign of Edgar, the *Estoire* is a fairly close rendering of the *A.S. Chronicle*, but, when the latter period is reached, a change takes place; not only does Gaimar introduce a much larger proportion of traditional accounts, but he abandons the annalistic nature of his work, which hitherto he had more or less successfully maintained, in favour of a more connected narrative woven from those traditions and embodying some conception of cause and effect; thus, paradoxically, he becomes more of an historian in his manner but less historical in his matter. A possible explanation of this undoubted fact is that his MS. of the *Chronicle* stopped short at 975, i.e., it resembled the ancestor of the Laud MS. prior to its arrival at Canterbury; it is, of course, impossible to prove a negative, but, although here and there after this point statements in Gaimar agree with entries in the *Chronicle*, it is unlikely that he took one or two isolated sentences from the lengthy annals of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and left the rest—often very detailed and vivid—untouched.

(4) *De Wassingburc un livere engleis* (l. 6470), which among other things tells of emperors of Rome, has not yet been successfully identified, though the suggestion has been made that Gaimar is possibly referring to the O.E. *Orosius*. An alternative suggestion was made by Martin in his edition (Rolls Series, II, p. xix), that Gaimar might mean nothing

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more than a copy of the Peterborough version of the *A.S. Chronicle* in view of the close connexion between Peterborough and Washingborough (near Lincoln) and also between Kirkstead Abbey, of which the Fitz Gilberts were benefactors, and Washingborough. This was rejected, in spite of its attractiveness, by Plummer (*l.c.*, II, p. lx), mainly on the strength of the allusion to emperors of Rome, but certain considerations induce me to believe that Martin was, after all, on the right track. Firstly, there is a similarity in the wording of the descriptions of the *A.S. Chronicle*, viz., ll. 3451–4: 'Il [*sc.* Alfred] fist escrivere un livre engleis | Des aventures e des leis | E de[s] batailles de la terre | E des reis ki firent la guere'; and of the Washingborough book, viz., ll. 6470–7: 'De Wassingburc un livere engleis | U il trovad escrit des reis | E de tuz les emperurs | ...De lur vies e de lur plaiz | Des aventures e des faiz'; which seems to indicate a similar type of book. Secondly, the arrangement of the names of the four books specifically mentioned in the epilogue appears to be significant: after referring to the *Historia Regum Britanniae* Gaimar says he used another book in order to supplement its deficiencies, i.e., he can meet, or forestall, the criticism that he has diverged from Geoffrey's account by his ability to quote an alternative source for his statements; similarly, after referring to the *A.S. Chronicle* he says he used another book, apparently to supplement its deficiencies, i.e., he is again in a position to meet, or forestall, the criticism that his account does not agree with that of the *Chronicle* at Winchester by his ability once more to quote an alternative source. The possibility of such a purpose underlying this section of the epilogue was suggested above; if this be granted, it would follow that in the second case his alternative source must deal with English history, and we could then assume that the Washingborough book is to be identified with that early northern ancestor of the Laud MS. which has been shown to be the source for the main part of the *Estoire des Engleis*[1]. Thirdly, it is just possible that Gaimar's reference to the *Chronicle* being kept chained at Winchester (ll. 2338–40) reflects its contemporary situation; if so, it may be that he was led to use the Washingborough book because he was able to consult it more conveniently. As with the book of Oxford we are now in the realm of speculation where it would be idle to wander further without more facts to support us; perhaps this discussion of Gaimar's four 'books' may be the indirect means of bringing further evidence to light.

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[1] The allusion to emperors of Rome does not appear, in the light of the available evidence, to be a serious obstacle to the acceptance of this view.

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MARIVAUDAGE

'Le marivaudage a passé en proverbe,' writes Grimm just after Marivaux's death in 1763[1], and D'Alembert in his *éloge* says, speaking of his style, 'ce singulier jargon, tout à la fois précieux et familier, recherché et monotone, est, sans exception, celui de tous ses personnages, de quelque état qu'ils puissent être[2].' So La Harpe, whose first and only successful play, *Warwick*, was produced in the year of Marivaux's death, defines *marivaudage* in his *Cours de littérature* as 'le mélange le plus bizarre de métaphysique subtile et de locutions triviales, de sentiments alambiqués et de dictons populaires,' and, like D'Alembert, declares that it is used by all his characters alike[3]. But when D'Alembert wrote, and still more when La Harpe was lecturing, Marivaux's comedies and to a less extent his novels had fallen out of favour. We shall get a fairer idea of the objections that were made to his style, if we go back to the time when he was in the full swing of his career.

Lesage's dislike of anything that savoured of *préciosité* is well known; but the mild satire which he directs against the *précieux* style in general in the seventh book of *Gil Blas* (published in 1724) does not appear to have more than a general reference to Marivaux.

> Pauvre ignorant! [says Fabrice to his friend Gil Blas], tu ne sais pas que tout prosateur qui aspire aujourd'hui à la réputation d'une plume délicate affecte cette singularité de style, ces expressions détournées qui te choquent. Nous sommes cinq ou six novateurs hardis qui avons entrepris de changer la langue du blanc au noir;

and he ends by giving an example of the difference between the *gentillesse* of their language and the *platitude* of that of the conservative school:

> Ils diraient, par exemple, tout uniment, *Les intermèdes* embellissent *une comédie*; et nous, nous disons plus joliment, *Les intermèdes* font beauté *dans une comédie*. Remarque bien ce *font beauté*: en sens-tu tout le brillant, toute la délicatesse, tout le mignon?[4]

On the other hand, Voltaire is probably thinking especially of Marivaux when in his summary of *Les Précieuses ridicules*, written in 1733, he says that the *précieux* style 'has reappeared even in the drama[5].' A year earlier, referring to *Les Serments indiscrets*, he wrote, 'Vous croyez bien qu'il y aura beaucoup de métaphysique et peu de naturel et que les

[1] *Correspondance*, III, p. 182. Cf. Horace Walpole, who, writing to Gray in 1765, says, 'Crébillon is entirely out of fashion, and Marivaux a proverb; *marivauder* and *marivaudage* are established terms for being prolix and tiresome.'

[2] *Œuvres*, III, p. 584.

[3] La Harpe's course of lectures was delivered at the Lycée. He began it in 1786.

[4] *Gil Blas*, VII, c. xiii.

[5] *Œuvres*, XXXVIII, p. 457.

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cafés applaudiront pendant que les honnêtes gens n'entendront rien[1].' Voltaire and Marivaux were naturally antipathetic to one another in addition to being rival writers for the stage. When Voltaire wrote, in *Le Temple du Goût* (1731), that among the crowd of writers who were pressing round the entrance to the temple there was one who had composed a 'metaphysical comedy,' Marivaux, who was extremely susceptible, took this as an allusion to himself. But in a letter written in February, 1736, Voltaire denies this. After paying a tribute to Marivaux's intelligence and probity, he says:

Il est vrai que je lui souhaite quelquefois un style moins recherché, et des sujets plus nobles; mais je suis bien loin d'avoir voulu le désigner, en parlant des comédies métaphysiques. Je n'entends par ce terme que des comédies où l'on introduit des personnages qui ne sont point dans la nature, des personnages allégoriques, propres au plus pour un poème épique, mais très déplacées sur la scène, où tout doit être peint d'après nature. Ce n'est pas, ce me semble, le défaut de M. de Marivaux. Je lui reprocherais, au contraire, de trop détailler les passions, et de manquer quelquefois le chemin du cœur en prenant des routes un peu trop détournées. J'aime autant plus son esprit, que je le prierais de le moins prodiguer. Il ne faut point qu'un personnage de comédie songe à être spirituel: il faut qu'il soit plaisant malgré lui et sans croire l'être: c'est la différence qui doit être entre la comédie et le simple dialogue[2].

Voltaire's reference to *Les Serments indiscrets* and the fact that La Harpe quotes a passage from it as an example of *marivaudage* are particularly interesting, because the play was evidently much criticised, and because Marivaux in one of the rare prefaces which he prefixed to the published editions of his plays defends it against his critics. It was badly received, he tells us, at the first performance, but at the second the reception was better and this improvement continued. It never, however, became popular. It was said to be too like the first *Surprise de l'Amour*. This Marivaux denies. It is true that in both pieces 'tout se passe dans le cœur,' but the situation, he declares, is quite different. As for the style and the character of the dialogue he admits that they are the same in both pieces, as well as in some others, but he adds:

'Ce n'est pas moi que j'ai voulu copier, c'est la Nature; c'est le ton de la conversation en général que j'ai tâché de prendre.' Authors generally write in a uniform style, which has become habitual to them. 'Mais si par hasard vous quittez ce style, et que vous portiez le langage des hommes dans un ouvrage, et surtout dans une comédie, il est sûr que vous serez d'abord remarqué.'

He does not flatter himself that he has altogether succeeded in reproducing the language of conversation:

J'ajouterai seulement là-dessus, qu'entre gens d'esprit, les conversations dans le monde sont plus vives qu'on ne pense, et que tout ce qu'un auteur pourrait faire pour les imiter, n'approchera jamais du feu et de la naïveté fine et subite qu'ils y mettent.

[1] *Œuvres*, LI, p. 269. Voltaire is said to have invented the term *marivaudage*, but I cannot find any evidence of this.
[2] *Œuvres*, LII, p. 181.

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To appreciate the force of this last remark we must remember that Marivaux was one of the most assiduous frequenters of two famous *bureaux d'esprit*, the salons of Mme de Lambert and Mme de Tencin. In the former he had come under the influence of Fontenelle and Houdar de La Motte, the two leaders of the kingdom of *esprit*. In 1720, when he began his career as a writer of plays, Mme de Tencin was receiving a few intimate friends in her apartment in the Rue Saint-Honoré. Among these were Fontenelle and La Motte, and it was probably through them that Marivaux was added to her circle. In the summer of 1727, when the scandal caused by the suicide in her house of her former lover and partner in stock-jobbing speculations, La Fresnais, had more or less died down, she abandoned her life as a *dame galante* for the rôle of a *femme d'esprit*, but it was not till the death of Mme de Lambert in 1733 that her *bureau d'esprit* was definitely organised, and the Tuesday dinner was held in the Rue Saint-Honoré.

It is agreed that the dinner-party at Mme de Dorsin's in the *Vie de Marianne* (published in 1734) is meant to be a description of one of these Tuesdays and that Mme de Dorsin is a portrait (highly idealised) of Mme de Tencin. This is how Marianne describes the conversation of the guests:

> Ce ne fut point à force de leur trouver de l'esprit que j'appris à les distinguer: pourtant il est certain qu'ils en avaient plus que d'autres et que je leur entendais dire d'excellentes choses; mais ils les disaient avec si peu d'effort, ils y cherchaient si peu de façon, c'était d'un ton de conversation si aisé et si uni, qu'il ne tenait qu'à moi de croire qu'ils disaient les choses les plus communes[1].

Marmontel's first experience of a Tuesday dinner at Mme de Tencin's was fifteen years later, but he was more struck by the artificiality than by the natural tone of the conversation.

> Je m'aperçus bientôt qu'on y arrivait préparé à jouer son rôle, et que l'envie d'entrer en scène n'y laissait pas toujours à la conversation la liberté de suivre son cours facile et naturel. C'était à qui saisirait le plus vite, et comme à la volée, le moment de placer son mot, son conte, son anecdote, sa maxime ou son trait léger et piquant; et pour amener l'à propos, on le tirait quelquefois d'un peu loin.
>
> Dans Marivaux, l'impatience de faire preuve de finesse et de sagacité perçait visiblement. Montesquieu, avec plus de calme, attendait que la balle vint à lui; mais il attendait.... Fontenelle seul la laissait venir sans la chercher[2].

Duclos goes even further than Marmontel, for in his description of Mme de Tencin's salon in the *Confessions du Comte de* *** (1741) the conversation at dinner is described as 'un torrent de pointes, de saillies bizarres,

[1] *Vie de Marianne*, ed. Janin, 4*me partie*, p. 185, quoted by Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, IX, p. 364.

[2] *Mémoires*, ed. Barrière, pp. 143 f. Marmontel was introduced to Mme de Tencin by the financier La Popelinière, the husband of Mimi Dancourt, in order to read his tragedy of *Aristomène*, which had just been produced (1749).

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et de rires excessifs,' and the whole salon is said to be dominated by 'la nécessité d'avoir toujours l'esprit[1].'

Marivaux makes a general defence against the charge of using *précieux* language in *Le Cabinet de Philosophe* (1734). He says that a young author who has *esprit* is afraid of expressing thoughts that are at all subtle or profound, lest his style should be called precious and his words *recherchés*.

Ils ne sont pourtant pas; ce sont seulement les mots, qu'on ne voit pas ordinairement aller ensemble, parce que la pensée qu'il exprime n'est pas commune; et que les dix ou douze idées qu'il a été obligé d'unir pour former sa pensée, ne sont pas non plus ordinairement ensemble.

His style, he goes on:

n'est qu'une figure exacte de ses pensées, et peut-être encore, n'est accusé d'être mauvais, d'être précieux, d'être guindé, recherché, que parce que les pensées qu'il exprime sont extrêmement fines.

And after some remarks, which do not carry his argument much further, he cites as an example the well-known maxim of La Rochefoucauld, 'L'esprit est souvent la dupe du cœur.' If an author of our day, he continues, had said this, he would probably be accused of expressing himself in a precious style. But no, the word *dupe* is the only one which adequately expresses La Rochefoucauld's meaning. 'If then an author's idea is just, what fault is there to find with the symbol which he uses to express that idea?[2]'

The question then at issue between Marivaux and his critics is this. Is his style the natural expression, as he contends, of subtle and original ideas, or is it the unnatural and affected expression of simple commonplace ideas? We can best answer this question by examining some examples of his style. We may begin with *Les Serments indiscrets*, which, as we have seen, was a special target for criticism, and with the scene from which La Harpe quotes. It is the second of the First Act, between Lucile, the heroine, who has vowed that she will not marry Damis, the suitor approved by her father, because his character is completely unknown to her, and her *suivante*, Lisette.

LISETTE. Examinez-vous: vous ne savez pas les difficultés de l'état austère que vous embrassez; il faut avoir le cœur bien frugal pour le soutenir; c'est une espèce de solitaire qu'une fille, et votre physionomie n'annonce point de vocation pour cette vie-là.

LUCILE. Oh! ma physionomie ne sait ce qu'elle dit; je sens un fonds de délicatesse et de goût qui serait toujours choqué dans le mariage, et je n'y serais pas heureuse.

LISETTE. Bagatelle! Il ne faut que deux ou trois mois de commerce avec un mari pour expédier votre délicatesse.

[1] Masson thinks that Marivaux's account is the most faithful of the three. He says that Marmontel was a poor observer and that Duclos was evidently prompted by malice (P. M. Masson, *Mme de Tencin*, 1909, 3rd ed., 1910).

[1] *Le Cabinet du Philosophe*, 6me *feuille* (from Vial et Denise, *Idées et Doctrines littéraires du XVIIIe siècle*, pp. 125–9).

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LUCILE. ...Une âme tendre et douce a ses sentiments; elle en demande; elle a besoin d'être aimée parce qu'elle aime, et une âme de cette espèce-là entre les mains d'un mari n'a jamais son nécessaire.
LISETTE. Oh! dame, ce nécessaire-là est d'une grande dépense, et le cœur d'un mari s'épuise.

It cannot be said that there is much to object to here. It is true that 'le cœur frugal' is cited by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter as an instance of the use of *frugal* in a figurative sense, which suggests that it was a neologism in Marivaux's day, and 'un fonds de délicatesse' reminds one of the *précieuses*. But there is nothing *précieux* in Lucile's language. 'Une âme...n'a jamais son nécessaire' is perhaps a little stilted, but it is classical French. 'Je les connais un peu, ces messieurs-là,' replies Lucile, but except for the phrase, 'Mais les épousez-vous, la déesse s'humanise-t-elle' in her next speech, there is nothing to notice so far in her language. To the speech after this the critics took especial exception.

...Toute jeune, et tout aimable que je suis, je n'en aurais pas pour six mois aux yeux d'un mari et mon visage serait mis au rebut. De dix-huit ans qu'il a, il sauterait tout d'un coup à cinquante? Non pas, s'il vous plaît; ce serait un meurtre; il ne vieillira qu'avec le temps, et n'enlaidira qu'à force de durer; je veux qu'il n'appartienne qu'à moi, que personne n'ait à voir ce que j'en ferai, qu'il ne relève que de moi seule. Si j'étais mariée, ce ne serait plus mon visage; il serait à mon mari, qui le laisserait là, à qu'il ne plairait pas, et qui lui défendrait de plaire à d'autres; j'aimerais autant n'en point avoir.

This use of 'visage' to denote the whole person is certainly strained and attention is called to it by Marivaux's habit of over-elaboration.

But the character in the play who is most open to the accusation of *marivaudage* is Frontin, the valet. His first words on meeting M. Orgon, the father of Lucile, are characteristic:

M. ORGON. Approche, approche; pourquoi t'enfuis-tu?
FRONTIN. Monsieur, c'est que nous ne sommes pas extrêmement camarades.

'Voilà une aventure qui a l'air de souffler notre patrimoine' is his remark at the end of the Third Act, and his dialogue with Phénice (IV, iii) abounds with strange expressions: 'Madame, oserais-je auparavant me flatter d'un petit moment d'audience'—'Dans mon petit état de subalterne'—'C'est qu'ils ont d'abord débuté ensemble par un vertigo'—'Leur cœur et leur convention ne riment pas ensemble.' These remarks are not perhaps exactly precious, but at least they show a superabundance of *esprit*, of which *préciosité* is often the result. Frontin is quite aware that he has *esprit*. He says of his master:

Malheureusement c'est un garçon qui a de l'esprit; cela fait qu'il subtilise, que son cerveau travaille; et dans de certains embarras, sais-tu bien qu'il n'appartient qu'aux gens d'esprit de n'avoir pas le sens commun? *Je l'ai tant éprouvé moi-même*[1].

[1] Act v, Sc. i.

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Although Marivaux rightly denied that *Les Serments indiscrets* was more or less a repetition of the first *Surprise de l'Amour*, there is this resemblance between them that in the earlier as well as in the later play there is a certain amount of *marivaudage* in the language. Both Colombine and Arlequin are given to displaying their *esprit*. 'Le plus court est de s'entretenir de loin,' says Colombine to her mistress; 'vraiment on s'entend bien mieux. Lui parlerez-vous avec une sarbacane ou par procureur?' To which the Countess replies, 'Mademoiselle Colombine, vos fades railleries ne me plaisent pas du tout' (II, i). In Sc. iv of the same Act Columbine's advice to Lélio is adorned with out-of-the-way similes—'J'ai bien peur que ce ne soit une drogue de charlatan; car on dit que l'Amour en est un, et franchement vous m'avez tout l'air d'avoir pris un mithridate'—which seem strange in the mouth of a *suivante*[1]. On the other hand there is nothing precious or affected in the language of Arlequin, which is racy and full of savour, especially in the scene between him and Lélio (II, v). The scene, too, between him and Colombine which opens the Third Act is excellent.

In the second *Surprise de l'Amour*, Lubin, the valet, is a simple creature, without a trace of *esprit*, and, if he sometimes uses out-of-the-way expressions, they are familiar and not precious. In *Le Legs*, one of the one-act comedies which remain in the *répertoire* of the Théâtre-Français, the only candidate for *marivaudage* is the valet Lépine. But his language is not really affected; it is simply in accordance with his character as a 'Gascon froid.' In another one-act comedy which remains in the *répertoire*, *L'Épreuve*, the valet Frontin, who, by his master's orders, appears in disguise as a suitor for the hand of Angélique, makes his bow to her with 'Mademoiselle, l'étonnante immobilité où je vous vois intimide extrêmement mon inclination naissante.' This is decidedly precious, but, together with one or two other similar expressions, it is in keeping with his situation.

In *Les fausses Confidences*, which in general estimation stands next to *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard*, Arlequin, though he has both the first and the last word in the play, is a simple person and of much less importance than the generality of Marivaux's valets; only one of his remarks calls for notice: 'Tenez, mademoiselle; vous me rendez un service qui me fait grand bien. Quand il y aura à trotter pour votre serviable personne, n'ayez point d'autre postillon que moi.' The metaphor

[1] 'Un sujet de querelle furieusement tiré par les cheveux' sounds precious, but it is really a common metaphor combined with a familiar adverb. Cf. Molière, *L'Avare*, Act I, Sc. iv, where Harpagon says to his son, 'Vous donnez furieusement dans le marquis.'

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is original, but not precious. On the other hand, Marton, the *suivante* to whom this remark is addressed, plays a not unimportant part in the action of the comedy. The daughter of a *procureur*, she is superior to the ordinary soubrette. She is natural in speech and, though she is decidedly intelligent, she makes no pretension to *esprit*.

In *L'heureux Stratagème*, a complicated and rather tiresome play, Frontin, who is a great talker, is perhaps the most precious of all Marivaux's valets. In a scene with Dorante and the Marquise (Act I, Sc. xii) he is both at his best and his worst. His long speech, beginning, 'Or ce portrait, Madame,' which elicits from Dorante the remark, 'Quel récit, Marquise!' is full of life and spirit and quite innocent of jargon; but all his last four remarks in this scene are distinctly precious: 'Les fragments (of his interrupted recital) qui me restent sont d'un goût choisi'—'Les gages de ma commission courent-ils toujours, madame?'—'Et monsieur voudrait-il m'établir son pensionnaire?'—'Ce *non*-là, si je m'y connais, me casse sans réplique, et je n'ai qu'une révérence à faire.' In *L'École des Mères* there are, at most, three instances of *marivaudage*, of which two are provided by the valet Frontin.

In the plays, then, that we have examined the only characters, with one exception, who appear to be guilty of *marivaudage* in the matter of language, are valets and soubrettes. The one exception is Lucile of *Les Serments indiscrets*, and she is clearly intended to be something of a *précieuse*. An examination of the other plays would only lead to a similar result. We may, therefore, with confidence accept the following verdict of Sarcey, only adding soubrettes to valets:

> Oserai-je dire même que dans son théâtre ce défaut est moins sensible que dans les romans? Je ne vois guère (sauf exception bien entendu) que les valets qui marivaudent, et surtout les valets de campagne[1].

The truth of this observation is strengthened by what we find in Marivaux's masterpiece, *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard*. Not only is Arlequin's language in one of his scenes with Lisette (Act III, Sc. vi) a first-rate example of that mixture of the precious and the familiar with which D'Alembert finds fault, but, when Dorante is disguised as Arlequin, he sometimes imitates him. 'Puisque nous sommes dans le style amical' are his first words to Silvia when they are alone together (Act I, Sc. vii), and in the scene with Mario (Act III, Sc. ii) his remark 'Supposé que Lisette eût du goût pour moi' is taken up by Mario, who knows who he really is, with, 'Du goût pour lui! où prenez-vous vos termes? Vous avez le langage bien précieux pour un garçon de votre espèce.'

[1] *Quarante ans de théâtre: Molière et la comédie classique.*

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Sarcey continues as follows:

Mais peut-être y a-t-il là un trait d'observation plus exact qu'on ne croit. Ce ne sont pas les illettrés qui parlent la langue la plus simple. Au contraire, les gens les moins instruits, surtout s'ils se mettent en tête de faire de l'esprit, trouvent naturellement les tours de langage les moins naturelles, les plus contournées, les plus tirées.

In the same year, 1881, that this was written Jean Fleury declared in his *Marivaux et le Marivaudage* that in Marivaux's earlier comedies '*marivaudage* is the special language of his peasants and valets.' And he went on to point out that he was not the first dramatist to make his common people speak in this way. There are frequent examples in Dancourt and still more in Dufresny. The instance that he gives from the latter's *L'Esprit de Contradiction* is not a good one, for Lucas, the gardener, who is the speaker, is a practical philosopher with a gift for picturesque comparisons. On the other hand the passages cited from *La Malade sans Maladie* are undoubtedly pure *marivaudage*.

But, says Fleury, again agreeing with Sarcey, Dufresny and Marivaux show in this the justness of their observation, for in real life peasants use a language that is both 'low and precious.' He then gives examples that he has himself heard in Normandy[1]. This may be a true explanation of some of the strange metaphors which the valets and soubrettes affect, but it does not account for all, nor for the really clever turns which they sometimes give to a sentence. The truth is that Marivaux's servants are of two sorts, the simple ones, like Arlequin in *Les fausses Confidences*, for whom Fleury's explanation may be true, and the great majority, who have as much *esprit* as their masters and mistresses and who pride themselves on it. 'Nous sommes gens d'esprit,' says Lisette in *Les Sincères* of herself and Frontin. Nor must it be forgotten that these 'gens d'esprit' can express themselves in language which has no savour of jargon or *préciosité*. In *La Méprise* (1734) and *La Joie imprévue* (1730), two little comedies which, slight though they are, are of considerable merit, the dialogue between the valet and the soubrette is remarkable for its brilliance and *esprit*, but it is free from *marivaudage*.

No doubt there was a distinct spread of education among the lower classes in France during the eighteenth century. As early as 1696 the Abbé Du Bos writes to Bayle that 'pas un petit bourgeois n'eût reçu un laquais, même une cuisinière, qui ne sût lire et écrire.' But though this may partly account for the astonishing *esprit* of the Frontins and Lisettes, there remains the fact that the brilliant and resourceful valet is a tradition which French comedy inherited through the Italians from the Latins, who in turn had borrowed it from the Greeks. Molière embodied

[1] Pages 275–8.

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it in Mascarille, but later abandoned it for a type truer to nature. He, however, revived it at least once in the brilliant figure of Scapin. The same type appears in *Crispin médecin* (1670) by Hauteroche, in *Crispin gentilhomme* (1677) by Montfleury, in Lesage's *Crispin Valet rival de son maître*, and in the Crispin of *Le Légataire universel*. The Frontins of Dancourt and Lesage are as distinguished for *esprit* as their predecessors, but, as Lemaître has noted, 'they are more observant and more argumentative and their rascality is employed in less fantastic intrigues.' Marivaux's valets differ from this last type in not being rascals, and in being really attached to their masters. The same may be said for his soubrettes. There is no Lisette as we find her in *Turcaret* in the whole range of his comedies.

Thus much for *marivaudage* in the sense of affected language or jargon. But Marivaux's critics understood by the term something more fundamental than this. They blamed him for the minute and conscientious inquiries which his heroines make into the conditions of their hearts. In the comedies these take the form of long debates between the ladies and either their lovers or their *suivantes*, the argument being conducted on both sides with remarkable subtlety and *esprit*. The heroine is not satisfied till she can say with Silvia, 'Ah! je vois clair dans mon cœur,' and often she does not arrive at this result till after a long and delicate weighing of the pros and cons. 'Je lui (Marivaux) reprocherais,' says Voltaire in the letter quoted above, 'de manquer quelquefois le chemin du cœur en prenant des routes un peu trop détournées.' But Voltaire's reproach is not quite just. The road may be long and devious, but the goal is always reached. The eighteenth century, with its cynical views of the relations of the sexes, naturally did not sympathise with Marivaux's serious and high-minded treatment of love, but it is of the essence of a large number of his comedies, and he himself had a preference for those—*Les Sincères*, *Les Serments indiscrets*, *La double Inconstance*, and the two *Surprises de l'Amour*—in which the road traversed by the heart is the longest and the least direct.

Of all his heroines the greatest *raisonneuse* is Lucile, who, as we have seen, is something of a *précieuse*. I have already referred to a good example of her quality in what is practically the opening scene of the play (Act I, Sc. ii). In the sixth scene of the same Act we have a sharp debate between her and Damis, with a few brief interruptions by Lisette. It ends with a long speech by Damis, which cannot be called a tirade, for it is not even eloquent, but which is rather, to borrow a term from Lisette, pure *galimatias*. The second paragraph, which forms nearly

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two-thirds of his speech, has no less than 172 words. Act II, Sc. v consists of another long argument between Lucile and Lisette. In Act III, Sc. viii, the debaters are Lucile and Damis, and here again the speeches are too long and the argument is almost too subtle. But, all the same, it marks a progress in the drama.

Damis, in spite of his 'Je ne veux pas dire que je vous aime,' is now clearly in love with Lucile, and Lucile shows by the increased acrimony and vehemence of her language that in her heart she reciprocates his love. The scene (Act v, Sc. ii) in which she at last admits this to Lisette is admirable; it shows how penetrating and how accurate was Marivaux's knowledge of the female heart.

From *Les Serments indiscrets* it is natural to pass again to the first *Surprise de l'Amour*, the resemblance to which was noted by the critics of the later play. The second scene of Act I, in which Lélio and his valet Arlequin compare the causes of their melancholy, is excellent in intention and opens on a note of true comedy, but it is too much spun-out and the speeches become too long. Much the same comment may be made on the scene between the Countess and Lélio, with Colombine intervening as a mordant commentator. Another scene which may be criticised as too long is that between Lélio and Arlequin (Act II, Sc. vii): 'Vous faites des discours qui ont dix lieues de long,' says Arlequin—but it is kept alive by Arlequin's racy language. The Third Act moves much more quickly than the two preceding ones, and the final scene, in which Lélio and the Countess at last come to an understanding, is excellent. Their repartees are full of charm and *esprit* and there is not a trace of *préciosité* either in the language or in the thought.

The Marquise and the Chevalier in the second *Surprise de l'Amour*, like the Countess and Lélio in the first, will have nothing to say to love. The Marquise is inconsolable for the loss of her husband, and the Chevalier is inconsolable because his lady-love has gone into a nunnery. But they agree to be friends. 'Vous avez renoncé à l'amour,' says the Marquise, 'et moi aussi; et votre amitié me tiendra lieu de tout, si vous êtes sensible à la mienne.' The Chevalier is certainly sensitive of her friendship. 'Quelle solidité d'esprit! quelle bonté de cœur?...oui je la préfère à tous les amis du monde.' With so promising a beginning it is needless to say that the friendship ripens into love. A rival suitor, a touch of coquetry on the lady's part and of jealousy on the gentleman's, and the transformation is complete. 'Mon amour pour vous durera autant que ma vie,' says the Chevalier, kissing the hand of the Marquise. 'Je ne vous le pardonne, qu'à cette condition-là' is her answer. The whole

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development from friendship to love is worked out with great delicacy, but without long-windedness or over-subtlety or anything that can be called *marivaudage*. The *Première Surprise* betrays the prentice hand. The *Seconde Surprise*, produced five years later, is the work of a master.

So too, in that romantic and charming comedy, *La double Inconstance*, there is not a trace of *marivaudage*, and if the road to supreme felicity, to that felicity 'qui durera autant que la vie,' is long and winding, it is because Silvia and Arlequin have to discover that they are not really in love with each other before Silvia can pair with the Prince and Arlequin with Flaminia. In *Les Sincères*, one of Marivaux's latest comedies (1739), though it differs entirely from *La double Inconstance*, alike in setting, in characters, and in treatment, there is the same idea of two persons, who believe that they are in love with one another and afterwards find out their mistake. But the later play is much more complicated, for there are not only two couples in this situation but the *suivante* and the valet are also lovers. Though the idea of a love-affair being terminated by a too naïve sincerity is a good one, the working out of the situation is too subtle. The Marquise is an inferior Célimène, and her satirical portraits of *les sottes gens* whom she has just encountered in society (Sc. iv) are too elaborate. For dramatic effect they are inferior to the brilliant improvisation of the portraits in *Le Misanthrope*. Ergaste too is a pale figure by the side of Alceste. Yet the scene (Sc. xii) between him and the Marquise in which she detects his want of real love for her is in its way admirable[1].

La fausse Suivante, which, in spite of its author's predilection for it, is one of his least successful comedies, contains an example of *marivaudage* of the worst type—almost the only example which corresponds to Sainte-Beuve's definition of 'badinage à froid, espièglerie compassée et prolongée.' It occurs in a long scene of over twelve pages (Act II, Sc. viii) between the Countess and the Chevalier, who is a woman in disguise. It may be said in extenuation that the Chevalier can only maintain her balance in her delicate position of pretending to be in love with the Countess by a continual exercise of ingenuity, but the scene is much too long.

On the other hand, *La Mère confidente*, which may almost be described as a *comédie sérieuse*, and which shows much just and delicate observation, is entirely free from *marivaudage*. And so, except for a few precious expressions, which have been noted above, are the two masterpieces,

[1] Lintilhac, *Hist. gén. de la Comédie en France*, 1909, pp. 310 ff., quotes nearly the whole of Scenes iv, xii and xiv, the two latter as one scene.

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Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard and *Les fausses Confidences*, and the three one-act comedies, *Le Legs*, *L'Épreuve*, and *L'École des Mères*, not to mention some others. The reason, I believe, is that in these plays Marivaux's imagination has inspired him to create characters who really live, and who express their feelings naturally and simply, without ambiguity or *finesse*. Such are Silvia of *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard* and Silvia of *La double Inconstance*, Angélique of *L'Épreuve* and Angélique of *La Mère confidente* and Flaminia of *Le Prince travesti*. Equally natural, but being widows, less naïve and more reserved in the avowal of their sentiments, are Araminte of *Les fausses Confidences*, the Countess of *Le Legs*, and La Marquise of *La Seconde Surprise de l'Amour*. They are all, except perhaps the Marquise, exceptions to the Countess's reflection that you will find coquetry in nearly every woman. 'Hors de chez vous,' replies the Marquis, 'vous plaisez sans y penser; ce n'est pas votre faute. Vous ne savez pas seulement que vous êtes aimable; mais d'autres le savent pour vous[1].' Though Marivaux excelled in the portrayal of coquettes, witness his Marianne, in his comedies his most successful characters, those which most deeply impress themselves upon our imagination, are women 'who please without thinking about it.' On the other hand, his women who study to please, who are constantly thinking on the effect of their charms, though they are to be found in the comedies which he himself preferred, are little better than charming puppets, who reason and *marivaudent* with ingenuity and *esprit*, but who have no real personality. The Countess of the first *Surprise de l'Amour* and the Marquise of *Les Sincères* are just women of society, with hardly more individuality in their characters than in their names.

It is the same with the men. The three Dorantes of *Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard*, of *Les fausses Confidences*, and of *L'Épreuve*, the Marquis of *Le Legs*, Lélio in *Le Prince travesti*, the Prince and Arlequin in *La double Inconstance* are real men and true lovers, and accordingly they talk with the frankness and simplicity which is the language of the heart.

It will be seen then, that, so far as the comedies are concerned, *marivaudage* is, in the words of Brunetière, 'sometimes a form of expression, but often—perhaps more often—a form of sentiment[2].' Or to quote Faguet, 'it is much more in the spirit than in the words, and in the thought than in the expression; it consists much more in analysing to excess a just thought than in decking out to excess an empty one[3].'

[1] *Le Legs*, Sc. x.
[2] *Études critiques*, III, p. 175.
[3] *Histoire de la littérature française*, II, p. 205.

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We have seen too that *marivaudage* as 'a form of expression,' that is to say as affected language or jargon, is almost entirely confined to the valets and the soubrettes, especially to the former. Other characters may use it exceptionally, but the only two that I can think of who do so are Lucile of *Les Serments indiscrets* and the woman disguised as the Chevalier of *La fausse Suivante*, and in each of these cases there is a special reason for it. *Marivaudage* as 'a form of sentiment' is, as Brunetière and Faguet say, more common. It is shown in the elaborate analysis which Marivaux's lovers make of their feelings, either by arguments with one another or by consultation with their valets or their *suivantes*. The result is dramatic psychology, sometimes over-subtle, sometimes even tedious, but always dramatic.

Sarcey, as we have seen, thought that there was less *marivaudage* in Marivaux's plays than in his novels. On the other hand, Larroumet, whose book on Marivaux is the standard work on the subject, takes the opposite view[1], and Faguet goes even so far as to say that there is little or no *marivaudage* in the novels[2]. They are no doubt right if you understand by *marivaudage* jargon or affectation in expression, but what Marivaux's contemporaries complained of in the novels, especially in *La Vie de Marianne*, was the constant interruption of the narrative by reflections. Larroumet quotes a passage from Prévost's *Le Pour et le Contre* which bears this out:

> La seconde partie de la *Vie de Marianne* n'a pas été reçue du public comme la première. Les réflexions ont paru la plupart trop recherchées, trop longues, trop fréquentes.... Qu'est-ce qu'une personne qui s'interrompt à chaque instant elle-même, sur la plus petite circonstance, pour moraliser sans nécessité[3]?

Marianne's reflections are not of the same order as those of the heroines of the comedies. She has no doubts as to her feelings for Valville, for she falls in love with him almost at first sight. But at every step she submits her conduct and her conscience to an elaborate examination, the minutest details of which, by an extraordinary feat of memory, she recounts to her friend thirty years later. Thus her narration is prolonged interminably—Marivaux, it will be remembered, never finished it—being continually interrupted by reflections not only on her own conduct and sentiments but also on human nature, especially female nature in general. 'Je m'écarte toujours,' she says near the end of the first part, and near the beginning of the second part she launches into long reflections on coquetry which are illustrated by an admirable picture of herself as a

[1] *Marivaux, sa vie et ses œuvres*, nouv. éd., 1894, p. 495.
[2] *Théâtre de Marivaux*, ed. Nelson, I, p. x.
[3] Larroumet, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

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coquette. After this, she again apologises. 'Mais m'écarterai-je toujours? Je crois qu'oui; je ne saurai m'empêcher.' Later on she recognises that she is incorrigible. 'Je retourne toujours aux réflexions, et je vous avertis que je ne me reprocherai plus.'

This habit of constantly interrupting the narrative with reflections as well as other defects is cleverly and amusingly parodied by Crébillon *fils* in his *conte* of *Tanzaï et Néardarné*[1]. He represents the two lovers in the course of their wanderings as meeting with a mole, who to their surprise addresses them in their own language. It appears that she is really the fairy Moustache, who had been changed by a wicked genie into her present shape, and she recounts her story in three chapters (IV–VI), 'which perhaps will not be understood by everybody.' Like Marianne she is much given to reflection:

Qu'une femme, de celles qu'on nomme parmi vous vertueuses, vous fasse attendre un mois. Ce terme est long. Eh bien! à la fin de votre martyre, que vous donne-t-elle que ce qu'une autre, moins engouée de décence, vous donne d'abord? Car, voyez-vous, cela revient au même, le tendre est effectif dans le fond. Au milieu des rebuts étudiés d'une femme, on a toujours sa défaite en perspective; qu'elle se précipite, ou qu'elle attende, elle arrive enfin; on a beau tirer le désir par la manche, on a peine l'éveiller; et s'il arrive qu'il s'éveille, le plaisir à qui il fait signe de trop loin, ou ne vient pas à temps ou ne se soucie plus de venir. La Vertu n'est qu'une balivernière, qui cherche toujours à vous faire perdre du temps, et quand elle croit avoir mis l'amour....

Here she is interrupted by Tanzaï:

'Que je meure si j'en ai entendu une syllabe. Quelle langue parlez-vous là?' 'Celle de l'Isle Babiole,' reprit la Taupe. 'Si vous pouviez me parler la mienne, vous me feriez plaisir,' repliqua-t-il; 'et comment faites-vous pour vous entendre?' 'Je me devine,' reprit la Taupe: 'mais laissez-moi continuer, je ne sais plus où j'en suis.' 'Où la Vertu baliverne,' dit Néardarné. 'Eh non!' dit Moustache, 'ce n'était qu'une réflexion.' 'Je ne sais donc plus,' dit Néardarné, 'ce que c'était que l'histoire.'

So the Mole goes leisurely on with her narrative, which is soon interrupted by another long and involved reflection on the superiority of *esprit* to reason. At last after three hours Prince Tanzaï can bear it no longer. He declares that he finds the reflections tedious and out of place, that he knows nothing so ridiculous as 'esprit mal à propos.'

Je ne parle plus à Moustache de son jargon, je vois qu'il est né avec elle; mais à propos de quoi ce monceau d'idées, toujours les mêmes, quoique différemment exprimées? Pourquoi ces choses dites cent fois, et revêtues pour reparaître encore, d'un goût qui les rend bizarres, sans les rendre neuves? Que me sert à moi qui ai envie d'être promptement au fait de votre histoire, de savoir toutes les réflexions que vous avez faites après coup sur vos aventures! Eh, une bonne fois pour toutes, Taupe, mes amours, des faits et point de verbiage.

Néardarné, however, takes Moustache's part, and finds a peculiar charm in her manner of narration:

D'ailleurs, cette façon admirable de s'exprimer que vous traitez de jargon, éblouit, elle donne à rêver: heureux qui dans sa conversation peut avoir ce goût galant....

[1] Crébillon, *Œuvres*, 7 vols., London (Paris), 1772, pp. 148–89.

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Pourquoi serait-il défendu de faire faire connaissance à des mots qui ne se sont jamais vus, ou qu'ils croient qu'ils ne se conviendraient pas? La surprise où ils sont de se trouver l'un auprès de l'autre, n'est-elle pas une chose qui comble?...Allons, continuez et surtout comptez exactement de ce que vous avez fait, et non seulement de ce que vous avez pensé, mais encore de ce que vous auriez voulu penser!

Néardarné's last remark is a palpable hit, but Marivaux would probably not have resented it. For when he makes Marianne say that she is incorrigible, he is speaking for himself. Reflections are the soul of his narrative. Thus he begins *Le Paysan parvenu* (the first part of which was published in 1735, soon after the appearance of Crébillon's *conte*) with a reflection, and he goes on to say:

Je vis dans une campagne où je suis retiré, et où mon loisir m'inspire un esprit de réflexion que je vais exercer sur les évènements da ma vie. Je les écrirai du mieux que je pourrai: chacun a sa façon de s'exprimer qui vient de sa façon de sentir[1].

The last remark puts Marivaux's view in a nut-shell, the view which he had expounded at great length the year previously in *Le Cabinet du Philosophe*[2], the view that his style was subtle because his thoughts were subtle, and original because his thoughts were original. But unfriendly critics would have replied that his thoughts were not really subtle or original, but merely 'precious,' and this is in fact what Sainte-Beuve says of a reflection in the third number of *Le Spectateur français*, which is supposed to be made by an observer of a crowd emerging from the Comédie-Française after a performance of La Motte's tragedy of *Romulus*. 'Voilà le précieux, voilà le Mascarille, le Trissotin et le retour au jargon de la fin de l'hôtel Rambouillet,' says Sainte-Beuve (whose own style in his earlier days was by no means free from affectation), after quoting the passage and italicising certain expressions:

qui vient *chercher noise* à la bonne opinion que vous avez du vôtre (visage), qui *vous présente hardiment le combat*...qui voudrait enfin *accuser d'abus* le plaisir qu'on a de croire sa physionomie sans reproche et sans pair.

The marked expressions have certainly a 'precious' ring, but the leading idea of the passage, that of plain faces challenging those that have greater beauty, strikes one as original, but not exactly as 'precious.'

No doubt Marivaux in his endeavour to express subtle and original thoughts is sometimes carried beyond the limits of good taste and moderation. This is well brought out by Sainte-Beuve:

En usant à bon droit de sa manière de sentir pour s'exprimer avec une singularité souvent piquante, il dépasse, sans s'en douter, la mesure, tombe sensiblement dans le raffiné et devient maniéré, minaudier, façonnier[3].

[1] Cf. 'Je suis né de manière que tout me devient matière de réflexion' (*Le Spectateur français*, 1).

[2] See above, p. 63.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 355.

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Another defect into which he is betrayed by the same cause and one which Crébillon, agreeing with Collé, criticises is the repetition of the same ideas, differently expressed. Here again Sainte-Beuve is worth quoting:

> Le grand et perpétuel défaut de Marivaux est de s'appesantir à satiété sur la même pensée, qui a presque toujours commencé par être juste et fine, et qu'il trouve moyen de fausser en la raffinant.

Sometimes, indeed, he ends by being barely intelligible, as in a passage at the close of the seventh number of *Le Spectateur français*, which Faguet rightly stigmatises as *galimatias*, adding truly that the beginning of the eighth number is even more terrible[1].

But to return to the novels: in these, especially in *Le Paysan parvenu*, it would be difficult to find an expression that can fairly be called jargon. At the most two words are brought together in an unusual alliance, but, as Néardarné says, 'Why should words which have never seen one another be forbidden to make acquaintance?' She of course says this ironically, but the proceeding is quite justifiable. Many great writers in all languages, writers too who have remained faithful to the central tradition of their language, have had recourse to it.

It will be remembered that similar accusations were brought against Marivaux's two great predecessors in the drama, Molière and Racine. La Bruyère accused Molière of jargon, Fénelon said that his use of a multitude of metaphors came near to *galimatias*, and Bayle complained that he allowed himself too great liberty in inventing new terms and new expressions. But against no writer of the classical age was the charge of novelty brought so persistently as against Racine. The Abbé d'Olivet, the historian of the Académie Française, though he was far from wishing to decry his glory and indeed regarded him as being with Boileau 'at the head of our classical authors,' published in 1738 *Remarques sur Racine*, in which he criticised minutely his grammar and his syntax. The book gave rise to a considerable polemic, and one Soubeiran de Scopon in his *Observations critiques*, published in the same year, detected a dozen faults of expression in seventy-five of Racine's best lines. Louis Racine naturally defended his father and said with truth and justice that 'when *Andromache* appeared, it was like a new language; not that there were new words in it, for the author never risked a single new word, but it was full of new turns of expression, which at first astonished, then pleased, and afterwards became familiar.' And he quotes a pertinent and penetrative observation from La Motte: 'Racine

[1] *Études littéraires, 18me siècle*, pp. 88–9. Later Faguet had a far more favourable opinion of Marivaux.

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made for himself a language which belonged only to him. He departs so far from the ordinary language that he does not appear any the less natural.... How many alliances of words unknown before him, the boldness of which has passed almost unperceived!' La Harpe says much the same thing: 'His expression is always so happy and so natural that no other seems possible.... No one has enriched our language with a greater number of turns of expression.'

The above remarks on Racine have been borrowed from M. Gonzague Truc's *Le Cas Racine* (1921) and *Jean Racine* (1926), both noteworthy contributions to the interpretation of their subject, and in the former of these the author declares that 'the real novelty of Racine's style is bound up with the very principle and the results of his drama, and it is his psychology that gives it him.' The identical words may be applied to Marivaux, who, as has been truly said, is with Alfred de Musset the most Racinian of French dramatists. Marivaux's novelty, at which his contemporaries took umbrage, is similarly bound up with his psychology, and his psychology is the soul both of his drama and his novels[1].

But Marivaux, it must be admitted, lacked Racine's perfection of tact and taste. Moreover, having been from the outset of his literary career an ardent partisan of the moderns, he was not likely to shrink from novelties of expression. He was a modern in style as in other literary matters. Nor did he lack authority from the opposite camp. There was no stauncher supporter of the ancients than La Bruyère, but in his style he is always aiming at new effects. Sound though it is at bottom, it sparkles with novelties alike in vocabulary and construction. 'Il tient à dire les choses comme personne ne les dit, singulièrement, d'une façon qui pique, étonne, fasse sourire,' says M. Lanson[2], and this is equally true of Marivaux, only, while La Bruyère's object is to give a concrete shape to his observations on human nature and society, Marivaux's thought, and consequently his expression, is pre-eminently that of a psychologist.

The conclusion of the matter then would seem to be this. In Marivaux's comedies *marivaudage*, in the sense of 'precious' language or jargon, is confined almost entirely to his valets and soubrettes. The only exceptions are Lucile in *Les Serments indiscrets*, who is represented as something of a *précieuse*, and perhaps the supposed Chevalier in *L'heureux Stratagème* when she is pretending to make love to the Comtesse. *Marivaudage*, in the sense of a prolonged and probing examina-

[1] Stendhal was an assiduous student of Marivaux.
[2] *L'Art de la Prose*, p. 123.

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tion of the hero and heroine's feelings towards each other, is conspicuous in a few of the plays—about half-a-dozen—but in the great majority it is either entirely absent or it appears in a very modified form. In the novels there is practically no jargon and little analysis—none at all in *Le Paysan parvenu*—by lovers of the condition of their hearts. But the narrative is continually being interrupted, more especially in *La Vie de Marianne*, by the narrator's reflections, that is to say by the account of what she reflected—or even what she might have reflected—at the time of the incidents which she narrates. Marivaux too is liable, as the result of his natural fluency and of not knowing when to stop, to prolong his reflections unduly and even to repeat the same thoughts, though differently expressed. In *Le Spectateur français* and his other periodicals, which are for the most part admirably written, there are a few passages which have been rightly stigmatised as *galimatias* or rigmarole. As for his alleged delinquency of bringing words into strange and unusual alliances, we have seen that he had illustrious examples in Racine and La Bruyère, and that the proceeding is a legitimate and praiseworthy method of expanding the capacity of a language for expression. In this, as in other ways, he was obeying the precept of La Bruyère to introduce *esprit* into French prose. He endeavoured to make it an exact reflection of his own thought and personality, and he might have said of himself in the words of La Bruyère:

> Il donne quelque tour à ses pensées, moins par une vanité d'auteur, que pour mettre une vérité, qu'il a trouvée, dans tout le jour nécessaire pour faire l'impression qui doit servir à son dessein[1].

But you may read whole scenes of his comedies and page after page of his novels without coming on a single deviation from the straight path of classical tradition. His normal style with its combination of simplicity with alertness is a perpetual delight. If here and there it has a touch of coquetry, this happily lends an additional charm to the personality of many of his female characters[2].

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[1] Marivaux would fully have subscribed to Flaubert's *dictum* that 'style is only a manner of thought.'

[2] Mme Riccoboni's clever imitation of his style in her continuation to the *Vie de Marianne*, which she published in his lifetime with his consent, has just enough exaggeration about it to call attention to his little tricks of manner. See Fleury, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff. and 372 ff., where the continuation is printed as an appendix. The twelfth part, purporting to be a conclusion, which is printed in J. Janin's edition, is not by Mme Riccoboni.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

'Beowulf,' ll. 1543 ff.

Oferwearp þa werig-mod wigena strengest,
feþe-cempa.

A Middle English instance of *ouerwerpes* in an intransitive sense occurs in the following lines from one of the lyrics of Harleian 2253, and may be used to support the rendering 'stumbled' for *oferwearp* in the above passage:

when y þenke on iesu ded,
min herte ouer werpes.
(R. Böddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl.* 2253, p. 209.)

Böddeker glosses *ouerwerpen* as 'sich umdrehen.' The intransitive use of the single verb in:

I rede ȝe...
...warpes wylily a-waye

in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, l. 2747, quoted in the *N.E.D.* may be compared.

Margaret Ashdown.

London.

The Date of Ohthere's Voyage to Hæthum

The usual method of dating Ohthere's voyages is well exemplified by Professor Fridtjof Nansen's brief discussion of the matter. Nansen says: 'By about 880 he [i.e., King Alfred] was at peace with the Danish Vikings....He died about 901. His literary activity must no doubt have fallen within the period between these dates....Since King Alfred... must have written between 880 and 901, Ottar may have made his voyage [north] about 870 to 890[1].' Nansen makes no attempt to date the voyage to Hæðum, but obviously his method, applied to that voyage, would give the same result, viz., A.D. 870 to 890.

Everyone will agree that Alfred's translations from the Latin are to be put in the period after A.D. 880. It does not follow, however, that Ohthere's visit to the English court belongs in the same period. Ohthere may have visited Alfred during the 870's, for aught we know. Whatever the time of his visit, Alfred was evidently interested in what he had to say about Scandinavia, and it seems likely that the English king had

[1] F Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, I, pp. 169 ff.

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a scribe take down, probably from dictation, Ohthere's story. When Alfred came to translate Orosius he added the material got from Ohthere, recording it, however, not in its original form but in indirect discourse. We may conclude with assurance that the date of the translation of Orosius, whatever it was, gives us only the *terminus ad quem* of Ohthere's visit. The *terminus a quo* seems to be 871, when Alfred became sole king, though an even earlier *terminus* is not impossible.

Obviously the sequence of events was (1) Ohthere's voyages, (2) Ohthere's visit to the English court. How many years elapsed between (1) and (2)? No determination of this point can be exact, since exact information here is wanting. Indeed, so far as the voyage round the North Cape is concerned, we have so little to go on that I will omit this voyage from the present discussion. The story of the voyage to Hæðum, however, includes certain items which throw light on the date of the voyage. Let us examine these items, and see what we can make of them.

If we begin with the end of the voyage, and go backward, we find first of all that at the time when Ohthere made his voyage Hæðum belonged to the Danes (*hyrð in on Dene*). Now from Adam of Bremen and other sources we learn that the Swedes conquered just that region towards the end of the ninth century, and held it for a couple of generations at least[1]. Ohthere, then, made his voyage before this Swedish conquest took place. The *terminus ad quem* thus obtained has no great value, it is true, since its temporal limits, A.D. 888 and 909, are later than the A.D. 880 and 901 based on Alfred's literary activities. As a *terminus* independent of English sources, however, it is at any rate worthy of mention.

Ohthere goes on to say that for the first three days of his voyage from Sciringesheal to Hæðum, Denmark was to port. Ohthere's Denmark obviously means the present west coast of Sweden, and includes Bohuslän as well as the old Danish provinces of Halland and Skåne. At the time when Ohthere made his voyage, then, the Danish dominions on the Scandinavian mainland extended as far west as the Oslo Firth. Now we know from Einhard's *Annals* that in the early part of the ninth century Denmark extended even further west, including Vestfold on the western bank of the Oslo Firth[2]. At the time of Ohthere's voyage it would seem that Denmark no longer held the western bank of the Firth

[1] See B. Schmeidler, in *Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd ed., Hanover and Leipzig, 1917, p. 48, note 6, and H. Hildebrand, *Medeltiden* (in *Sveriges Historia*, utgifven af E. Hildebrand, Andra Afdelningen, Stockholm, 1905), pp. 62 ff.; for a contrary view see J. Steenstrup, in *Det Danske Folks Historie*, skrevet af Danske Historikere, I, pp. 383 ff.

[2] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *Scriptores*, Tom. I, Hannover, 1826, *Einhardi Annales*, A. 813, p. 200.

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but was still in possession of the eastern bank, i.e., Ranríki. Sciringesheal is in Vestfold, but Ohthere says nothing about any Danish overlordship of Vestfold; on the contrary, he reckons the district as part of Norway. The land on the opposite or eastern side of the Firth, however, he reckons as part of Denmark.

If now we turn to the *Heimskringla* of Snorri, we find that in the year A.D. 871 the Norwegian king Harold Fairhair overran Ranríki and annexed to Norway the whole coastland as far down as the Gautelfr[1]. Evidently Ohthere's voyage took place before this event. Indeed, one would be inclined to put before 871 not only the voyage itself, but also the account of it which Ohthere gave to Alfred, for Ohthere, who was a Norwegian, would hardly have included in Denmark a region which, at the time when he told of his voyage, actually formed part of Norway. But news did not travel as fast in those days as it does now, and if Ohthere was at the English court in 871 (the *terminus a quo*), he very possibly heard nothing, while there, of what was going on in south-eastern Norway that year.

Snorri says little of the previous political history of Ranríki or Alfheimar (as he also calls the province), and what he says is not altogether clear. He tells us[2] that a certain jarl named Hrani gauzki ruled the region and was Harold's opponent in 871. Seemingly this Hrani was a retainer of the Swedish king Eiríkr. From Snorri's account, then, one gathers that Sweden, not Denmark, held Ranríki before Harold conquered it. At the same time it is clear from Snorri's words that Eiríkr had not been long in possession. Indeed, he seems to have overrun the province and installed Hrani as his jarl in 870, only one year before Harold ousted Hrani. Yet although Snorri speaks of Eiríkr's control as if it were new in 870, he gives us no information about the political connexions of Ranríki before that date. His silence was doubtless due to ignorance. But in view of Ohthere's testimony we have good reason to believe that Ranríki was Danish before it became Swedish. The story of Skjöldr in cap. 46 of the *Ynglingasaga* may be a reminiscence of the old Danish overlordship of the eastern shore of the Oslo Firth.

We may conclude that Ohthere's voyage to Hæðum took place before 870, and that he told Alfred about the voyage not later than 871. Of course, 870 is only the *terminus ad quem* of the voyage. It may have been made many years earlier. I should be inclined to put the date as early as possible, since Snorri's silence about Danish rule in Ranríki is

[1] *Haraldz saga ins hárfagra*, capp. 15–17 (ed. F. Jónsson, I, pp. 119 ff.).
[2] *Op. cit.*, cap. 13; see also cap. 17.

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best explained on the assumption that the region had attained a quasi-independence of Denmark before the Swedish conquest of 870.

Yet another piece of evidence exists which may be brought to bear on our problem. Ohthere's voyage began in Hálogaland. He tells us that when he sailed thence to Sciringesheal along the Norwegian coast, first Ireland, then the islands between Ireland and Britain, and finally Britain, were to starboard. Ohthere makes no mention of Iceland. His silence means that he had never heard of Iceland. This would be natural enough in 871, but surely impossible after 874. Ohthere's silence about Iceland is of a piece with his inclusion of Ranríki in Denmark. Ohthere flourished in the third, not in the fourth quarter of the ninth century.

KEMP MALONE.

BALTIMORE.

THE WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT OF THE BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER FIRST FOLIO

Every reader of the number of *The Modern Language Review* for April, 1929, will feel indebted to Miss Eleanore Boswell for her illuminating article on 'Young Mr Cartwright.' From her careful investigation of legal and other sources she has made welcome additions to our knowledge of an interesting and somewhat enigmatic figure, and, as she indicates, has opened the way for further research.

But incidentally she has made a singular slip concerning his father, William Cartwright, senior. She says of him that 'he was still alive in 1647 when he made a curious contribution to the laudatory verses prefixed to the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of that year. There are two sets of verses over his signature, and in both of them he takes some pains to cast aspersions upon Shakespeare's genius.'

Miss Boswell has forgotten that there was a third William Cartwright at this period, the Oxford scholar, poet and dramatist whose play, *The Royal Slave*, was performed before Charles I and Henrietta Maria at Christ Church on August 30, 1636, and afterwards at Hampton Court at the Queen's request. This Oxford William Cartwright died towards the end of 1643, four years before the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher 1647 Folio. But it will be noticed that the heading of the first of the two commendatory poems by William Cartwright included in the Folio is *Upon the Report of the Printing of the Dramaticall Poems of Master John Fletcher*, the second is *Another on the Same*. An anticipatory 'report' of the 1647 publication must therefore have reached William

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Cartwright at Oxford. That he was the author of the verses is attested by the fact that Humphrey Moseley, the publisher of the 1647 Folio, was also the publisher in 1651 of *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies and other Poems* by the deceased Oxford scholar in which the verses reappear with the title, *Upon the Dramatick Poems of Mr John Fletcher* and *Another on the Same.*

It will doubtless be a satisfaction to Miss Boswell that her 'last impression of the elder Cartwright' need not after all 'be so unfavourable,' and that her pleasure (which I have recently shared) in his portrait at Dulwich may be unimpaired. The burden of the contemptuous references to Shakespeare, in contrast with Fletcher, must rest not upon a member of his own profession, but upon the Oxford divine who has thereby drawn upon himself the full measure of Swinburne's wrath.

F. S. Boas.

London.

'The Faithful Virgins'

In the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian (reference, 'Poetry 19') is to be found a manuscript of an anonymous undated play entitled *The Faithful Virgins*, bearing indications that it is of the Restoration period. It has no cast of characters, and does not appear to have been used as a prompt copy. My belief is that it was transcribed from the original after some alterations had been made. On the front leaf, apparently in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, is written:

This Tragedy apoynted to be acted by the Dukes Company of Actors only leaving out what was crossed by

Henry Herbert,
M. R.

As there are no cancellations in the manuscript and no markings towards that end, it is plain that the whole, including Sir Henry Herbert's licence (which, however, is certainly not *verbatim et literatim*), is a transcript. The only comment to be found on the text is a note at the beginning intimating that the word 'Luxury' may be substituted for 'Letchery' wherever the latter occurs in the incidental masque.

Herbert's licence has certainly been garbled, since it was usual for him to append the date. But, apart from the slender clue presented by the mention of the Duke's Company, circumstances permit of approximate dating. In or about July, 1663, Herbert appointed Edward Hayward deputy Master of the Revels, and retired to his country seat at

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Ribbesford, near Bewdley, in Worcestershire, where he died on April 27, 1673. (For the evidence, see J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 124–31.) The last traceable licence under his own hand was for *The Cheats* on March 6, 1662–3. On this showing, *The Faithful Virgins* must have been licensed between 1661 and July, 1663. Most likely it was produced, and failed, but there is absolutely no record of its performance.

W. J. Lawrence.

Babbacombe, Devon.

A Newly Discovered Draft of Gray's Lines, 'William Shakespeare to Mrs Anne'

In one of the Gray note-books kindly placed at my disposal by Lt.-Col. John Murray, of Albemarle Street, I recently discovered an item of very considerable interest, which has hitherto apparently escaped notice[1]—it was certainly unknown to Mitford and to all the other editors of Gray, as well as to Northup, the author of *A Bibliography of Thomas Gray*. On the last page of this book, which contains *inter alia* Gray's notes of his visits to Dr Thomas Wharton at Old Park, Durham, in 1765, 1767, and 1769, Gray has written in pencil, and subsequently more or less effectually erased (in order to make room for other matter), what was obviously the first draft of the lines, 'William Shakespeare to Mrs Anne,' which he sent to Mason from Old Park[2] in his letter of July 8, 1765.

These lines were first printed (none too accurately), together with the letter in which they were enclosed, from the original MS. (now in the Loyd collection at Lockinge) by Mitford in his *Correspondence of Gray and Mason*, pp. 339–40. Most of the text of the draft, though very faint, is still legible, even where a continuation of the notes from the previous page has been written over it in ink; in some places, where the marks of the lead have been erased, the writing can be made out, with the aid of a magnifying glass, by means of the indentations made by the point of the pencil on the paper; only a very few words have been erased beyond recovery. So far as I am aware, the only other original rough

[1] Since this was written I have been informed by Mr Leonard Whibley that he too had noticed the draft, and deciphered most of it, when the note-book was in his hands not long ago.

[2] Gosse and Bradshaw state that Gray sent the lines from Hartlepool; but the letter enclosing them (they are written on the same sheet as the letter) was obviously written from Old Park. Gray sends Mason a message from Wharton, and tells him, 'I have been for two days at Hartlepool...I am going again this week.'

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draft of a composition by Gray that has been preserved is that (in the Waller collection) of his youthful translation from Statius, a facsimile of which is given in my *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton* (vol. II, p. 298).

The following is a transcript of the pencil draft, with the readings of the version sent to Mason (from the Loyd MS.), where the two texts differ, inserted above the line. Four or five variant readings are recorded by Mitford, Tovey, and others, but none of those which occur in this draft are among them. In the few cases where a word has been completely erased in the draft it has been assumed that the two texts were identical. The draft has no title; that given below was prefixed by Gray to the lines when he sent them to Mason.

William Shakespeare
To Mrs Anne, Regular Servant
to the Revd Mr Precentor
of York.

A moment's patience, gentle Mistris Anne![1]
But your sweet
(And stint thy clack for dear St Charitie)
'Tis Willy[2] begs, once a right proper Man,
Tho' now a Book, and interleav'd, you see.
Much have I born[3] from canker'd Critick's spite,
From fumbling Baronets, & Poets small,
Pert Barristers, & Parsons nothing bright:
But what awaits me now, is worst of all![4]
'Tis true, our Master's
True, the Precentor's temper natural
fashion'd fair dovelike
Was moulded soft in meek & lowly[5] guise:
But may not honey's self be turn'd to gall
By residence, by marriage, & sore eyes?
If then he wreak on me his wicked will
Steal to his closet at the hour of prayer
(when shrill)
And when thou hear'st the organ piping shrill
Grease his best pen, & all he scribbles, tear.
Better be twisted into caps for spice[6],
Better the roast-meat from the fire to save,
cheesecakes
Better to bottom tarts, & puddings[7] nice[6],

[1] M. (=Mitford): 'Anne:'
[2] M.: 'Willey'
[3] M.: 'borne'
[4] M.: 'all.'
[5] Above 'lowly' (which he has not scored through) Gray has written 'dovelike' (the first half of which is only just decipherable) as an alternative.
[6–6] These two lines are transposed in the Loyd MS.
[7] Gray has scored this word through, and has written 'biscuits' above the line.

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one's
Than thus be patch'd[1], & cobbled in my grave![2]
So York shall taste, what Clouët[3] never knew;
our
So from thy[4] works sublimer fumes shall rise:
earns
While Nancy reaps the praise to Shakespear[5] due
For glorious puddings, & immortal pies.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM JOHN THELWALL TO S. T. COLERIDGE

John Thelwall figures prominently in S. T. Coleridge's early political activities; but as a critic of his poetry he has been quite unnoticed despite the fact that Coleridge's letters to him reflect a lively exchange of literary interests. One[6] of Thelwall's few existing letters, printed here for the first time, well illustrates his side of the correspondence with Coleridge, and it will also help to explain a few obscure points in their association.

Dear Coleridge,

I fear the voluminous length of my former letter[7] will have left you but small relish for a second salutation; and yet I should be wanting in justice if I did not take an early opportunity of acknowledging the very handsome favour for which I am indebted to your Muse:

'Thou, mid thickest fire,
Leap'st on the perilous wall':

is I believe as poetical as it is gratifying: and indeed I should prove my want of taste, rather than my modesty, if I were to deny that I have great satisfaction in the perusal of this Sonnet. I have read the whole

[1] Gray has written 'thus be patch'd' above the line to replace two or more words which he has scored through, and which are now illegible.
[2] M.: 'grave.'
[3] M.: 'Clouet'
[4] M.: 'our'—below 'thy' (which he has not scored through) Gray has written 'our' (not underlined) as an alternative.
[5] M.: 'Shakespeare'
[6] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,444, f. 183.
[7] This letter has not been found.

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of your poems with different degrees of pleasure it is true, but always with the growing conviction that they were the productions of a mind capable of very extraordinary things. Your own criticism upon them has certainly some justice in it—tho' I cannot admit that all your poetic pretensions rest on the Religious Musings[1]. Some passages in the Lines on a Beautiful Spring have great tenderness & simplicity as well as fancy. The passage on the French Revolution (p. 37) 'Freedom roused by high disdain etc.'—has no mean claim to sublimity. The effusions have several of them considerable merit; tho' I confess that the 14th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 24th, 26th, 27th & 28th (if I except those by Charles Lamb) are the only ones that please me upon the whole. The 3 first lines of the 9th have their respective charms; as have the beginning of the 10th—the middle of the 20th—the passage beginning 'From business wandering far' in 22nd & that beginning 'Man's breathing miniature' in the 24th. That to Schiller[2] appears to me to be spoiled by the feebleness of the 5 last lines, & that to Fayette by being to Fayette—& by the turgid nothingness of the 9th, 10th & 12th lines. The 14th is peculiarly sweet & has perhaps no fault except '*willowy* stream.'

> '(Of) Joys, that glimmer'd in Hope's twilight ray,
> Then left me darkling in a vale of tears'

will seldom be surpassed. The ascent of Brockley comb[3] is truely enchanting. The lively and varied powers of description were never more successfully exerted. The effusion To the Nightingale, tho' all the parts, considered as parts, are excellent, offends me by its incongruity. The humour in the first 8 verses agrees about as well with the tenderness & passion that follow as a pink sword knot would with a suit of sable. Either I am too fastidious, or such combinations, at least in short poems, ought to be most scrupulously rejected. 26, 27 & 28 breathe the very soul of love & fancy. Such warmth with such delicacy I think I have never met with before. If I were *jealous of* (*sic*) *honour of a wife, a sister, or a daughter*, I should fear such verses, more than

[1] In the Pierpont Morgan Library there is an unpublished letter from Coleridge to Thelwall. It has no date, but the following excerpt shows clearly that Thelwall was replying to it: 'I beg your acceptance of my new poems—you will find much to blame in them—effeminacy of sentiment, much faulty glitter of expression. I build my poetic pretensions on the Religious Musings which you will read with a poet's eye.'

[2] In Coleridge's presentation copy of a *Sheet of Sonnets* to Mrs Thelwall, he wrote: 'I affirm John Thelwall! that the six last lines of this Sonnet to Schiller are strong and fiery: and you are the only one who thinks otherwise.—There's a spurt of Author-like vanity for you!' See note in *S. T. Coleridge's Poems and Dramatic Works*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge, II (1912), pp. 1138–9.

[3] Thelwall's spelling. His inaccuracies of spelling and punctuation have been left unchanged throughout the letter.

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speculative opinions I have ever heard of[1]. To your epistles I have little to say except that the 11th, 12th, & 14th stanzas of the first are very beautiful & that

'strip him of his clothing,
He'd totter on the edge of Nothing!'

is in my judgment true poetic humour. Your Sara's Epistle is very pretty; & if I have any taste the 'elfin favoured fair' & the 'finger shield' of Pallas relish highly of the most delicate kind of wit.

Of your favorite poem[2] I fear I shall speak in terms that will disappoint you. There are passages most undoubtedly in the Religious Musings of very great merit; and perhaps there is near half of the poem that no poet in our language need have been ashamed to own; but this praise belongs almost exclusively to those parts that are not at all religious. As for the generality of those passages which are most so, they are certainly anything in the world rather than poetry, unless indeed the mere glowing rapidity of blank verse may entitle them to that distinction. They are the very acme of abstruse, metaphysical, mistical rant, & all ranting abstractions, metaphysic & mysticism are wider from true poetry than the equator from the poles. The whole poem also is infected with inflation & turgidity. 'Uncharm'd the Spirit spell-bound with earthly lusts'—'Yea, & there, Unshudder'd, *unaghasted,* he shall view E'en the Seven Spirits'—'Your pitiless rites *have floated man's blood the skull-pil'd Temples*'—'Thence voyage forth *Debauchments wild of seraph-warbled airs* And odors'—'The odorous groves of *earth reparadis'd* Unbosom their glad *echoes*'—'A vision *shadowy* of truth'—'wormy grave' & a heap of like instances might be selected worthy of Blackmore himself. 'Ye petrify the *unbrothell'd Atheist's* heart,' is one

[1] Thelwall is quoting from Coleridge's article, *Modern Patriotism,* published in the *Watchman,* March 17, 1796 (pp. 33–4), which is obviously a personal attack on him. For further proof that it was aimed directly at him, see Coleridge's letter to Thelwall, May 13, 1796, in *Letters of S. T. Coleridge,* ed. by E. H. Coleridge, I, pp. 159–60 (1895).

Their acquaintance and subsequent friendship probably began by Thelwall defending himself, but they did not meet each other until July 17, 1797. (See J. D. Campbell, *S. T. Coleridge, A Narrative of the Events of his Life,* 1894, pp. 72–3.) Doubtless Thelwall felt that Coleridge depended too much on hearsay for his information regarding 'patriots,' as may be surmised from what Coleridge writes to him on June 22, 1796: 'I am sorry that you should entertain so degrading an opinion of me as to imagine that I *industriously* collected anecdotes unfavourable to the characters of great men. No, Thelwall, but I cannot shut my ears, and I have never given a moments belief to any of these stories unless when they were related to me at different times by professed democrats!' In fact, his 'vice' was 'of the opposite class, a precipitance in praise, etc.' (*Letters, etc.,* I, pp. 166–7). Several lines of gossip about 'patriots' have been deleted from the published letter of May 13 (the original is in the Pierpont Morgan Library), with no signs of omissions. Hence Coleridge's reply when Thelwall evidently protested.

[2] *Religious Musings.*

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of those illiberal & unfounded calumnies with which *Christian meekness* never yet disdained to supply the want of argument. (But this by the way.) '*Lovely* was the Death of him whose life was Love'—is certainly enough to make any man sick whose taste has not been corrupted (*sic*) the licencious (I mean pious) nonsense of the conventicle. You may, if you please, 'lay the flattering unction to your soul,' that my irreligious principles dictate the severity of this criticism; and tho' it may strengthen you in the suspicion I must confess that your religious verses, approach much nearer to poetry than those of Milton on the same subject. In short, while I was yet a Christian, & a very zealous one, i.e. when I was about your age, I became throughly convinced that Christian poetry was very vile stuff—that religion was a subject which none but a rank infidel could handle poetically. Before I wipe the gall from my pen, I must notice an affectation of the Della Crusca school which blurs almost every one of your poems—I mean the frequent accent upon adjectives and weak words—'Escap'd the *sore* wounds' —'Sunk to the *cold* earth'—'Love glittering, thro' the *high* tree branching wide'—'When most the *big* soul feels'—'Anon upon some *rough* rock's fearful brow'—'But dare no longer on the *sad theme* muse'—all occur in the first 8 pages. Instances of this kind which give me, at least, the earache occur frequently also in the Religious Musings. 'The voice of Adoration my *thrill'd* heart rouses.' 'Saw from her *dark* womb leap her *flamy* Child!'—*flamy* child!!!! 'For chiefly in the oppressed *good* Man's face'—etc. Having dwelt thus largely upon the defects, I shall proceed to prove my qualifications to get up for a Critic by running very slightly over the numerous beauties with which it abounds. 'The *thought benighted Sceptic*' is very happy; as is also 'Mists floating of idolatry— misshap'd the Omnipresent sire.' (The word 'Split' appears to me ill-chosen & unpoetical.) The whole passage 'Thus from the elect' v. 102 to 118, tho' not quite free either from misticism or turgidity, is, upon the whole very grand & very poetical. The verses 133–135 & 138 to 144 are also equally fine in sentiment conception, & expression. And tho' 'connatural Mind'—'tortuous fold'—'savagery of holy zeal'—'at his mouth *un*breathe' & 'fiendish deeds' offend me not a little, as being affected & pedantic, & therefore of course unpoetical, yet the whole passage from 118–211 delights me very much. The satyr is dignified— the poetry sublime & ardent. Of the ensuing paragraph 'In the primeval age' & etc. the first and third lines are bad; but the ensuing passage, consisting of 144 lines beginning with 'Soon imagination conjur'd up a host of new desires,' and ending at v. 364, breathes a rapture & energy

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of mind seldom to be met with among modern bards. I must however in sincerity add that according to my judgment, all that follows hangs, like a dead-weight, upon the poem.

I trust you have received my first letter[1] long before this; & that you are accordingly undeceived as to the supposition of my being *affected* at the manner in which you had mentioned me. *Hurt* a little I might be it is true; for it is natural that we should wish to be held in every sort of esteem in every way.—But enough of this. I take the liberty of giving you my opinion upon the projects which you have formed. With respect to Schiller, if Robinson, or any other bookseller will engage you to translate him it is well; but my advice is 'Go not out of England.' Your school project I believe to be also a very bad one; & if I know anything of human nature, you have too much genius & too intractible a spirit to make a good schoolmaster; & as for the ministry it is a miserable speculation even if your opinions were settled which, in spite of your enthusiasm, nay *by* your enthusiasm I am sure they are not. You ask, what then do I advise? I answer that still I incline to the opinion that London is your proper sphere; tho' to form a proper conclusion upon this subject requires more data than I have to argue upon. As for your living, in every respect but house rent, I suspect, you will find it as cheap in London as Bristol. Friends, it is true you must not expect to make here. In this busy town nobody understands what friendship means. You may however, if you should avoid that pestilence called acquaintances; & you would be upon the spot to work for Booksellers, which depend upon it my dear friend you must for the present submit to do, & by which, let but your industry keep any tolerable pace with your talents and your learning; I make no doubt but you may earn a decent comfortable livelihood, & ultimately perhaps establish such a reputation as may enable you to do whatever you could wish. At any rate the line I recommend you to pursue is translation. I would...[2] not German but Classical translations. There are faults in your compositions which the Germans (judging of them as I do from the translations I have seen—for I have no languages) will encourage not correct. Your mind is already too gloomy. Your language already too turgid. The latin Historians & other prose Classics open an interesting prospect. If we except those portions of Cicero which have been done by Melmouth & Middleton, it is a common complaint that we have not so much as one good translation of any one of these writers, and I have no doubt that

[1] Evidently not the same letter he mentions at the beginning.
[2] Word obscured.

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you might meet with booksellers who would engage with you gladly for translations of some of them. I believe your old, & very very worthy friend Dyer & friends will give you something like similar advice.

Farewell
J. T.

Tuesd.
10 May[1],
Addressed to
S. T. Coleridge,
College Street,
Bristol.

(I presume you are acquainted with the delay that occurred as to the delivery of your letter. I go to Norwich on Wednesday week. Shall be happy to hear from you before then.)[2]

WARREN E. GIBBS.

NEW YORK.

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY JOSEPH COOPER WALKER TO BISHOP PERCY

Some time ago I bought from a London bookseller a fine copy of the handsomely printed Quarto edition of William Sotheby's translation of Wieland's *Oberon*, London, 1798[3], on vellum paper with the watermark 17 HM 97. On the old flyleaf (watermark dated 1795) of my copy is inscribed 'From the Author.' For whom the book was destined as a gift is proved, I think, by the two original letters which I found inside the volume and which I have since had bound at the end. They are addressed to the Lord Bishop of Dromore by J. C. Walker. As the contents of both chiefly refer to Wieland's *Oberon*, there can be little doubt that Bishop Percy placed them, for that reason, inside the copy of the translation sent to him by the author; and that they have remained there ever since.

For the life and writings of J. Cooper Walker (1761–1810), a learned antiquarian and one of the original members of the Royal Irish Academy, cf. *D.N.B.*, XX, p. 535. Letters from and to him were collected and edited by T. B. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. VII (1848), pp. 696–758, together with a *Memoir of*

[1] *Scil.* 1796.
[2] The postscript is on the back with the address.
[3] Cf. *D.N.B.*, LIII (1898), pp. 265–8. Beside this sumptuous Quarto edition there appeared in the same year an Octavo edition in 2 vols., further a 2nd edition in 1805 with illustrations by Fuseli and in 1802, *Oberon or Huon de Bourdeaux, a Mask*, in 5 acts and in blank verse.

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Joseph Cooper Walker Esq. M.R.I.A., *ibid.*, pp. 681–96. Amongst those letters there are twenty-one addressed to Bishop Percy between October 30, 1787, and March 20, 1798, but one only from Percy to him, dated September 24, 1791. Our letters have escaped Nichols, evidently for the reason stated above. Until the year 1805 friendly relations existed between the two men, as is shown by a letter of Walker to the Rev. Mr Boyd, Dromore House, of November 29, 1804. They became estranged, however, when Walker referred in a note in his *Essay on the Origin of Romantic Fabling in Ireland* (1805) to Ritson's *Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy* (a treatise in which Bishop Percy saw a 'scurrilous and abusive attack' on himself) without adding a word in defence of his friend. That Walker had a keen interest in literary matters beyond his native country, especially in Italian literature[1], and amassed a considerable library is shown in Nichols's *Memoir* as also by our letters. They, with others in Nichols's collection, seem to show a desire (sometimes perhaps a little inopportune) on the part of Walker to interest Bishop Percy in foreign literature.

The part of Walker's second letter which contains Wieland's appreciation of Sotheby's *Oberon* translation raises the question: how and in what form did this document which, it will be noticed, is written in the third person come to this country and how did Walker get possession of it? A year ago Professor B. Seuffert, the editor of the new Wieland edition of the Berlin Academy, wrote me that a notice appeared in the *Intelligenzblatt* of Cotta's *Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung* of September, 1800, to the effect that Sotheby had received a letter of praise from Wieland for his translation of *Oberon*, the letter being known from English journals. Professor Seuffert asked me if I could assist him in tracing the journal or journals. I was only able to send him a copy of Walker's letter, a perusal of which convinced Professor Seuffert that the document could not have been sent by Wieland direct to Sotheby in this form and could only have come into his hands by an intermediary. Who was this? Professor Seuffert had found, in the meantime, a letter from Wieland to a certain Mr Hüttner[2] in London dated November 4, 1798, in which Wieland thanks Hüttner for sending him Sotheby's translation 'im Namen des edeln Verfassers' and speaks of Sotheby in terms similar to those

[1] He published *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799; in 1815 appeared posthumously *Memoirs of A. Tassoni*.

[2] My colleague J. G. Robertson calls my attention to the Leipzig Dissertation (1898) by P. Gedon, *Johann Christian Hüttner, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geographie*. It appears that Hüttner was, in 1809, appointed for life to the Foreign Office as 'the translator' and, in 1814, correspondent (*literatus*) to the Weimar court of Karl August. He died in London May 24, 1847.

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expressed in Walker's letter. Wieland's letter differs sufficiently from the latter to make it clear that it was not the basis of it. Hüttner, I was able to point out to Professor Seuffert, was, at the time, the London agent of the Stuttgart publisher Cotta and is several times mentioned in letters exchanged between Schiller and Cotta. He, therefore, seemed to me a likely person to have acted the part of intermediary. When he learned from Wieland's letter how highly Wieland thought of Sotheby's performance, he might have asked him for a more explicit statement to forward to Sotheby. If Wieland acceded to his request, Hüttner or Sotheby himself might have translated the letter for publication in a journal from which Walker copied it.

Recently I happened to come across the English journal referred to by the *Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung*. It is *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, vol. VI, part II, July–December, 1798. In the 'Variety' column of no. XXXVII for October, 1798, p. 258, we find:

> In justice[1] to Mr. Sotheby's translation of 'Wieland's Oberon' we feel much satisfaction in being able to present our readers with the opinion of Wieland himself as contained in a letter, addressed by him to a gentleman resident in this country, who has translated it and politely communicated it to us: Mr. Sotheby's translation has very agreeably surprized me. In no similar case have I ever felt the same satisfaction, it is a masterpiece. It has all the exactness and faithfulness that can fairly be expected from a translation, while it meets the ear with the grace and ease of an original....

This will suffice to show that, when looking at Walker's letter, we have before us a different, independent rendering of the same original, and this is fully borne out when we turn to a letter 'To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine,' inserted in the November part, no. XXXVIII, p. 322—

> Sir
>
> An incorrect translation having been inserted in the Varieties of your last valuable Magazine of that part of Mr. Wieland's letter in which he mentions Mr. Sotheby's version of Oberon, I think it would be satisfactory to the lovers of German literature, if you would take the trouble to insert the original words with the following faithful translation. I am, Sir, your humble servant
>
> A. B.

'Herrn Sotheby's Ubersetzung (*sic!*) machte mir ein überraschendes und noch in keinem æhnlichen falle gefühltes vergnügen; denn sie ist ein æchtes meisterstück. Sie hat alle grazie und zierliche leichtigkeit des originals, und kann gleichwohl für ein modell der treue und übersetzerlicher genauigkeit gelten. Nicht dass Momus, oder Zoilus, oder auch selbst Aristarch oder Metius, oder einer ihres gleichen hier und da den gewöhnlichen unterschied zwischen einer guten kopie eines nicht schlechten originals, bey vergleichung des letzteren mit der ersteren wahrnehmen sollte: aber genug; was Herr Sotheby geleistet hat is (*sic!*) so viel, und seine übersetzung ist in so hohem grade, *con amore e gusto* aufgearbeitet, dass ich sehr ungerecht, ungenügsam und übellaunisch seyn müste, wenn ich noch mehr forderte, und diesen in *Old England*

[1] This refers to a note in vol. V, no. XXXII, June, 1798, p. 400 of the journal, where Dr A. F. M. Willich blames Sotheby for 'twisting the original of a great writer into a variety of turns and forms, merely for the sake of the rhyme.'

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wahrlich seltener (*sic!*) freund unsrer so lange dort verkannten Germanischen literatur nicht recht vielen dank dafür wüste, mich auf eine so ehrenvolle art den Britten bekannt gemacht zu haben.'

Literal Translation.

Mr. Sotheby's translation has given me a surprising pleasure, etc.

—exactly as in Walker's copy but that Walker has inserted *a* before *Momus* and left out the comma before *con amore*.

Here we have, evidently, Walker's source, although he let over half a year pass by before he utilised it; for Walker was a subscriber to the journal of which he thought very highly[1]. Further we have now the text of the original German document to which both correspondents, who do not appear to know each other, must have had access, and we also know that the appreciative sentences formed part of a letter of Wieland's, now apparently lost; we are not yet, however, any the wiser as regards the recipient of this letter. The 'gentleman resident in this country' cannot have been Hüttner as Wieland's letter to him is dated November 4, 1798, while the free rendering or 'incorrect translation' had appeared already in the October number of the *Monthly Magazine*, and cannot have been identical with the second correspondent 'A. B.' A lucky chance may some day bring clarity. Together with the contents of Walker's letters which I now reprint this is a new testimony to the interest in German literature in England and Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century.

R. Priebsch.

London.

(1)

A Folio-leaf, 29·2 × 18·9 cm., folded into letter-shape. Address: 'Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Dromore'; Walker's seal preserved.

My Lord,

I have now the honor to send two sheets more of my appendix[2].—I lately found amongst my books the following,—'Oberon, Poëme en Quatorze Chants, de M. Wieland, Traduction libre en vers, A Berlin, 1784[3].'—This is supposed to be the first attempt *en Octaves*, in the

[1] Nichols, *op. cit.*, letter to an unnamed correspondent, dated *St Valeri, December* 1, 1799: 'By the by, that is one of the best conducted Magazines in England, it is particularly acceptable to a recluse like me, who wishes to know something of the state of literary affairs on the Continent....'

[2] Walker means the Appendix to his *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, London, 1799, pp. i–lxvi.

[3] Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, IV, p. 205, the first translation into French by P. Fr. de Boaton.

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French Language. From this attempt it appears to me, that the French language is as illcalculated for *Otta Rima*, as for Blank verse[1].

I have the honour to remain
Yr Lordship's
Most obt Hble Servant
J. C. Walker.

26 *Oct.* 1798.

(2)

A Folio-leaf, 33 × 20·8 cm., folded into letter-shape. Address as above (1). No seal.

1*st July*, 1799.

My Lord,

In an account which I lately read of Bürger, the famous German Poet, I observed in the list of his translations, Dryden's Guiscardo & Sigismunda[2], the Child of Elle[3], & the *Friars of Order Gray*[4]. Did your Lordship ever see a Latin translation of your sweet ballad of Nancy[5]? I had one, but fear I have lost it.

If your lordship has not already read Wieland's letter to your friend Mr. Sotheby, you will be pleased to find it here.

'Mr Sotheby's translation has given me a surprizing pleasure & such as I have never before experienced on similar occasions, for it is a genuine masterpiece. It possesses all the grace, ease & elegance of an original & yet may be pronounced a model of fidelity & accuracy in translation. Not but that a Momus, or Zoilus or even Aristarchus himself, or Metius, or any of their like, might not by the comparison of a good copy with not a bad original, find out here & there the accustomed difference between the latter & the former. But, in short, what Mr. Sotheby has done is so much, & his translation is worked up in so high a degree *con amore e gusto*, that I should be very unjust, ill satisfied & capricious, if I

[1] Cf. Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 739, letter to Bishop Percy, dated St Valerie, Bray, March 25, 1797.

[2] Bürger's *Lenardo und Blandine* (1776); his as well as Dryden's source was Boccaccio's *Decameron*, IV, 1.

[3] Bürger's *Die Entführung oder Ritter Karl von Eichenhorst und Fräulein Gertrude von Hochburg* (December, 1777).

[4] *Der Bruder Graurock und die Pilgerin* (May, 1777).

[5] 'O Nancy wilt thou go with me,' a famous ballad addressed to Anna Gooderich who, in 1759, became Percy's wife. Cf. Alice C. C. Gaussen, *Percy Prelate and Poet*, 1908, pp. 18 ff. Among Miss Gaussen's illustrations is a portrait of her with the original MS. of the ballad in her left hand.

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required more; & if I did not acknowledge my thanks to this truly rare friend in Old England, of our so long neglected German Literature, for the honourable manner in which he has made me known to his countrymen.'

I remain,
My Lord,
with great respect,
y^r^ Lordship's
faithful, much obliged
& most ob^t^ hble Serv.
J. C. Walker.

Gleanings from MS. Digby 23

The attention of Romance scholars was drawn a year or two ago by M. Charles Samaran (see *Romania*, LIII, 1927, pp. 289–300) to the assistance afforded by ultra-violet rays in the deciphering of manuscripts. The installation of an ultra-violet ray lamp in the Bodleian Library during the summer of 1929 was therefore particularly welcome, and my desire to try its effect without delay on the Oxford MS. of the *Chanson de Roland* was too great to be resisted. It is well known that this celebrated MS., probably intended for a *jongleur*'s pocket or knapsack, is poorly executed and contains numerous erasures, alterations, additions and other puzzling obscurities. With the kind assistance of Dr H. H. E. Craster, I was able to examine at leisure all the passages known to offer palæographical difficulties, at the same time watching carefully for any fresh point which the lamp might reveal. Incidentally my attention was caught by several readings visible without artificial aid but hitherto overlooked by editors, who have made surprisingly little use of the actual MS. during the last fifty years. The result of this examination is the series of notes printed below. Many of them may appear excessively trivial; yet in a MS. of such exceptional importance no detail is so petty that it may be neglected.

The very painstaking diplomatic edition published by E. Stengel (*Das altfranzösische Rolandslied, genauer Abdruck der Oxforder HS. Digby* 23, Heilbronn, 1878), in which are carefully registered all readings by earlier editors, has been taken as basis. The only other edition which needs to be taken into account here is that published by M. Joseph Bédier (*La Chanson de Roland publiée d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford et traduite*, Paris, H. Piazza), at the end of which are to be found numerous 'notes critiques,'

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frequently based on a fresh examination of the MS. As this deservedly popular volume is constantly being reissued, sometimes with changes of detail, I should state that I have had before me the seventieth edition, bearing no date on the title-page but printed in 1928. M. Bédier's list of rejected MS. readings is by no means so complete as it claims to be; but on the other hand his notes include a considerable number of improved readings and new suggestions. I have therefore confined my notes to (*a*) corrections to Stengel's text, where adequate correction has not already been made by Bédier, (*b*) improvements on Bédier's readings, and (*c*) replies to Bédier's queries.

The ultra-violet rays have assisted in deciphering letters nearly effaced, words or letters imperfectly erased, and additions made in faint ink by later hands; also in distinguishing between writing and mere dirty marks on the parchment. Unfortunately most of the erasures in the text were only too effectively carried out, though occasionally the lost letter can be conjectured from the shape of the erasure. Stengel, with perhaps excessive caution, placed in square brackets, to indicate that they were scarcely legible, many letters which Bédier has accepted without reserve, notably on fol. 24 b, 25 a, 32 b, 70 b and 71 b; under the ultra-violet rays virtually all such letters become distinct.

1. *magneſ*, the upper part of *ſ* is visible.
2. *eſpaign*[*e*], the *n* is clear.
6. *muntaigne*, *m* and *u* both visible.
9. *Aoi*, no trace of an accent on the *A*.
27. *ore*, the *e* can be distinguished, though its upper portion is partly worn away.
28. *7 al fier*, all legible.
44. The supposed letter *ȳ*, read by Stengel at the end of this line, is in reality an insertion sign for v. 43, which has been added in the right margin.
126. *ſaluetez*, not *-tet*.
137. The supposed three dots after *tent* are the remains of some erased letters. Four strokes are visible, of which the last three may represent *m*, the first (apparently an insertion) has the shape of *ſ*, the second bears an acute accent. One may suggest that the scribe originally wrote *m* (in anticipation of *mains*?), then inserted *ſ* before *m* and corrected the first stroke of *m* to *i*, then erased the whole and began afresh.
171. *neu...*, the fourth letter also is partly visible, but uncertain.
240. No trace of writing can be detected in the blank space between vv. 240 and 241.
261. *blarcher*, not *blancher*.
354. *nerc ſ guariz*, after *ſ* there is no dot, but at most a faint smudge.
355. *nel ſe*, *ſ* corrected from some other (incomplete) letter, and appearing barred like an *f*.
397. *laiment* was originally written, the *i* has been erased.
408. *Enuolupet*, not *Eſuolupet*, the supposed alterations are mere smudges on the parchment.
449. *uoſ*, as well as the four following words, stands on an erasure.
478. The letters erased after *ſerez*, probably two only, remain uncertain, but in any case are not *tut*.
527. *cunduit*, not *-uiz*.

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541. *deſpiet*, not *-iez*.

561. The first of the letters erased after *milie* is *f*.

593. *neſtoertrat*, not *-erdrat*; the letters *rt*, though obscured by a smudge, are quite legible under the ultra-violet rays.

605. The added words *illi eſt* (but not *ſi*) stand on the lower part of the large erasure on which additions have been made to vv. 603 and 604.

708. *ſum* was originally written, the last stroke of *m* and the lower part of the preceding stroke have been erased.

711. *fermer* was undoubtedly the original reading, the final *r* has been erased and a clumsy *z* added after it.

770. There is no sign of an erasure; but between vv. 769 and 770 the parchment was defective and has been repaired, a narrow strip being pasted over some slits in it.

803. *del hum* was the original reading, *h* altered by erasure to *l*.

947. *aſaldrum*, the first *a* partly erased.

986. *ueie*, the first *e* is misshapen, but examples of a similarly formed *e* may be seen in v. 983 (*diableſ i meignent*).

987. The *c* of *creire* has been rewritten by a second hand, but there is no erasure.

1092. *pluſ*, the top part of *p* is visible above a patch on the parchment.

1210. *Oj* was the original reading, with the usual space between the first and second letters of a line; *i* was then inserted between the two, and *j* imperfectly erased.

1244. *hair*, not *liair*; under a lens the tail of the second stroke of *h* is discernible.

1293. *rompit* corrected to *rumpit*, or vice versa.

1339. *Tient* is visible.

1353. *ferir* is followed by a short downward stroke, probably a false beginning of the next word (*un*).

1388. *Eſpue^{s}ſ*, not *Eſprie'ſ*. In this MS. either of the vertical strokes of *u* is often preceded by a short upward stroke or mark, which can sometimes be mistaken for the termination of *r*; so here, but the two strokes of the *u* are unconnected and cannot be read as *ri*. The value of the contraction in the last syllable is not clear; hardly *ri*.

1436. *dient*, not *chent*.

1547 (1590). *pa...* erased after *paient*.

1572 (1615). *marinorie* rather than *marmorie*.

1689. *eſparmiez*, not *eſparniiez*; the strokes of *m* are huddled together.

1693. *cumpainz*, not *cumpoinz*.

1698. *mēt*, added above the line, is in the same ink as the rest.

1719. *barbe*, not *darbe*; the first letter is an ill-written *b*.

1731. *uemeſ*, not *ueineſ*.

1779. *fuſt ariſſant*, both words are fully legible and there is nothing between them; *ariſſant* is a typical scribal error for *apariſſant*.

1780. *uatz* is the present reading; but the *z* is faint and written with a tail, contrary to the scribe's usual practice.

1790. *peinte*, not *peine*; the whole word is legible.

1813. *curocoſ* was probably the original reading; the letters *ocoſ* have been erased, but parts of each are still visible.

1836. *ſeuement* corrected to *ſedement*; the *d*, however, is still imperfectly formed and resembles *il*.

1895. The mark above the *y* of *yuoerieſ*, and similarly in *byſe* 2300, regarded by Bédier as a sort of accent, is merely the erect mark or dot commonly added above *y* by medieval scribes; it is quite distinct, for instance, from the accent on *aïe* 1906.

2006. The *e* of the original *mel*, corrected to *mal*, is just legible below the *a*.

2051–2. *b'c deſ* | *ꝛ.ūput* is the reading of the marginal addition.

2063. *guarder* was probably written by the scribe; the *d* is still visible, the *e* and the greater part of final *r* have been erased.

2145. *uuſ* rather than *nuſ*.

2187. *atuin* or *atiun*, not *atum*.

2214. The words erased below this line are illegible.

2244. Above the *e* of *Cuntre* and the first three letters of *paienſ* a word of about four letters has been added and then erased; it is now illegible.

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2337. *laiſeit*, rather than *laiſen*, *laiſez* or *laiſer*, appears to be the present reading; and *s* (sic!), rather than *r*, is the letter erased beneath the last two letters.

2422. The letter erased after *paſment* was most probably *p*.

2430. *Cunſeiliez*, not *-eillez*, was the original reading, altered by erasure to *Cunſelez*.

2439. *uoeilge*, not *uoeille*, was originally written; the *g* has been erased.

2462. *ferant* has been erased between *enchalcent* and *franc*; traces of each letter are visible.

2578. *pl*^{9} is plainly written in the MS., although the editors have read *p*^{9}.

2662. Above the *ai* of *finerai* and the following *en* a word of four letters, perhaps *ocit*, has been inserted; now very faint.

2716. *uaiſeſ* corrected to *muaueſ* (for *mauves*?), *m* being added above the line and *iſ* altered to *u* by erasing the upper part of the *ſ*.

2764. *cuiget*, evidently intended for *cunget*, but the second stroke of *n* (not of *u*) is lacking.

2819. *cēdut*, not *-uz*, is the reviser's addition.

2832. The letter following *ici* is uncertain, not *c*. The interlinear insertion reads *uoſ ...demaſ*.

2835. The *y* of *ſy* stands on an erasure of two letters.

2843. Below *uns* there is an erasure, probably of two letters. The following *ad* is due to the original scribe.

2861. *uantt.ent*, the erased letter is uncertain, possibly *r*.

2879. *anſ douſ le* written on an erasure.

2901. *nert iũu* followed by an illegible tangle of two or three letters, blotted but not erased.

2912. After *De man* the letters *de man* have been imperfectly erased.

2946. *r* of *fort* written above an erased letter.

2958. *timonie*, rather than *timoiue* or *-oine*.

2964. *Deuant ſeai*, the *a* of *ſeai* is smudged.

2990. The letters erased between *nen* and *muet* were perhaps *eſt*.

3068. The added letters *na* have been imperfectly erased.

3131. *ki*, not *li*, before *ad*.

3153. *tinelſ* was originally written, the *ſ* has been erased.

3191. *meiſmeſ* was probably the original reading; a reviser has erased the first four letters and written *meſ* above them.

3192. The erased space between *eſcheleſ* and *mult* can have contained at most eight (not twelve) letters.

3257. Between *de* and *maruſe* there is room for six letters at most; the number erased was probably less.

3278. *uucget*, *g* written on two erased letters, of which the first was *ſ*; the first two letters cannot be read as *nn*.

3307. The supposed accent on the first *e* of *ſafreeſ* is merely the insertion sign for the first *e* of *gemmeeſ* 3306.

3333. *cũe*, as read by Müller, was the original reading; the nasal bar (misread by Stengel as an accent) has been imperfectly erased, and *ſ* inserted before *c*.

3363. The letter following *lenſeigne* is *l*, the next is uncertain.

3365. *ſcſ*$\dot{c}$*ri* | *ent*, not *ſeſcri* | *ent*; this double corruption appears to have escaped the notice of all editors.

3371. The letters added above *u*. *ſ* (originally *uerſ*?) are *un*, not *illi*.

3427. *ialne*, not *ralne* or *raliie*; the mark apparently connecting *i* and *a* is a mere smudge.

3954–5. The first word of each of these lines, *Par* and *Se* respectively, is legible.

3962. *tuit*, not *tut*.

3984. *les cu* are the last letters preserved of this line, the *u* incomplete; the end of the line has been cut or torn off, and a fresh piece of parchment later joined on.

In the space below v. 4002 six lines of writing, by a later hand, have been erased. The only letters still legible are:

(*a*) at the beginning of the first line, *E.ſp...lam*^{9}; the letters following *p* could be read as *icc*, or possibly the second *c* and *l* should be read together as *d*;

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(*b*) at the beginning of the second line, *odo*;
(*c*) at the beginning of the fourth line, a capital *C*.

On the verso of fol. 72 are seven lines apparently of French verse; as they have been treated with some sort of acid, no assistance is given here by the ultra-violet rays.

It must be admitted that the principal gain derived from this investigation is the solution, complete or partial, of a number of palæographical difficulties; the actual text of the *Roland* is very little affected. The most interesting new reading is *peinte* 1790 (cf. *empeint* 1754), which gives force and clarity to a line hitherto somewhat unsatisfying. It is also satisfactory to be able to attribute to the scribe the excellent verb-forms *estoertrat* 593 and *voeilge* 2439. Particularly disappointing is the fact that so little can be made of the additions at the end of the manuscript; even if one were to succeed in identifying two or three more letters, there seems to be no possibility of deriving any useful information from these remnants.

E. G. R. Waters.

Oxford.

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REVIEWS

Britannica. Max Förster zum sechzigsten Geburtstage, 1869–1929. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1929. 350 pp. 20 M.

This volume in honour of Max Förster deals primarily with Old and Middle English, as is right and just in the case of one whose services to the older stages of our language and literature have been as distinguished as have those of Professor Förster.

There are contributions from the two veterans of Old and Middle English studies: Eduard Sievers discusses the metre of the Old English *Genesis*, whilst Lorenz Morsbach writes on thirteenth-century modifications of the language of Old English charters. Professor Friedrich Klaeber writes on a point of Old English style and syntax; Professor Alois Brandl supplies a translation into German of the *Finnsburg* fragment; Professor Hoops discusses the crux of l. 3005 of *Beowulf*, where that hero seems to be referred to as king of Denmark: Hoops suggests the emendation *scildwigan* for *scildingas*. Professor Schick deals with the *Offa-saga*, Professor Schücking with '*sōna* im *Beowulf*,' returning thereby to his old favourite subject of 'Satzverknüpfung im *Beowulf*.' Wolfgang Keller deals with a palæographical problem. Professor T. Gwynn Jones of Aberystwyth supplies a contribution which, as it is entirely in Welsh, must be left to those learned in that tongue to discuss. Professor T. H. Parry-Williams condescends to men of low estate by writing on Welsh topics in English.

Other articles are: *Wortkundliches aus mittelenglischen Medizinbüchern* (Gottfried Müller); *Die Rolle der Autologie im Lebenssystem des ausgehenden Mittelalters und der Renaissance in England* (Bruno Borowski); *Quellen zur Erforschung des englischen Büchermarktes im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Reinhard Haferkorn); *Romantisch und Romanesk* (M. Deutschbein); *Einiges über moderne Shakespeare-Aufführungen und die Frage: Wie ist Mundartliches in Gedichten und Dramen zu lesen?* (A. Schröer); *Die Arthursage in der viktorianischen Dichtung* (Robert Spindler); *Expressionismus in der neuesten englischen Lyrik* (Bernhard Fehr); *Über Eigenart und Ursprung des englischen Naturgefühls* (Herbert Huscher); *Die englische Sprache, ein Spiegelbild englischen Wesens* (Karl Wildhagen); and *England in der deutschen Bildung* (Herbert Schöffler).

A scholar may well be proud to have such a volume written by his colleagues in his honour.

The book ends with a Bibliography of Professor Förster's writings which will astonish even those who thought that they knew fairly well his contributions to knowledge. It will show them how much they have —to their loss—overlooked. Those who grew up knowing Skeat and Furnivall, Murray and Bradley, have learnt to regard length of days as the prerogative of the philologist. Sievers and Morsbach are here to remind us that to-day in Germany, as in those great days in England, a

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philologist may be at his best as he gets on towards his eightieth year. That Professor Max Förster may live up to the example which his predecessors have set him, and add at least another twenty years' work to the thirty-eight years already recorded in this Bibliography, is the wish on the occasion of this celebration of his sixtieth birthday of all those who know him or his work.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

The Canterbury Tales. By GEOFFREY CHAUCER. With an Introduction, Notes and a Glossary by JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY. New York: H. Holt; London: G. Harrap. xi + 721 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Manly's edition of this large selection from the *Canterbury Tales* is welcome for its own sake and also as holding out a hope that America before many years have passed will produce a complete and fully annotated edition of all the works of Chaucer, which will sum up the fine work which her scholars have been doing since Skeat's great edition as satisfactorily as that summed up the work of the Chaucer Society, which had been mainly done by Englishmen. American scholars have brought new light to bear on Chaucer's minor poems by further study of his French contemporaries. They have accumulated an almost complete set of rotographs of manuscripts for the construction of a definitive text. They have made an extraordinary useful concordance to his works both in prose and verse. Recently in the persons of Professor Manly and his former student, now Professor, Edith Rickert, they have organised researches which have produced not only new references to Chaucer himself, extending and modifying the knowledge set forth in the *Life Records* of the Chaucer Society, but also much information as to the contemporaries with whom he lived in varying degrees of intimacy.

Of some of the startling results already attained by these investigations, Dr Manly has previously given an account in his *New Light on Chaucer*, and he now works them into the first three sections (pp. 3–43) of the long and important introduction to the present volume. The main points are that Chaucer's family was wealthier and of higher standing than had been fully realised, that he was trained at the Inner Temple for the King's service, played his part in an influential group at court, and wrote most of his poems for the pleasure of these friends rather than for any special hope of reward, drawing more especially many of the character sketches in the *Canterbury Tales* and the immortal *Prologue* so as to gratify their likes and dislikes. More of this new matter is worked into the notes to the *Prologue*, and Professor Manly's wide reading has enabled him to make new points as to many well known passages. Some of these, unhappily, are of the nature of doubts as to matters which had been regarded as settled, e.g. Professor Hales's argument that the *Prologue* (or, as we should now say, at least the description of the Merchant) was written between the years 1384 and 1388, because it was only between those years that Middelburg, the point across the Channel as

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to which the Merchant was anxious that a safe passage should be secured, was the seat of the Staple or licensed market for the sale of English wool. Dr Manly argues that 'trading through the Staple was never exclusive' and that Chaucer's man may have been a Merchant Adventurer, not a Merchant of the Staple. It is possible, but, if so, the selection of Middelburg for special mention, loses point. Dr Manly's attack on the traditional explanation of the Sergeant of the Lawe having 'often been at the parvys' (l. 310) as meaning that he had met his clients for consultation under the porch of old St Paul's, carries more metal. There is no proof that such consultations were held there in the fourteenth century: the reference may be to the court of the exchequer which in the sixteenth century was held at a Parvys at Westminster, or again to afternoon exercises or moots for the instruction of young students. The latter suggestion is attractive, though the assumptions needed for it to be accepted are hardly less than those for the identification with the porch at St Paul's. But whether Professor Manly carries conviction or not his notes are always interesting and useful.

In other sections of the Introduction besides those already mentioned, Professor Manly writes on Chaucer's England (including sections on his 'home surroundings,' and the puzzling subject of 'money,' as to which his suggestion that its purchasing power in Chaucer's day was thirty times what it is now in these post-war days works out very well), on the *Canterbury Tales*, with a list of the manuscripts and an illuminating discussion of the order in which the ten groups into which they are divided by the talks on the road were meant to be arranged; on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, and on the very complicated subject of his Astronomy and Astrology.

Dr Manly's selection comprises all the tales which are not too dull to be imposed on students or too gross to be read in class, and he prints what he can of the brilliant descriptions in the tales of the Miller and Reeve. His book ends with a very useful fifty pages of Glossary. Dr Manly himself is discontented with his performance in this edition, which has developed on rather different lines from those on which it was planned, and betrays its history in some lack of 'uniformity in aims and standards.' But it is emphatically a boon for which to be grateful and excites a lively desire for more.

A. W. POLLARD.

LONDON.

The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton. Edited by W. J. B. CROTCH. (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 176.) London: Oxford University Press. 1929. clxiii + 112 pp. 15*s*.

Mr Crotch's work makes it easy for scholars everywhere to get a direct acquaintance with Caxton's gracious character and pleasant humour, and to study his writings for any purpose of learning—to contrast his simplicity, for example, with the aureate eloquence of Skelton, of which Caxton speaks with such admiration, or his rather unrhythmical branching style with the tuneful balance of Malory. It is to be regretted that

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in his preface Mr Crotch did not call attention to the fact that Mrs Aurner, in her appendix to *Caxton, Mirrour of Fifteenth Century Letters* (1926), has already reprinted the Prologues, Epilogues and Interpolations of Caxton. Mr Crotch gives the variant texts more fully, and adds some translated prefaces, but Mrs Aurner's work had made it no longer necessary to turn to the scarce and expensive first edition of Blades in order to read Caxton's original writings.

Mr Crotch's work is, as it ought to be, Blades reviewed, revised, and supplemented in detail. Mr Crotch has carefully gone anew over the whole body of Caxton's printing, and has reprinted Caxton's introductions and concluding comments on his books. His additions to Blades' *corpus* are few and unimportant, and even these slight additions are not all certainly Caxton's work. It is in presenting all the relevant documentary material connected with the life of Caxton that Mr Crotch contributes definitely to learning. He has scanned the printed German, Dutch and Flemish records minutely, and has also himself discovered several documents of interest in connexion with Caxton. The result is that his introductory *Life*, though it makes no substantial modification in the view of Caxton given in Blades, amplifies and makes more definite our knowledge of Caxton's activity. The plan of Mr Crotch's *Life*, again, is essentially that of Blades. He sets the printer in his times, he explains amply and completely what it meant to be a mercer, to head the English Merchant Adventurers in the Low Countries, and to serve the King and the King's sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, in business and diplomacy. Mr Crotch wisely does not undertake the discussion of Caxton's typography, which is fully treated by other specialists; I should myself have been glad if he had undertaken a more thorough consideration of the relation of the earliest printers to their public. But this is a minor point in the life of Caxton; and Mr Crotch's work as a whole is presented intelligently and conveniently.

He deserves especial thanks for reprinting the text of Caxton line for line, with the original punctuation and exactly, except for the expansion of abbreviations, in its original form. Every scholar who has had to depend upon an uncertain text knows what a relief it is to have the words and forms of his author trustworthy to the last detail.

In several ways the book might have been made to cause less trouble to the serious reader. The bibliography of printed books contains almost no dates or places of imprint; and although in most cases the dates and places are not needed to find a book, sometimes their absence drives an investigator to a long and tedious search. Similarly (and typically) the reader is told (p. clix) that a document (apparently an oath to be taken when prentices went abroad) is given in full in Blades' *Life of Caxton*. It takes an extended search to find the document; and when it is found it turns out to be a slightly different oath. The book seems to be commendably accurate in detail. *Miss* Nellie S. Aurner (p. xx) should be *Mrs* Aurner. *Met* for *men* on p. xxxvi, l. 23, is an unlucky error; and the French on p. 3 has evidently been hastily transcribed: *redonte*, l. 3, for *redoute*; *of*, l. 14, for *de*; *hures passim* for *liures*; and *ims* at the bottom

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of the page for *mis. Salius*, p. 5, ought of course to be *Salins*. If these are not errors in transcription, they ought to be marked with *sic*.

But all these are little matters. The book is a useful piece of work creditably done; and it is particularly welcome to those who like myself must do most of their work at a distance from the great central libraries where originals are collected.

H. B. LATHROP.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

Melanthe, a Latin Pastoral Play of the Early Seventeenth Century. Written by SAMUEL BROOKE. Edited by JOSEPH S. G. BOLTON. (*Yale Studies in English*, lxxix.) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. vi + 212 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.

The *Melanthe* of Samuel Brooke (1575 (?)–1631), scholar and divine, and for the last two years of his life Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, is an example of that curious by-product of the Renaissance, the University Play. Save as a curiosity it has no claim to the privilege of resurrection. It shows indeed that its author was a good Latinist with a facile pen, but even more conclusively it proves that he was a singularly incompetent dramatist. The pastoral comedy is of all forms of comedy the most artificial, and, save in the hands of a master, is but sorry stuff. Brooke was far from being a master, and his handling of a silly and complicated plot is redeemed by no gifts for characterisation or genuine humour. A few scenes might, upon the stage, have raised a laugh by their crude buffoonery, but even the best of such scenes makes dreary reading. And the intolerable ennui that the play inevitably produces in a modern reader must, despite the relief given by intervals of musical pageantry, have been felt by many of those who witnessed its performance more than three centuries ago. That Brooke's previous comedies, the *Adelphe*, which took six hours to perform, and the *Scyros*, which took an hour or two more, did produce such an effect on two at least who witnessed their performance in 1613 is shown by the fact that even the shorter of the two plays cast the Elector Palatine into a deep slumber, while the little Prince Charles, who behaved well during the performance, joined his brother-in-law in complaining of the play's insufferable dullness, as soon as they had quitted Cambridge. The *Melanthe*, written two years later and performed before the King himself on March 13, 1615, is alleged to have given James 'great contentment,' and was published a fortnight later in commemoration of his visit.

The play is written in verse, which the editor, with a wise discreetness, describes as a 'puzzling series of non-classical metres, which seems on the whole to be made up of very free iambic and trochaic rhythms, grouped together in lines of unequal length.' It is to be hoped that others will imitate his caution, and that the Latin metres of Samuel Brooke will never form the subject of a thesis on either side of the Atlantic.

While the *Adelphe* and *Scyros* are adaptations of Italian comedies, the source of the *Melanthe* is unknown. If such a source should ever

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be discovered, it will probably, as in the case of the two preceding plays, be found to be both better and briefer. For Brooke's capacity for embroidery and elaboration was far from small.

It remains to be said that Professor Bolton has done his work as editor exceedingly well throughout, and that his biography of Brooke is full of interest.

H. E. BUTLER.

LONDON.

The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism. By HOXIE NEALE FAIRCHILD. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1928. ix + 535 pp. 25*s*.

As is explained in the Preface, this book to some extent covers the same ground as Dr Bissell's dissertation on *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, the appearance of which in 1925 led Mr Fairchild to make some modifications in his original draft. But its scope is much wider and more comprehensive. For Mr Fairchild, 'any free and wild being who draws directly from nature virtues which raise doubts as to the value of civilization' (p. 2) is a Noble Savage, whatever his colour or country of origin, and accordingly Mr Fairchild is able to deal with Negroes and South Sea Islanders as well as with American Indians, and to consider how far Wordsworth and the other poets of the Romantic Age drew on the Noble Savage convention in their representation of the dalesmen and peasants of various European countries. Further, instead of stopping at the turn of the century, when the convention is still in full force, he traces it on through the Romantic Age till he finds it dying away about the year 1820. His aim has been not to collect Indians merely, but to examine the relations between the Noble Savage convention and that Romantic Naturalism which 'arises from a desire to find the supernatural within the natural' (p. 1); for that purpose his collection, though not so full as Dr Bissell's in one particular field, is full enough, and is more valuable because more representative.

Mr Fairchild finds the origin of the convention in the fusion of three elements—the observations of explorers, the traditions of a Golden Age, and the deductions of philosophers and men of letters—and he traces its varying fortunes through the centuries till it reaches the height of its influence in the Romantic Age. He shows how it affects, and is affected by, the work of the major and many of the minor writers of that age; he discusses it in relation to other aspects of romanticism—the influence of scenery on the young, romantic love, natural religion, primitive poetry; he shows its use as a means of satirising society. It is particularly interesting to see the romantic imagination working on the bald narratives of the explorers, ascribing to the savages virtues of which the explorers give no hint: to note how Hawkesworth and Keate embroider the journals of Cook and Wilson (pp. 104 ff.), or how Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire makes a drawing-room ballad out of an incident related by Mungo Park (pp. 488–90).

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Mr Fairchild is keenly interested in his subject, and can make it interesting to others, but he is wise enough to realise that his enthusiasm may not always be shared to the full by his readers. ('Only those who share my own interest in the subject will be particularly intrigued by the fact that Mrs Hemans has more savages than Mrs Opie,' p. 299.) He brings forward negative as well as positive evidence; he does not exaggerate the importance of that aspect of romanticism with which he is dealing at the expense of its other aspects. Nor, as a rule, does he dogmatise on questions of interpretation, though one must occasionally join issue with him. It may, for instance, be agreed that Swift did not seriously believe in the Noble Savage—that the Houyhnhnms are not men (p. 48): but then the Yahoos are not men either. As W. P. Ker was fond of pointing out, Gulliver's Fourth Voyage is an abstract contrast between the two aspects of humanity, good and bad. Again, Mr Fairchild is surely wrong in saying that Sidney 'had in good earnest fled the evils of the court' (p. 18); he had fled the dangers of the court (after incurring the queen's displeasure), but that is a different thing. But points such as these do not affect the main thesis of the book, and its concluding chapter—on the relations of human reason and emotion—is particularly to be commended for its wisdom and scholarly handling.

Many examples might be quoted of the humorous lightness of Mr Fairchild's style, but two must suffice. He examines (pp. 461–5) the evidence for the authorship of the *Death Song of a Cherokee Indian*, which has been ascribed to three different authors; he finds that the evidence is strongest in favour of Mrs Hunter, and that the other ascriptions can be reasonably explained away. 'Let us,' he concludes, 'give the *Death Song* to Mrs Hunter; she needs, poor soul, everything she can get.' 'One abandons with reluctance,' he remarks on another occasion (p. 289), 'the thought that in one instance a savage took revenge upon a minor poet of the period.'

A few misprints must be noted: p. 59, 'big bow-bow' for 'big bow-wow'; p. 63, 'Kilda' for 'St Kilda'; p. 212, 'resmble' for 'resemble'; p. 278, 'earler' for 'earlier'; p. 413, full stop omitted at the end of a sentence; last (but not least), on p. 433, the whole last line is superfluous: it appears to have been left in by accident from an earlier draft of the sentence.

H. Winifred Husbands.

London.

The Profession of Poetry and other Lectures. By H. W. Garrod. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. 270 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Garrod tempts one, adventuring not merely as a reader but as a critic of his book, to turn at once to its second last chapter, there to seek instruction from him 'how to know a good book from a bad.' It is comforting to have his private view that 'all books may be called good,' excluding always that which, Mr Garrod decides, is 'not a book' (p. 254). And one hopes that even a review, in some sense, is also

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a book in his eyes. At any rate, it requires more 'training and technique' than to 'ask for the butter' or even (an expedient, alas, now denied to the present writer) 'to write home for five shillings' (p. 255). I agree with all my heart that 'the best critic of books, in the long run, is the man who brings to the study of them a large charity.' Surely Mr Garrod's charity is that warmer feeling that is brother to love. And the feeling is infectious. The critic, reading his book, has an unconquerable desire, not to review his book, hardly to discuss it, but rather to wander with him along familiar paths of literature, stimulated by him to garrulity on one's own part, provoked to curious self-examination, fain at every turn to take down once more some book known of old and see whether he is not right.

The various chapters of this book are lectures, most of them delivered at Oxford from the Chair of Poetry. They cannot have failed of the same effect upon those fortunate in hearing them. By virtue of this, Mr Garrod has the first, surely one of the chief rights to profess literature, and in this volume lies the proof of it. Mr Garrod throws pebbles of suggestion, not only on p. 261, but all the time. He abounds in wise saws and ancient rather than modern instances, which delight as they spring up in him (sometimes perhaps too spontaneously), and in addition they foster in other old-fashioned lovers of literature a better conceit of themselves. For it is good to find wit, wisdom and learning numbering off beside one.

The old Adam of pedantic obstinacy, seeking to exorcise the friendly spell, protests, on occasion arising, that the free-lance dramatist Massinger never 'belonged to' Shakespeare's company of players, or any company (p. 228), and that the legend of Warburton's cook has most precarious foundation and should be used with caution (p. 229). Such things are not perhaps important, though facts also are jewels. But it is to me strange to find Massinger drawn with a tongue in his cheek. I rather see it protruding slightly, but perceptibly, in the throes of composition. If one thing is more clear than another about him, it is his remarkable want of humour. And I must also rebel against the facile assumption, inveterate as it is, that Dekker was responsible for whatever is coarse in *The Virgin Martyr*. Frankly, I do not believe it, and I should like some evidence. *Believe as you List* is all Massinger. It is, in the manuscript, all in his own handwriting, and such mirth as it contains (some more can be guessed from a torn page) is coarse and stupid. As for his melodrama, I am positive that he took it seriously, as he did everything. Moreover, if Massinger was a 'hack' (p. 239), I must change my views, not about Massinger but about the proper definition of this word. He was a scholar and an artist, a conscientiously literary person, with ideals, after his fashion. Plays had become literature when he was writing.

I am, again, led to wonder what a man means who (in the lecture on *Humbert Wolfe*) writes 'I hate sonnets.' It is as inconsistent with true critical charity as to scorn them despite Wordsworth's objurgation. Sonnets are linked up in a common condemnation with London (p. 198).

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Mr Garrod does not love Cambridge either. It is too prone to hero-worship, it seems (p. 166, on *Rupert Brooke*). But Mr Garrod will have his fun, and has, moreover, some right to speak for Oxford. In London, by the way, one professor at any rate, if not a poet, can still sit in his garden and hear the nightingale (p. 131). The lecture on *The Nightingale in Poetry* is pleasant reading. Surely Mr Garrod might have found space for some reference to the nightingale-haunted Meredith. One is hardly left untroubled, even after a subsequent qualification, by the imputation of 'sham optimism' to Stevenson and 'sham pessimism' to Housman (p. 171). Why, poetry is compact of beautiful shams, though bad shams also abound. A good Aristotelian like Mr Garrod might have borne this in mind. The important thing is to distinguish. It is true that Mr Garrod refutes himself on pp. 20–1, and paves the way for objections to his remarks upon Housman's pastoralism. In this lecture (on *A. E. Housman*, pp. 211–24) we see Mr Garrod wrestling with a great man who has left other notable men 'staring at him,' as Mr Garrod puts it, both at Cambridge and at University College, London, where he is best known. But there will be few who see him as Mr Garrod sees him, a 'man hating poetry' and an inhumanly harsh scholar. His very scholarship lays stress on the feeling for style and literature as a corrective to so-called textual 'science.' He laboured on Manilius with a passion for justice to a fellow-poet. And he prefaced to his edition a consummate Latin poem. Indeed, he rejoices even in nonsense verse.

It must be peculiarly exasperating to Mr Garrod, I imagine, to find a misprint (*contempararies*, p. 224) in this chapter of all others, upon that impeccable scholar. I doubt whether, on p. 141, Mr Garrod is justified in blaming 'scribes and editors' for a line in Gower which he finds faulty, but which scans well enough. The text of Gower is exceptionally authoritative. And Mr Garrod's reading *Betwenen* would be, I think, unique in Gower, as, indeed, he hints himself in a note.

But the old Adam gladly subsides, handing this attractive book back to his better self, its rightful owner, who delights in Mr Garrod's pervasive pith, taste and humanity new and old, the flower and fruit of a life of communion with lovely things of good report. He is a well of refreshment in days of psycho-analytic and pseudo-medical 'criticism.'

CHARLES SISSON.

LONDON.

EDMOND HUGUET. *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle.* Tome I (A—Brochant). Paris: Champion. 1925–1929. lxxvi + 720 pp. 200 fr.

Nous en étions réduits jusqu'ici pour la langue du seizième siècle aux tomes 8–10 du *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* de Godefroy, c'est à dire à la partie de cet ouvrage qui porte le titre de *Complément*. C'est donc une lacune considérable que vient combler l'ouvrage de M. Huguet. L'auteur qui a consacré la plus grande partie de sa vie à l'étude de la langue du seizième siècle était on ne peut mieux préparé à

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une entreprise de si grande envergure, et le premier des douze tomes que doit comprendre ce dictionnaire du seizième siècle justifie toutes les espérances.

Le plan suivi par M. Huguet est très bien conçu. La liste des mots qu'il a dressés contient 1° ceux qui sont entrés dans la langue au seizième siècle ou auparavant et qui n'ont pas survécu à ce s.; 2° ceux qui avaient alors un sens différent de celui qu'ils ont pris par la suite; 3° un certain nombre de termes qui existent encore dans le sens même qu'ils avaient au seizième siècle et dont l'emploi à une époque aussi éloignée est indiqué ici pour la première fois. Quant aux limites chronologiques l'auteur n'a pas hésité, en quoi il a eu parfaitement raison, à remonter parfois jusqu'au quinzième siècle et à descendre 'à chaque instant' dans le dix-septième.

Le cadre de l'œuvre ainsi limité, M. Huguet a tenu à donner sous chaque mot un nombre d'exemples considérables pour permettre de résoudre de nombreuses questions que peuvent se poser les historiens du vocabulaire du seizième siècle comme celles qui concernent la date de l'apparition d'un mot, sa longévité, son usage en prose ou en poésie, l'étendue de son aire géographique ou de son aire littéraire, la restriction de son emploi à la langue parlée ou à la langue écrite.

Pour le classement sémantique M. Huguet s'est efforcé de donner en premier lieu le sens primitif du mot si, comme il le dit lui-même, 'il se rencontrait encore au seizième siècle, sinon celui qui s'en rapprochait le plus.' Mais il n'a pas jugé utile en bien des cas douteux de poursuivre à fond la délimitation de l'emploi de deux termes très voisins par le sens et la forme. 'Quand une difficulté de ce genre me paraît insoluble,' dit-il, 'je l'expose tout simplement, en faisant connaître toutes les données du problème, et je ne propose une solution que si elle me paraît tout à fait vraisemblable.' (*Préface*, p. lx.)

Enfin, sans s'astreindre à transformer son dictionnaire en grammaire, M. Huguet a soigneusement noté (1) des faits de phonétique ressortant soit de la variété des graphies, soit de renseignements que peut fournir la versification; (2) des faits de morphologie où l'usage du seizième siècle diffère du nôtre, comme dans la formation du pluriel et du féminin, et dans certaines particularités verbales; (3) des faits de syntaxe comme ceux relatifs au genre des mots, à l'emploi des prépositions et à certaines constructions verbales.

Rien ne pourra mieux donner une idée de la richesse de dépouillement auquel s'est livré M. Huguet que l'examen de la liste *des ouvrages auxquels sont empruntées les citations* (pp. lxiii–lxvi). L'auteur, dont la modestie est bien connue, déclare à la fin de sa préface que le nombre des livres qu'il aurait voulu lire est encore plus grand que celui des livres qu'il a lus. Il ajoute en parlant de son dictionnaire: 'Je crois pourtant que ce travail pourra être utile, puisqu'il facilitera l'étude de tous les grands écrivains du seizième siècle, de beaucoup d'écrivains secondaires, et donnera des renseignements précis pour l'histoire de notre langue. Je continuerai mes lectures tout en corrigeant les épreuves, et, si j'en ai le temps, je publierai un *Supplément*. En tout cas, j'apporte ma contribution. Que d'autres

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y ajoutent ce qu'ils pourront. Puissé-je les avoir aidés à faire une œuvre meilleure et plus complète que la mienne!'

Nous avons toute raison de croire que la publication du *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle* sera menée régulièrement puisque le manuscrit est en entier entre les mains de l'éditeur. Mais, malgré toute la rapidité avec laquelle il pourra paraître, il faudra probablement compter dix bonnes années avant qu'une bibliothèque puisse mettre sur ses rayons les douze tomes qu'il contiendra. M. Huguet ne pourrait-il, en attendant, faire de ce dictionnaire une édition abrégée qui donnerait simplement la liste des mots avec leurs sens et qui rendrait assurément de grands services à tous ceux, de plus en plus nombreux, qu'attire l'étude si passionnante de la Renaissance?

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

VICTOR HUGO. *Tristesse d'Olympio.* Fac-similé du Manuscript autographe avec une Étude par MAURICE LEVAILLANT. Paris: H. Champion. 1928. 120 pp. + 16 pp. facsimile. 50 fr.

Victor Hugo's manuscripts are of absorbing interest. Many volumes of them are already available to the public at the Bibliothèque Nationale; to these are gradually being added, as the work of classification proceeds, those that passed into the nation's keeping on the death of Gustave Simon; in 1963 the collection will be completed by the poet's letters to Juliette Drouet. While to the student of Hugo's style the revelations of these manuscripts are of supreme importance, those who are concerned mainly with his thought cannot afford to neglect them. They admit us to the poet's workshop; thanks to them we can identify the first rush of inspiration, the artist's doubts and hesitations, the further developments suggested by maturer reflection, and the triumph of the final form.

The mere enumeration of variants is not enough to make our study fruitful, for it leaves out of account many essential factors which the actual manuscript reveals, such as the lapse of time between the original form and the correction, the degree of conviction which dictated the change, the uncertainty which led the poet to hesitate long between two rival forms, according at one moment his preference to one, only to reinstate the other before long. Paul and Victor Glachant in *Papiers d'Autrefois* (Paris, 1899) gave a critical analysis of all these factors as revealed in the MSS. of *Les Orientales*, *Châtiments* and *La Légende des Siècles*, and the MS. of *Les Contemplations* has since furnished material for a Doctorate thesis. Nothing, however, can take the place of a personal scrutiny of the manuscripts. Unfortunately there are many students of Victor Hugo who cannot make the necessary pilgrimage to the Bibliothèque Nationale. To all such the admirable facsimile of the manuscript of *Tristesse d'Olympio*, which M. Levaillant has published with an introductory essay and critical notes, must be indeed welcome.

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The manuscript of one poem is not enough to admit of generalisations, and M. Levaillant, while pointing out the significance of individual variants or corrections, has wisely refrained from basing on them any theories of style or composition. On the other hand, the isolation of the poem makes it possible to study its genesis with a thoroughness which the very vastness of Hugo's production tends to preclude. M. Levaillant has brought to his task sympathy, understanding, sound judgment and tact. He has shown how the poem, while it is intimately personal, gives expression to the preoccupations of a whole generation; how it takes up and develops a theme from Lamartine's *Jocelyn*, to refute it triumphantly in the courageous challenge of the final stanzas. He has revealed the true significance of Olympio, the creation of Hugo's humility rather than his pride, a symbol, an ideal, a figure in which the poet, breaking the bonds of his ego, identifies himself with mankind. 'Il vient,' says Victor Hugo himself (p. 52), 'une certaine heure dans la vie où, l'horizon s'agrandissant sans cesse, un homme se sent trop petit pour continuer de parler en son nom.' M. Levaillant has revealed to us Juliette's share in the great poem, and how it came at last as an inspired answer to her longing for the verdant seclusion of Bièvres. Lastly, he has shown us how this 'apotheosis of memory' remained an isolated phenomenon in the poet's own time and awakened no echo in the succeeding generations, yet Bièvres is enshrined for ever in the magic of Hugo's immortal verse. M. Levaillant is to be congratulated on his sympathetic and penetrating essay, and the Librairie Champion on the production of a volume which it is indeed a pleasure to handle.

M. E. I. Robertson.

Manchester.

Camillo Pellizzi. *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo.* Milan: Libreria d' Italia. 1929. 535 pp. L. 30.

There are few books more needed by the English student than a comprehensive and critical survey of Italian literature from the later years of the nineteenth century to the present year of grace. Such a survey is supplied by the admirable volume before us, in which Dr Pellizzi deals with the period that may be said to open with Francesco De Sanctis and Carducci, passing through 'Verismo' and 'Futurismo,' to come to the opposing ideals of 'Stracittà' and 'Strapaese,' the latter being 'un modo di intendere e di vivere il Fascismo' (p. 396). As this last phrase implies, the work is not merely literary criticism; it is also an interpretation of the tendencies of Italian letters to-day in connexion with the life and thought of the new Italy, in which the author himself is becoming an increasingly recognised intellectual force amongst the younger men.

The task of the writer must have been a difficult, as well as occasionally a delicate one. 'Io dubito,' wrote the author of the *Amadigi*, 'che con questo mio per dir così catalogo ch' io faccio nel principio dell' ultimo canto, di quelli signori e amici ch' io veggio sul monte della virtù, sodis-

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farò a pochi, e offenderò molti i quali non vi saranno nominati.' Dr Pellizzi must at times have felt himself in the position of Bernardo Tasso, and he has not always quite escaped the danger of seeming to introduce names in the perfunctory fashion of a catalogue. This, however, only affects portions of the book here and there. The more significant figures stand out clearly defined as artistic personalities, and the English reader will be grateful for having his attention called to not a few notable works by writers whose fame has hardly reached this country. Dr Pellizzi's criticism is always original and unconventional, frequently pungent and humorous, but—where he admires and is in sympathy—he can be an eloquent and generous praiser, and there are many pages that are as brilliant as they are penetrating. I would especially single out the criticism of Carducci and Pascoli, the chapters on 'Verismo' and 'Futurismo' (the latter with delicate appreciation of the art of Aldo Palazzeschi and Corrado Govoni), the treatment of Papini and Pirandello, as also of Federigo Tozzi and indeed all that pathetic section entitled 'Figure di scomparsi,' including personalities like Boine, Slataper, and Renato Serra, who are among 'the inheritors of unfulfilled renown.' It is probably my own fault that I still, after reading Dr Pellizzi, find the problem of Alfredo Oriani unsolved. Is there something in the Romagnole mentality and temperament that, to an English student, remains mysterious and incomprehensible?

I remember, when Borgese's *Rubè* first appeared, reading an advertisement of the publishers (who presumably know their own business) to the effect that there was nothing 'regional' about the romance in question. And nevertheless, as Dr Pellizzi points out (p. 362), Borgese is Sicilian by birth and temperament. Among the most interesting and suggestive passages of Dr Pellizzi's book are those that deal with this question of 'regionalismo,' which he has treated elsewhere, in the last Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy, under the aspect of its relations with romanticism. 'Nelle lettere...l' Italia è in gran parte ancora una espressione geografica, e non è poi detto, non è ancora dimostrato, che sia male se rimarrà così. Di sopra dalle scuole e dalle cosiddette correnti letterarie, stanno ancora le divisioni regionali, le differenze d' anima regionale' (p. 61). Romanticism, it will be remembered, was almost exclusively a Lombard product, although the 'philosophers of romantic aesthetics,' De Sanctis and Croce, were or are Neapolitans, while 'Verismo' is mainly southern, originating with the great Sicilian novelists. But, apart from such historical phenomena, Lombards, Ligurians, Tuscans, Romagnoles, and Southerners—to whatever school they may belong, and whatever literary medium they employ—have still their own character in literature, reflect each his own 'anima regionale,' even when not directly reproducing the atmosphere and life of his native region, or writing in a language other than that which is intentionally 'lingua italiana.' Indeed, 'dove manca una netta personalità regionale, manca con quella una personalità artistica di primo piano' (p. 416). This, of course, is said without reference to 'la letteratura dialettale'; but it is a notable fact that while, since the silence of D'Annunzio, there is no outstanding poet

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in 'lingua italiana,' Salvatore Di Giacomo and Cesare De Titta, in Neapolitan and Abruzzese respectively, are perhaps the most genuinely inspired of living Italian poets. Both, however, belong to the older generation. Dr Pellizzi observes that, up to now, the political unity of Italy has had time to weaken and destroy many old regional traditions of civilisation and culture, but has not had time to prepare the soil for a new unitarian culture. The generation of Italians of the first quarter of the present century has been too much occupied in making its history to produce a great literature. The new 'ritmo accelerato della vita italiana,' the creation of the Fascist regime that has made a spiritual unification strong enough to accept regionalism without apprehension, has yet to produce its effects in the field of letters. Hence the ideal of 'Strapaese': 'un ideale d' arte classicista e tradizionalista, imbevuta di antichi spiriti regionali, esprimente l' anima degli italiani quali essi sono sempre stati, e non quali li vorrebbero questi modernisti, seguaci di ispirazioni straniere' (p. 395).

Dr Pellizzi has given us a book that will be indispensable to every student of contemporary Italy, and its value is enhanced by a very full bibliography running to more than a hundred pages.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Bibelübersetzung vor Luther. Von FRIEDRICH MAURER. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, ii, 26.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1929. xii + 144 pp. 7 M.

Since a full investigation of all the German translations of the Bible, or of parts of the Bible, before Luther's time would occupy many years, Dr Friedrich Maurer has decided to publish the results of his studies of two of these translations, viz. Beheim's *Evangelienbuch* and the Dutch-German *Evangelienharmonie* (*De levens van Jezus*) as a first instalment. In addition he prints (pp. 105–44) extracts from manuscripts hitherto unprinted.

These translations have been investigated by other workers, but the method used by Maurer throws new light on the subject and has rendered much of the work of his predecessors obsolete. In order to establish the relations of the various texts to one another scholars have been content to compare the texts with one another, to note cases of agreement and divergence, referring always only to the normal text of the Vulgate as the source, and they have used only dialect as evidence of the home of the manuscripts. Maurer has shown that these methods are not reliable. Ziesemer had already proved in his edition of *Eine ostdeutsche Apostelgeschichte des* 14. *Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1927) that in two independent translations of the same work made in the same district there may exist close similarities in vocabulary and sentence structure. Another test is required. And this Maurer finds in a more careful comparison of the translations with their Latin sources. He shows that the variants of the Vulgate must be considered. A few illustrations of the

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results of this closer study of the sources will show how valuable they are. In his *Ewangely und Epistel Teutsch* (Göttingen, 1927) Pietsch assumes a common foundation for two of his texts (A and Sp), but Maurer shows that there are numerous divergences such as A: *in dem land*, Sp: *in demselben land*, Vulgate: *in illa regione*, variant: *in eadem regione*; A: *uns*, Sp: *uch*, Vulgate: *vobis*, variant: *nobis*, which prove that A and Sp have different sources, and therefore cannot have a common foundation.

With regard to the home of the manuscripts Maurer has made use of the fact that the liturgy varied in various districts in mediæval times. Many of the manuscripts indicate which liturgy was used, i.e., they show which passages of the scriptures were to be read on certain days in honour of certain saints, and thus establish with more certainty than is possible by any study of dialect the home of the manuscripts.

By his careful investigation of the actual source used and of the liturgy indicated in the manuscripts Maurer has obtained valuable results, but what is more important is that he has proved the older methods to be inadequate and unreliable, and has pointed the way which must be followed by future investigators of the whole field. The methods which have proved so useful in the restricted field must necessarily give even more valuable results when applied to the whole field.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

LONDON.

Syntaktische Studien. Von FRITZ KARG. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1929. viii + 194 pp. 7 M.

This book contains four chapters on German syntax: *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* in Middle High German (pp. 1–80), hypotaxis in Hartmann von Aue (pp. 81–113), the use of *aber* and *sondern* in the *Königsberger Apostelgeschichte* (pp. 114–83), and the relative pronoun in the *Heliand* manuscript C (pp. 184–94).

Karg points out that grammar books fail to give us exact knowledge of the importance of the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction since much the same space is devoted to all constructions, and thus relative importance is not indicated. His analysis of practically all Middle High German verse shows that this construction is found only 264 times in poems between 1070 and 1500, and only six times in the prose works examined. In Wolfram's *Parzival* seventeen examples occur; Hartmann von Aue Konrad von Würzburg and very many others never use it. Thus the construction is rare, and is used only by certain poets.

An attempt is made to distinguish between *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* 'proper' (*Do spranc von dem gesidele her Hagene also sprach*), the *hiez* construction (*die worhte ein smit hiez Volkan*) and asyndeton (*Thiu wib gifuaro stuantun, thiz allaz scouotun*) by applying Sievers' method of 'Schallanalyse.' Since Karg anticipates scepticism with regard to this method on the part of his readers, it may be well to state the reason of our scepticism. Of the three constructions only the last occurs in Modern German—the

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example of the first which Karg gives (*Gib mir mal das Buch da will ich haben*) cannot be accepted as a parallel to the Middle High German examples; it sounds more like a nervous stutter—so that to admit the reliability of the test we have to assume that the sound of something outside our actual experience can be captured. Sievers and his school claim to be able to read verse of bygone times as it was read in those times. They wander over wide fields, Old English, Old Saxon, Old Norse, and even Classical and New Testament Greek. But since their attempts at reading Modern English rarely sound like English, their claim that they can read the verse of the past accurately cannot be accepted. An Englishman has a better chance of catching the rhythm of verses containing *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* since we still have the construction; the following passages, for example, can be translated into English with preservation of the construction:

ich wolt überwinden
ein maget sach ich winden,
wol si garn want.

er bevalchte ir libe
ein obiz er ir bot.

A detailed analysis of *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* is given showing that the *κοινόν* is nominative in eighty-one cases, accusative in ninety-three cases, that there is case divergence twenty-nine times, and so on. This has meaning for us, however, only when we re-cast the passages and consider them from the Modern German point of view. We do not know that this case divergence existed for Germans of the thirteenth century. For us Englishmen there is no essential difference between *There's a man I know* and *I see a man I know*, although the 'case divergence' in the *κοινόν* of the first sentence becomes apparent when translated into German.

The second chapter on hypotaxis in Hartmann von Aue (pp. 81–113) collects all the examples and classifies them. English readers will find especially welcome the full analysis of the use of *aber* and *sondern* in Modern German (pp. 121–30), which forms an introduction to the use of these words in the *Königsberger Apostelgeschichte* (pp. 114–83).

The fourth chapter on the relative in the *Heliand* manuscript C (pp. 184–94) shows that the relative contains a monophthong (*the*) where the relative clause is 'bestimmend' or 'notwendig,' but a diphthong (*thie*, etc.) where the relative clause is 'erklärend' or 'freiwillig.' Thus the two forms correspond to a difference in function. The method of 'Schallanalyse' is again used to support the classification based on function, viz., there is a much greater stress on *thie* than on *the*. Here English examples can be given in support. We can read the two sentences: *They are to be found in the French gardens which I love* and *They are to be found in the French gardens I love*, in such a way that where we make a pause before the relative and stress it somewhat the relative clause is 'freiwillig,' i.e., it adds a statement *and I love the French gardens*; where no pause is made and the stress is lighter, or where no pronoun occurs (corresponding to the less stressed *the* of the *Heliand*) the relative

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clause is 'notwendig,' it tells us in which French gardens they are to be found.

Karg's book is a valuable contribution to German syntax. Only when every construction has been treated in this way will a full historical description of German syntax become possible. The only objection that one can raise is that he ascribes to the method of 'Schallanalyse' more merit than it deserves. But his work stands even without this method.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

LONDON.

Vom deutschen Geist der Neuzeit. Outlines of Modern German Thought with Illustrative Specimens of German Prose. By W. R. SCHWEIZER. Cambridge: University Press. 1926. 4*s.* 6*d.* 212 pp.

These 'Selections' from modern German authors from Kant to Eucken aim at being something more than a school-book, and indeed their scope places the work out of range for all but the most gifted pupils. More than half the extracts are philosophic or aesthetic, and among them are some hard nuts from Schiller, Fichte, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. An anthology is always a matter on which no two persons can agree; but though on the whole the authors selected are admirably representative of the editor's intentions it would be possible to suggest both amendments and additions. Lessing's chief contribution to the thought of the world was surely the prophetic vision of 'Das dritte Reich' with its bearing on Hebbel and Ibsen, rather than the somewhat ill-natured attacks on Pastor Lange. And why close with Hillebrand and Eucken? What of Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Spengler, Rathenau, Hermann Keyserling? Do they not represent the 'Geist der Neuzeit' in its fullest development? And a passage from Karl Marx would not have come amiss in a world which is still half under his economic domination. The extracts are prefixed by a thoughtful introduction of 22 pages, in itself a marvel of compression, but which presupposes a vast knowledge of the subject which the pupil will certainly not possess. It consists necessarily of generalisations and, consequently, of half truths, as when it is implied on p. 7 that Winckelmann and Herder held similar views on Greek art. And again we are expected to accept German 'Kultur' at its own valuation: there is no hint that Frederick II was criminal in seizing Silesia, or that Bismarck committed an even worse crime in deliberately falsifying the Ems telegram by the addition of the all-important word 'darauf.' Unfortunately the texts, except for a few scanty footnotes, actually lack all commentary, and even the teacher would appreciate help in the face of so many difficulties. These difficulties are rendered even greater by the constant omission (often without any warning dots) of relevant paragraphs (e.g. on pp. 48, 50, 51, and especially on p. 148 where the reference to Herder's 'um Gottes willen' is consequently lost). The printers and readers have done their work badly and the book swarms with misprints: p. 39 'Einleitung' for 'Einteilung,' p. 75 'Phtia' for 'Phthia,' p. 86 'Wesens' for 'Wesen,' p. 148 'Tron' for 'Thron,' and many more, some

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so serious as to completely obscure the meaning: p. 148 'der' for 'des,' p. 150 'seiner' for 'einer,' p. 58 'er fand' for 'Er erfand.' Note 1 on p. 40 is particularly unfortunate owing to the misplacement of the colon before, instead of after 'wäre,' which will cause the pupil to doubt the very foundations of German grammar, while the tense of 'begegnet' refers, of course, to the Greek, not the German text. Equally confusing is the misprint of 'Zaum' for 'Zaun' on p. 192. But not all the mistakes are to be laid at the printers' door; it is to be hoped that for a new edition Dr Schweizer will revise his proof-sheets with greater care. Finally, the texts make no pretence to critical exactitude: on p. 81 the editor inserts an 'ich' after 'hab' which Schiller omitted, p. 55 he substitutes 'zeigt' for 'entdecket' and, generally, modernises Goethe's spelling and that of other eighteenth-century writers. The reader is left with the impression that the work was undertaken in a great hurry, without the many attractive possibilities which such a book might present having been considered in all their aspects.

L. A. Willoughby.

Sheffield.

SHORT NOTICES

The new edition of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, revised by Mr H. W. Fowler (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. 7*s.* 6*d.*), and handsomely produced, has been made necessary by the passage of nearly twenty years since the first edition of 1911 and by the eventfulness of those years. The Great War has had an amazing influence upon current speech. And the march of progress is illustrated in dozens of new words. Mixed feelings are aroused by the collection of a few here and there: 'telephotography,' 'relativity,' 'psycho-analysis,' 'googly,' 'road-hog,' 'air-liner,' 'talkie,' 'Soviet,' 'blues,' 'atmospherics,' 'fascism,' 'Œdipus-complex.' It would seem that there is room today for the ironies of a second Peacock.

The *Dictionary* represents war slang in the Army with notable completeness on the whole. But it would seem that the Senior Service has not been as fully consulted. 'Gash,' for instance, is surely a serious omission, and there are others, equally expressive and in common use, e.g., 'tickler,' 'Harry Freese,' 'ormolu,' the meaning of which I may leave to active curiosity. And the American 'gob' (= marine) deserves his place. I have my doubts whether the word 'blues-trot' ever was in use, and 'wop' is not currently used in America except in the definite sense of 'Italian.' The etymologies are satisfactory. But surely there is no 'perhaps' in the derivation of 'boche' from 'Alboche'—'Allemand.' 'Alboche' was Lycée French for 'Allemand' in 1907 to my knowledge. The derivation of 'guy' ('do a guy' = escape) from Hindustani 'gaya' = gone, should have been given, as the word in this sense has nothing to do with Guy Fawkes and has its own historical significance. But the

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reviser of the *Dictionary* has carried out a difficult task, in limited space, admirably well, and the book will serve the needs of all but the more advanced students of Cross-Words, who may urge that 'pelmet,' for instance, is an everyday word among upholsterers at any rate. I cannot refrain from wondering why the *New English Dictionary* is referred to as the *Oxford English Dictionary* or the *Oxford Dictionary*. The contraction *N.E.D.* is well established in use, as well as the full, and correct, title. And I should like to propose to Mr Fowler yet another dictionary, a *Junior Oxford Dictionary* of a selected vocabulary, in larger type, for the use of younger school-children. Mr Fowler would further increase our debt to him. C. J. S.

The Earliest English Translation of Erasmus' 'Colloquia,' 1536–1556, edited by Professor Henry De Vocht (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire; London: H. Milford. 1929. lxxxvi + 320 pp. 15*s.*), is the second volume of the *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. It comprises Edmonde Becke's translation of the *Cyclops* and the *De Rebus ac Vocabulis*, published about 1549 as *Two Dyaloges*; the anonymous *Mery Dialogue* (i.e., the *Conjugium*) published in 1557 but, the editor suggests with good reason, probably made twenty to thirty years earlier; *The Pylgremage of Pure Deuotyon*, translated between October 1536 and February 1537 by some anonymous pamphleteer; and the 1566 translation of the *Diversoria* by E. H., whom the editor identifies with Edward Hake. English readers may be grateful to Professor De Vocht not only for the scholarship of his editing, introductions and notes, but also for making accessible five documents all of which are of great historical interest, and most of which are written in English of excellent raciness and gusto. E. C. B.

Professor F. M. Padelford has revised his edition of *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. ix + 284 pp.). The text is based on the MSS., and useful collations with the texts of Tottel are given in the notes. The original punctuation is nowhere indicated, unfortunately; a few specimens would have been of interest. One might dissent from some of Mr Padelford's literary judgments, but his text (though eclectic) and his notes on sources are valuable. Misprints catch the eye on pages 210, 'vuol'; 221, 'Such'; 223, 'according'; and Glossary, 'Descrive,' where the text reads 'decrive' —which is right? The Glossary could be spared. W. L. R.

Professor Lowry C. Wimberley's *Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1928. xiv + 466 pp. 25*s.*) is to be followed by another volume dealing with 'old-time rites and ceremonies imbedded in balladry.' It is crammed, as its successor will no doubt also be, with facts and illustrations, but one may ask whether it would not have been possible to arrange them in considerably less bulk. Like many scholars, Dr Wimberley is overwhelmed by his material, and sometimes gives us more

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than he need. So, for example, the occupations of fairies are the same as those of mortals, and it hardly seems necessary to devote several pages to them. And again, although the author is aware of the danger of over-interpretation (cf. p. 101), he not infrequently falls both into it and into over-ingenious interpretation. There can scarcely be, as he suggests on p. 126, any thought of an orchard-paradise in any of the versions of *Lulley*, least of all in the oldest; and the serpents of *Dives and Lazarus* (p. 63) belong to popular theology rather than to enchantment. There seems to be some real confusion here, the serpents being made to accompany other serpents with whom they have no connexion of thought; and a similar confusion may be pointed out on p. 334: 'Harping the dead from the grave, as in *The Twa Brothers* (49 B), recalls the incident of the harp, viol, or fiddle made from the drowned girl's body in *The Twa Sisters* (10), an instrument which, when played upon, reveals the identity of the girl's slayer.' Why should it recall anything of the sort, except by the coincidence of the word harp? The harps are not of the same kind, and the two plots have no more in common than a raven and a writing-desk. So again on pp. 44 sqq. little or no distinction is made between three primitive conceptions—that of talking birds which are simply birds possessing the power of speech, that of birds which 'contain' the souls of the dead, and that of birds which are enchanted mortals. These examples—and others might be adduced—indicate a certain want of proportion in what is yet a learned, painstaking and suggestive study in a subject of which only the fringes have hitherto been touched.

E. C. B.

In *Myth and Miracle* (London: J. Burrow. 1929. 32 pp. 2*s*.) Mr G. Wilson Knight seeks to illustrate, with deeper significance, the spiritual harmony attained by Shakespeare in his last plays, after the disharmony reflected in his 'problem plays.' Mr Knight reads into the plays a progress from a 'hate-theme' to 'mysticism,' and draws a parallel between this progress towards the 'myths' of the last plays, the Christ story, and the structure of the *Divine Comedy*. Avowedly a disciple of Mr Middleton Murry, Mr Knight abstracts the plays from their setting in the history of the Elizabethan drama and of society, a procedure that has grave risks. But his appreciation of the plays is thoughtful and original, as well as ardent. I agree entirely with him that it is unsafe to have sedulous recourse to an 'incompetent coadjutor,' though I am not as happy as he is about the Masque in *Cymbeline*, and I am not able to accept the texts of all the plays he deals with as unalloyed Shakespeare of one vintage. 'Whenever, exactly, *The Tempest*, was written' (*sic* p. 26) really is a question, and a question that matters. I am not clear, by the way, what exactly a 'crystal act' (p. 28) can be.

C. J. S.

A new volume of the Oxford Miscellany gives us a welcome selection from the work of Keats' friend J. H. Reynolds (*Poetry and Prose*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by George L. Marsh. London:

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H. Milford. 1928. 196 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*). The aim of the editor was to include enough of Reynolds' work to account for the estimate of him in his early years as a poet equal in promise to Keats, and in this he has succeeded. Further, although he could not omit Reynolds' best known poem, *Peter Bell*, and has included representative poems from *The Fancy* and the *Odes and Addresses*, he has chosen most of his selections from those volumes which have never been reprinted and are now almost inaccessible—*Safie*, *The Eden of Imagination*, *The Garden of Florence*; he has hunted out contributions to periodicals, and has reprinted the most important parts of Reynolds' reply (in an Exeter newspaper, *The Alfred*) to the *Quarterly* attack on Keats. The Introduction is scholarly, and adds considerably to our knowledge of Reynolds and of his family. It is altogether a most attractive volume, well worthy of its place in the series.

I have only noticed one misprint—'down' for 'Adown' in the first Sonnet on p. 88. H. W. H.

K. A. R. Sugden's *Short History of the Brontës* (London: Oxford University Press. 1929. viii + 122 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*) is described by the author as intended to be 'a slim, handy, frigid work, in which the details and events of the career of the Brontë family should be set out in order, without much embroidery or many theories, but containing most of the information now available, given in due proportion.' Slim and handy the book is: frigid it is not, but it is cool and well-balanced, and one can sympathise with the half-humorous revolt against certain essays in biographical fiction which provoked the epithet. A book with such aims should, however, be even painfully accurate, and there are a few slips here which ought to be corrected in a second edition: Miss Elizabeth *Franks*, p. 11; *Benjamin* Rogers, p. 81; an engraving of *Lawrence Thackeray*—for an engraving of Lawrence's portrait of Thackeray—p. 90; and, most surprising of all, the assertions in the synopsis of *Jane Eyre* that Jane becomes governess to 'an old lady's French ward' and that 'an odd chambermaid tries to kill one of the guests.' It is a pity that such slips should occur in a book which in fact does admirably what it sets out to do. E. C. B.

Alfred de Vigny, by Robert de Traz (Paris: Hachette. 1929. 186 pp. 10 fr.), is the first of a new series of critical and biographical monographs consecrated to the greatest French writers of the Romantic period, from André Chénier to Baudelaire and from Chateaubriand to Gérard de Nerval. Each of the volumes in this collection, which is under the general editorship of Émile Henriot, will present the literary portrait of the writer and endeavour to interpret the man by his work and the work by the man. If the other volumes of the series are as distinguished by the critical insight and sympathetic touch we find in this book, the collection will certainly be of strong popular interest as well as of marked scholarly value. M. Robert de Traz, the editor of the *Journal de Genève*,

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is in many respects akin in spirit to Alfred de Vigny, and has written of his subject with deep understanding and sympathy. He justly lays chief stress on the tragic destiny of the poet of *les Destinées*, in which he finds the explanation of the man's personality and work. Vigny's pessimism was certainly first of all the result of his own bitter experiences. He suffered much from the envy and treachery of his fellow-men, who could not bear his superiority of mind and nobility of heart. But his own personal sufferings lost themselves in the totality of human sufferings. His despair over the difficulties and dismays, the deceptions and desertions of life had a universal rather than a personal aspect. While condemning, in his manly resignation to the irrevocable, his own sorrows to silence, he felt a profound pity for the sufferings of others, his 'companions in misery,' as he calls them. Vigny was the greatest champion of lost causes. He pleaded for the aristocrat, the soldier and the poet. But, although the aristocratic bent of his mind led him to dwell upon the exceptional natures, he was equally touched by the unbounded misery of the common lot of man. Posterity will not withhold from Vigny himself that 'pity without limits' which he felt so profoundly for others.

M. R.

It is unfortunate that a chapter of accidents, recounted by Professor Rudwin in the Preface to his *Satan et le Satanisme dans l'œuvre de Victor Hugo* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1926. 150 pp. 20 fr.), resulted in the book being very hastily written up. The style and arrangement have both suffered considerably; repetitions are frequent, both of facts and expressions, and many chapters resolve themselves into lists of examples without any guiding principles to hold them together. The author himself is dissatisfied; he says so in his Preface. The style is sometimes bald, sometimes pretentious; there is affectation in alliterative statements like the following: 'Il était fasciné par le fantastique et dominé par le diabolique'; 'Il avait un penchant pour le prodigieux, une manie pour le merveilleux, une soif pour le surnaturel'; 'Victor Hugo avait le goût du gouffre.' There is a lack of selection shown in the confused accumulation of examples; surely it is puerile to count 'un bon diable,' 'une espèce de petit diable blond,' or even 'Nous luttons comme des diables et nous rions comme des dieux' as cases of 'Satanism'! Professor Rudwin, carried away by enthusiasm for his subject, is led into most extravagant statements, such as 'Le diable est la clef de toute œuvre poétique'; 'Satan est le fil d'Ariane de l'œuvre de Victor Hugo'; 'La réhabilitation de Satan comme personnage puissant de la poétique française est le plus grand mérite de ce rénovateur de notre littérature' (Chateaubriand). Hugo would surely have been surprised indeed to learn that 'Olympio' was 'façonné à l'image du diable,' and Goethe to find his sinister Mephistopheles classed as a comic type of devil. The most glaring error, however, is in the strange misinterpretation on p. 42 of a poem from *Toute la Lyre*: 'Il paraît qu'il est d'accord avec son père sur ce point quand celui-ci soutient qu'il aurait fallu inventer *le diable* s'il

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n'avait pas existé.' In the poem in question a curé who has been railing alike against Satan and Voltaire is heckled by a peasant:

> Si Dieu n'existait pas?...répondez à cela!
> Il faudrait l'inventer, dit mon père.
> —Voilà,
> S'écria le curé, j'en prends à témoin Rome
> Et le saint-père, un cri de l'âme!
> Et le bonhomme
> Sut gré du cri de l'âme à mon père, lequel
> L'avait pris dans le diable, édition de Kehl.

Professor Rudwin's book is completed by a Bibliography of his own works. Published separately but concurrently is a list of works relevant to his study; the fact that it is entitled simply *Bibliographie de Victor Hugo* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1926. 44 pp. 10 fr.) gives us the right to expect something much more complete. It is only after the book has been purchased that the student finds in its Avant-Propos that 'l'auteur n'a pas la prétention de dresser une bibliographie complète de Victor Hugo...il s'est proposé simplement d'indiquer—à part quelques exceptions—les ouvrages divers qu'il a pu lui-même utiliser directement au cours de la préparation de son étude sur Victor Hugo.' A bibliography of Victor Hugo would be a stupendous enterprise, but, if it is worth doing, it is worth doing well. As it is, in the absence of alphabetical index and chronological arrangement alike, it is almost impossible to find in Professor Rudwin's list any given work. Arrangement under subjects is bound to be arbitrary. The difficulty is still further increased by the fact that authors' surnames are not put first. The Bibliography, even granting its limitations, is deplorably incomplete; capital works are omitted, while minor ones by obscure authors are included. Unless submitted to careful editing by directors of studies, it is likely to be misleading to inexperienced students. M. E. I. R.

Three centuries and a half after the death of Camões there exists no reliable text of that great lyric poet's lyrics. Any step towards the desired consummation is to be welcomed. In the present volume, *Poesias Castellanas y Autos* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional. 1929), which won a prize offered by the Spanish Royal Academy and is published in Portugal at its expense, although written in Spanish, Dr Marques Braga gives a scholarly text of the Spanish lyrics of Camões and of his three plays, *Os Enfatriões* and *Filodemo* (text of 1587) and *El Rey Seleuco* (text of 1645). A list of reminiscences and imitations of Spanish poets in Camões' poems is provided: they are nearly all of Garcilaso and Boscán. The *apparatus criticus*, concise and modest in appearance, is the result of wide learning and study of Spanish and Portuguese literature, and gives many useful explanations and parallels and a considerable amount of valuable linguistic and literary information. Camões, who felt the full beauty of the Castilian language and its poetical value ('Quam bem que soa o verso castelhano' he exclaims), is not at his best in his Castilian lyrics, which suffer from a certain thinness when compared with his

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wonderful Portuguese poems; but his three plays, written in his native Portuguese and in which he skilfully combined the mediæval and Renaissance tendencies of the drama, have considerable charm. This excellent edition contains reproductions in facsimile of the title-pages of the 1587 edition of the Autos and of the 1645 edition of the Rimas and third auto *El Rey Seleuco*, the play which, it is probable, owing to its indiscreet allusions, ushered in the poet's misfortunes (it may have been written and acted at Lisbon when he was about twenty); about a century later it was imitated by Moreto in his *Antíoco y Seleuco*.

A. F. G. B.

An attempt to trace the gradual penetration of High German into Lüneburg and to show the reasons for its penetration is made by Hans Teske in *Das Eindringen der hochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Lüneburg* (Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1927. xv + 176 pp. 9 M.). Lüneburg was situated on two great trade routes, north to south, and east to west. It was a member of the Hanseatic League. Until the League perished in the sixteenth century Lüneburg was in constant communication with other Low German towns, and conditions were favourable for the retention of Low German, but with the fall of the League these old connexions were broken, and conditions favourable to the survival of Low German were changed. Teske examines various municipal documents and books. In one book Low German appears first in 1343, from 1371 until 1382 Low German and Latin are found side by side, and in 1382 Latin disappears. In the case of letters from Lüneburg, both Low German and High German are used from 1546 to 1556. In general High German is used in letters to districts in which High German is spoken, but not consistently. The letters to the south deal mainly with legal matters, and Teske shows that the influence of lawyers, trained in universities, was paramount in the introduction of High German into Lüneburg. He proves that the Reformation had little to do with it. Throughout the sixteenth century nearly all the preachers in Lüneburg came from Low German districts. The decisive factors are law, commerce, and culture. These bring the town more and more under the influence of the south, and Low German gradually becomes a dialect of the uneducated.

A. C. D.

In his *Études de Mythologie et de Folklore germaniques* (Paris: E. Leroux. 1928. viii + 191 pp. 40 fr.) Professor A. H. Krappe deals with Tyr, Odin, Hel, Holda, Hagen, the legend of the Harlungs, and the source of the *Saga af Herrauði ok Bósa*. He shows great skill in the orderly arrangement of the large amount of material he has collected. In each section a short summary of the work hitherto published is followed by a criticism of it. Much space is devoted to comparative mythology. Krappe has published his work in French since very little on Germanic mythology has appeared in this language. A. C. D.

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Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspieles, by Dr Walter Benjamin (Berlin: E. Rowohlt. 257 pp. 8 M.), is concerned with the idea of baroque tragedy. The first necessity, Dr Benjamin holds, is to free the mind of the tendency to confuse this specific form of tragedy—in spite of the baroque author's devotion to Aristotle—with Greek tragedy. Aristotle's terror and pity were misunderstood, and the aim of baroque tragedy was to show the transitoriness of all earthly things, to appal by letting us see destruction and death lurking round even the mighty. There is usually no attempt, as one may see in the *Leo Armenius* of Gryphius, to enlist our sympathies with tyrant or rebel; it is enough to represent the insecurity of kingly might. Thus baroque 'Trauerspiel' is more closely allied to mediæval drama than to Greek tragedy; its subject is 'Trauer.' The theme is conceived as an allegory, and when transfiguration comes, it comes not from within, but as a light from above. Dr Benjamin's book is perhaps a little too full of polemic, but it gives an excellent idea of what baroque literature stands for. When, however, he claims Shakespeare as an 'allegorical' poet, he is being carried away by his theme; and his theory of the origin of Greek tragedy, the form of which, he says, is that of the primitive law-court, is not in agreement with the best authorities. But these are minor blemishes in a vigorous and comprehensive study. There is an excellent bibliography. R. P.

The English Goethe Society again offers its subscribers a rich and varied menu (*Publications of the English Goethe Society*, New Series, Vol. v, edited by J. G. Robertson, London: A. Moring. 1928. 8vo. 110 pp.) after the solid fare of some previous years. Only so competent a philologist as Professor W. E. Collinson could have illuminated *The Language of Goethe* by constant references to modern linguistic theories. It is a testimony to his thoroughness that Fischer's *Goethe Wortschatz*, which has since appeared, makes no mention of either 'Schlippermilch' or 'enucleirt' which Professor Collinson discusses at some length. Professor Breul invites us to *Ein Besuch in Goethes Werkstatt* and entertains us wittily and instructively with the genesis of several of the master's works. Professor Robertson elaborates the introduction to his well-known *Tasso* edition by the further discussion of the tragedy inherent in a play which only seems to end on a note of reconciliation. The most suggestive paper is, perhaps, that of Mr Montgomery on *Fate and Guilt in the German Drama*, in which he shows how some of Germany's leading dramatists react to these ideas. Goethe was too deeply rooted in Leibnitz's humanitarianism to allow Evil to triumph permanently over Good; he was by his own confession 'no cruel nature' and Faust is ultimately saved. Schiller's dramatic characters, far from being the victims of 'ineluctable Fate,' perish rather because they transgress the moral law; even Hölderlin's Empedokles takes the fatal plunge into Etna as much from a strong sense of guilt as from any belief in the goddess Ananke. It is not until we come to the 'Schicksalsdrama' that the popular consciousness of Fate in its classical, Hebrew sense is exploited

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for the purpose of dramatic tension. The final essay by Professor Atkins on *Heine a Hundred Years Ago* affords a pleasant sketch by one who has proved himself by his just published monograph on Heine an authority on the subject. L. A. W.

An Early Norse Reader by G. N. Garmonsway (Cambridge: University Press. viii + 148 pp. 8*s*. 6*d*.) affords a skilfully graded approach to Old Icelandic prose. The texts begin with three passages provided with interlinear translation, and the first half-score are particularly straightforward and free from difficulties. Most of the extracts are shorter than in the general run of Readers, and this enables the editor to draw on a wide range of sources, and to offer a very varied as well as an unhackneyed selection of extracts. He includes several with a bearing on British literature and history, amongst them passages of interest to the student of *Beowulf* and *Waldere*.

The notes are to the point, and the glossary is well done. A new edition should give an index of proper names. The form *Agli* on p. 68 is liable to puzzle a beginner, though the solution is provided in the Grammar—an admirably clear and attractively printed section of the book. The very short Introduction gives perhaps too much space to skaldic poems as compared with Eddic. The meaning of the word 'kenning' on p. 5 might have been explained by a reference to the skaldic verse of Extract 42 and the notes thereon. B. S. P.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

September—November, 1929.

GENERAL.

Anecdota oxoniensia. Texts. Documents and Extracts chiefly from MSS. in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Mediæval and Modern Series. Part XV: Early Scholastic Colloquies, ed. by W. H. Stevenson. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 10*s.* 6*d.*

DRAKE, W. A., Contemporary European Writers. London, G. G. Harrap. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Fred. Newton Scott Anniversary Papers, The. Chicago, Ill., Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. 24*s.* 6*d.*

KAUCHER, D. J., Modern Dramatic Structure (Univ. of Missouri Studies, iii, 4). Columbia, Mo., Univ. of Missouri Press. $1.25.

KLEMPERER, V., Idealistische Literaturgeschichte. Grundsätzliche und anwendende Studien. Bielefeld, Velhagen und Klasing. 4 M. 80.

LAVRIN, J., Studies in European Literature. London, Constable. 5*s.*

MACKENZIE, A. M., The Process of Literature. London, Allen and Unwin. 10*s.*

RUSSO, L., Problemi di metodo critico (Bibl. di Cultura moderna). Bari, Laterza. L. 20.

UNGER, R., Aufsätze zur Prinzipienlehre der Literaturgeschichte. Aufsätze zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte. Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt. Each 12 M.

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VOLUME XXV APRIL, 1930 NUMBER 2

LANGLAND AND THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

MUCH of the controversy on the authorship of *Piers Plowman* circles round the treatment in the poem of the Seven Deadly Sins. In my little book, *New Light on 'Piers Plowman,'* which is, in effect, a life of William Langland, I purposely avoided as far as possible the subject of the Seven Deadly Sins. I did, however, point out (p. 69) that in the B text 'Haukyn the actyf man' is a portrait of the poet himself when he was established in London, and that when he rewrote the poem at the end of his life he took out the portrait, made 'Actyf'—not Haukyn, who disappears—a general character, and transferred the sins to which Haukyn had confessedly been prone, to Passus C VII and C VIII, under a general description of the Seven Deadly Sins. I did this for two reasons. In the first place I wished to give an account of Langland's life, and there was no occasion then to go closely into his treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins. Secondly, I did not wish to get side-tracked into a discussion of the story of Robert the Robber or to be entangled in the controversy as to whether there was a 'missing leaf' (Dr Manly) or a 'misplaced leaf' (Dr Jusserand), or neither a missing nor a misplaced leaf (Professor R. W. Chambers).

It is, however, possible to approach the question of the Seven Deadly Sins in a new manner. The poem is a great autobiography. Much of this autobiography is concealed under allegory, some of it is not. Haukyn, the active man in the B text, is Langland himself at the time he first went to London. Haukyn is as much Langland as Childe Harold is Byron, and more so than Aurora Leigh is Elizabeth Barrett Browning. It must always be remembered that Langland when he wrote his poem never kept himself out of his mind. He is a true egoist and his experiences are frequently introduced in the guise of abstract characters and allegories. It is exceedingly difficult to detach fact from fiction, but there seems to be a guide which at all events shows the way through some parts of the poem, and that guide is that each text represents a different period of the poet's life, and is thus, as it were, separated from the other texts. When Langland wrote the A text about 1363, he was residing in London, but had only been there a few years. This early edition of the poem therefore contains many references, though largely concealed, to people residing, and to events which took place, near the Malvern Hills. When he rewrote the poem about 1377, he pruned out much of this matter, and modified much that remained of these personal

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allusions, leaving some, altering others. This of course, as was natural, led to a great deal of confusion in the text, which confusion has been noted by modern commentators and has led to the theory of a multiple authorship, as an escape from the difficulty. At the same time that Langland reduced the personal allusions in the B text, he added others, and more particularly the adventures of Haukyn in London.

Now when in the course of time Langland came to rewrite the whole poem, in 1398 or 1399, he took out and changed some of the matter which he had left in the B text, and this at all events tended to make it more consistent. At the same time he also pruned out the personal allusions contained in the story of Haukyn, but as some compensation, he introduced into the C text long autobiographical passages which related events especially connected with his early life. Dr Mabel Day has noted this incongruity and in her article, the 'Revisions of "Piers Plowman"' (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Jan. 1928), she says (p. 18): 'Whereas the original version is marked by a clear visualisation of the scene described, and a dramatic handling of the characters as individuals rather than as allegorical types, B's interest lies in the abstract rather than in the concrete, in ideas rather than in men. This often leads him into incongruities, which, when they are sufficiently obvious, are methodically removed by C. Specimens of this can be collected from the well-worn ground of the Seven Deadly Sins.' Quite so; but the deduction drawn, that therefore the work must be that of more than one writer, is far less simple than the true explanation as given above.

Let us consider Langland's treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins, bearing always in mind the writer's changed attitude in each text. In the first, or A text, we find the sins twice introduced. In A II, 61 ff., the Lady Mede is endowed with Pride, Envy, Lechery, Covetousness, Gluttony and Sloth. Wrath is left out purposely, as I shall show; Langland was not prone to wrath. In A v, 43–4, we have the lines:

> Thenne ron Repentaunce. and rehersed this teeme
> And made William to weope. watur with his ezen.

This is followed by an account of the Seven Deadly Sins (Wrath again being omitted) and certainly connects William with them. The first is Pride, though the word is never mentioned. We are told how Pernel Proud-heart did penance for her sin, which, as Dr Jusserand has pointed out, might equally well have been Lechery or Envy. It is not at all unlikely that Langland had some particular woman in view, as she is mentioned in A IV, 102, in A v, 45 ff. (where she is told to put her finery away), and in A v, 163, where she appears as Pernel of Flanders and in

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strange company. Of the lady's occupation in life there can be no doubt. Next we come to Lechery, who undertakes to do penance by drinking water and dining but once on a Saturday for 'seven ȝer after.' Then follows a description of Envy's personal appearance, and a graphic little tale of Envy's neighbour whom he (Envy) hates and does his best to annoy—even in church he turns from prayer to envy 'Heyne' his new coat.

Then comes Covetousness, who describes how he learnt to lie and how he cheated when he took his drapery to the fairs at Winchester and 'Wych' (? Weyhill); he tells us also how his wife brewed ale at Westminster and what she did to sell it at a profit. Under 'Gluttony' is presented a scene in a tavern which is, in its coarseness, as vigorous as anything painted by Hogarth. Such a scene Langland, no doubt, had often witnessed. It is perhaps worth noting that two of the characters present are 'Sire Pers of Pridye and Pernel of Flaundres.' Sloth finishes the list, after promising to yield again, if he has so much, all that he has wickedly gained since he had understanding.

Following the story of Sloth is the much-discussed tale of Robert the Robber. Robert looks at *Reddite* (restore again), and laments that he cannot make restitution as he has not the wherewithal to do it. Weeping, he hopes to be pardoned as was Dismas, the penitent thief on the Cross. Dr Manly and others hold that Robert is under the wrong sin—but, is he? He has not exerted himself to make restitution and consequently has not obtained absolution; he is therefore guilty of sloth. Again Wrath is omitted—William had no interest in that sin, as we shall see, although in A v, 67, Envy is described as having his body 'bolled,' while 'for wraththe he bot (bit) his lippes.'

Some fifteen years later Langland recast (and re-edited) his poem. He enlarged it from eleven (or twelve) passus to twenty. He had then been living in London some twenty years. When he came to deal with the earlier part of the poem in this revision he pruned and altered many of the episodes which, in the form of allegory, had concealed personal and private matters. This was particularly the case with regard to his treatment of Clergie and Scripture, who in all probability were real persons. This naturally led to some confusion in the texts. Many commentators have noted this, though they have not found the very obvious solution of the difficulty. Langland's dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins is to some extent an instance of this confusion. In the B text he not only repeats with alterations the two accounts of the sins given in the A text, but he adds two further accounts.

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In the first place let us examine how he deals with those passages which are paraphrased from the A text: A II, 62 ff.; B II, 78 ff. The endowment of the lady Mede is much the same, though given more fully, but Wrath is now included, though in a very minor part:

> And the erldome of enuye. and wratthe togideres
> With the chastelet of chest. and chateryng-oute-of-resoun,

as if he were almost a part of Envy.

In the second passage, however, there are some very important changes. The descriptions are longer and much altogether new matter is introduced. Wrath is included, and under Covetousness the story is told (B v, 232) how he (Covetousness) when asked if he had ever made restitution, said that he had rifled the baggage of some Chapmen, and when it is pointed out to him that rifling is not restitution, humorously pretends that he thought rifling was French for restitution, and that he only knew the French of the further end of Norfolk. A good deal more is related of Covetousness' methods of cheating, and when asked if he has not pity on poor men replies, 'Yes as much pity as pedlar for cats, who will kill them because he covets their coats.' Many more lines are added, the general effect of which is that Covetousness should give up trading and make restitution; in all seventy-one lines more than in the A text. Gluttony is much the same as in the A text, though considerably extended. When we come to Sloth (B v, 392 ff.) we find a very curious change. In this revision Sloth is depicted as a dissolute priest whose actions and want of learning are minutely described. He can find a hare in a field more easily than his place in a service book. This is evidently a portrait and is most likely a portrait of one of those priests who, as Langland tells us, had forsaken their parishes to come to London after the Black Death. He can hardly have belonged to the Malvern period in Langland's life, or he would have been included in the A text. This portrait of the priest must have been known to Chaucer, who, in his Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, makes the parish priest a good man and a brother of the Plowman. In fact, Chaucer actually answers Langland. We again have the story of Robert the Robber, while inserted after the description of the priest are the lines (B v, 446):

> I ran aboute in 3outhe. and 3af me nou3te to lerne,
> And euere sith haue be beggere. for my foule sleuthe;
> *Hew michi, quod sterilem vitam duxi iuuenilem.*

These lines were introduced with a view to showing Langland as a victim of sloth. The treatment of Wrath (B v, 134) requires fuller consideration. As has been pointed out, the incidents which occur are not,

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as in the other sins, actions of Wrath himself, but of persons incited by Wrath. We are introduced to a scandalous scene in a convent, where the nuns quarrel and fight. They are instigated by Wrath. Then we have the statement that Wrath has no chance in a monastery. This is very remarkable as we must remember that Langland was educated in a monastery, and has actually told us (B x, 302–5) that no one comes into a monastery to 'chide or to fight' and that there is 'great love and liking' there. It is evident therefore why Wrath was first left out, and then introduced in this strange way. Langland did not suffer from this sin and he wishes to tell us so. When Langland continued the poem in the B text he tells us how he fell under the influence of *Concupiscencia-Carnis* (Lechery) (B xi, 11 ff.) and Covetousness-of-Eye, and further, that he was a victim of Pride-of-Perfect-living, so that we may expect to find the influence of these sins in his life.

In Passus B xiii he describes his life in London under the name of Haukyn the active man, and relates how Haukyn fell under the influence of the Seven Deadly Sins. There is a very long description (B xiii, 276 ff.) of Pride, under which Langland is evidently giving a portrait of himself. All he says about Wrath is contained in a line: 'It (his coat) was bi-dropped with Wratthe, and wikked wille' (l. 321).

Again we note that Langland had no personal interest in Wrath. His description of Envy is very different from the preceding one. Here Envy is defined as a tale bearer, while Lechery is evidently a personal experience. Under Covetousness he relates how he used false measures, stole from his neighbour, and overcharged; when he went to mass he mourned more for the loss of his goods than for his sins, and when he should have been praying he thought of his mercantile adventures. About Gluttony there is not much, though he does tell us that he sometimes ate and drank too much, but Gluttony was not one of Langland's besetting sins. Under Sloth he asks what are the 'braunches,' or various ways which bring men to Sloth, and he answers that it is when a man mourns not for his misdeeds, neither does penance as the priest enjoins and gives no alms. Note how well this definition fits the case of Robert the Robber, who will not or could not do penance by returning his ill-gotten gains. There is one other allusion to the Seven Deadly Sins in the B text, xiv, 215 ff. Here Langland shows how the poor by their poverty escape from the deadly sins. It is a fantastic passage and Envy is left out. I have no doubt Dr Manly is right and that while Langland was prepared to maintain that the poor man was exempt from the other sins, he could hardly assert this was so in the case of Envy.

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When Langland came to write the C text he was at the end of his life, twenty years had elapsed since he wrote the B text and much had changed. Haukyn and his sins disappear (possibly the confession appeared too lurid for William in his old age), but many of the descriptions of Haukyn's sins are put into the former passage in the B text (Passus V) and so made more impersonal. This is all done with intention. We have seen how, when Langland wrote the B text, he cut out much that referred to his past life in the Malverns and which had been related in the A text. In the same way when he wrote the C text he took out still more of his Malvern life, and also much of the first part of his life in London. On the other hand he added some interesting autobiographical passages—this time not in allegory.

The endowment of the Lady Mede is practically the same as in the B text, but when we come to the next description of the Sins there are great changes. The story of Robert the Robber is now removed from Sloth to Covetousness. It commences differently (C VII. 309). We are told there is a Welshman called Evan Yield-again-if-I-have-enough, and he promises to restore all that he wickedly had won, if he had it. Then comes Robert who looks on *Reddite* (restore again); and the rest of the story is the same. Gluttony is much the same as in the A and B texts. The last sin is Sloth, commencing a new passus, VIII; and again we have the picture of the dissolute parson, while Robert the Robber is omitted here (being in C VII, 316–30) and instead there is a long passage beginning:

> Ac whiche be the braunches. that bryngeth men to sleuthe?

In summing up we find Wrath (omitted in the A text) introduced in the B and C texts but made quite impersonal.

Now what inference may be drawn from Langland's treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins? In the first place it is only necessary to consider his treatment in A V, 45 ff., and the corresponding passages in B and C texts and in B XIII, 275 ff. (Haukyn's confession). The other passages are relatively unimportant. The omission of Wrath in the A text, with the curiously perfunctory character of his introduction in the other texts, shows that Langland intended the sins to have a more or less personal application.

The emphasis laid upon Covetousness (Langland's besetting sin) also shows the same. The main difference between A V and the B and C texts is the introduction under Sloth of the description of the scandalous parson, and the inclusion of Wrath, omitted altogether in the A text, and the addition of new matter under Covetousness. The main differences in the C

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text are the additions of personal passages taken from Haukyn's confession, under Pride, Envy, Lechery, Covetousness, Sloth, and the removal of Robert the Robber to Covetousness, and the cancelling of the story of the neighbour which had appeared under Envy in A and B. Robert the Robber, I believe, was simply removed because the matter under Sloth had become too great. The story of the neighbour under Envy which was, I think, a personal incident in Langland's Malvern life, and therefore had lost its interest, was eliminated in the C text for this reason; while the addition of the parson under Sloth was a description of a man whom Langland had met after he came to London and the A text had been written.

The inference therefore that I draw is that the description of the Sins in the A text more or less represents Langland's attitude towards them about 1363; that in the B text some of the personal element has been subtracted; while in the C text, by the addition of Haukyn's confession, they once again represent more or less Langland's experiences in 1398–9.

ALLAN H. BRIGHT.

COLWALL, MALVERN.

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PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD ENGLISH 'OROSIUS'

III[1]

C. THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE NAMES

HITHERTO we have been mainly concerned with scribal and deliberate alterations, and have paid no attention to the sounds which the spelling of the names was intended to represent, in other words, to the manner in which the scholars and the 'dictator' pronounced the names, as evidenced by that spelling. From the examples we have quoted it will have been observed that the changes from the Latin to the O.E. forms are very marked, both in vowels and in consonants. These changes at first seem a hopeless confusion; each vowel seems to have become every other vowel or diphthong, and there seems no consistency at all in the case of the consonants. The Latin does not help much in accounting for any variations, for almost every name has variant spellings in the Latin MSS., which makes it very difficult to decide whether any of them, and if so, which, gave rise to the O.E. forms. The name 'Phoenicia' clearly illustrates this difficulty, for it is spelt with *oe*, *ae*, *e*, *y*, and *i* in its initial syllable, while 'Moesia' has variants with *Mys-*, *Mis-*, *Mes-*. Among the consonants in the Latin forms of the names, *ph* and *f* (occasionally *p* also) interchange; 'Hasdrubal' is spelt with *d* or *t*, 'Minucia' with *c* or *t*, 'Veientes' with *i*, *g*, or *j*, while 'Ptolemaeus' has five different forms in the Latin MSS. Nevertheless, in spite of the drawbacks offered by the existence of numerous Latin variant spellings of the names, something may be gained by examining the O.E. forms from the point of view of the sound-transferences involved.

The Vowels.

a. The most remarkable feature of the Latin *a* is its tendency to become *e* in the O.E. in all positions; initially as in *Equitania* for 'Aquitania,' medially as in *Artecserses* for 'Artaxerxes,' and finally as in *Argyraspides* for 'Argyraspidas.' Indeed, it would seem that *e* was the commonest symbol used for an unstressed vowel. To quote a few examples: $i > e$ as in *Flamineus* for 'Flaminius,' $o > e$ as in *Dameraþ* for 'Demoratus,' *Percopiosus* for 'Procopius,' $u > e$ as in *Arpelles* for 'Arpallus.'

[1] Continued from p. 22.

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Lat. $a > o$. (1) Before and after a nasal, *r*, or *l*: thus 'Alamanni' becomes *Alomonne*, 'Amilcar' becomes *Amilcor*, 'Daedalos' becomes *Daedolas*; (2) before the spirant *th* (*þ* or *ð*): 'Agathoclen' becomes *Agothoclen*; (3) before a final consonant, especially *s*: thus 'Amintas' becomes *Omintos*; (4) finally: 'Cleopatra' becomes *Cleopatro*. It is to be noted that Lat. $o > a$ in exactly the same positions as where $a > o$, e.g., 'Amazones' appears as *Amazanes*, 'Taprobane' as *Taprabane*, 'Mediolani' as *Medialane*, 'Membroth' as *Membrað*, 'Areos' as *Areas*,' Andro' as *Andra*.

Lat. $a > e$, *o*, or *u* in final syllables, especially before *s*; but this change is evidently due to the constant confusion of case-endings already discussed. In two names only does *a* become *u* otherwise than in a final syllable: 'Attalus' appears as *Cutulus* and 'Adiabenorum' as *Ætiubena*.

Lat. $a > æ$ in unstressed positions; thus 'Aquitania' appears as *Æquitania*, 'Lacedaemoni' as *Læcedemonia* etc. and also in a few cases in a stressed syllable before *r* and *l*, as in *Thærsum*, *Mærsum*, *Gælle*, for Lat. 'Tharsum,' 'Marsorum,' 'Gallos' respectively.

From the above examples it is clear that the general tendency was for Lat. *a* to become in the O.E. names *e* or *æ* when unstressed, and to become *o* in other positions. We may also conclude that in the pronunciation of Latin by Alfred or his scholars, or by both parties, the vowel *a* must have differed hardly at all from *o*, for, as we have seen, these two vowels are used interchangeably.

Lat. *e*. After examining the treatment of Lat. *a* it is curious to find that *e* in unstressed syllables becomes both *a* and *o* in the O.E., which seems further to emphasise the resemblance in pronunciation of the two latter vowels. In stressed positions *e* occasionally $> a$, the converse of what has been noted in the case of *a*. Hence we find *Refanne* for 'Ravenna,' *Lapidus* for 'Lepidus.' $e > o$ chiefly in unstressed positions and before *l*: 'Neoptolemus' becomes *Neoptolomus* and 'Pelorus' becomes *Polores*. This change is very frequent in names which have an *e* in either the preceding or following syllable. Apart from these changes *e* is chiefly confused with *i*, both in weak end-syllables and in positions where we should expect a long tense high vowel.

$e > i$. (1) In final syllables before *s*: 'Baleares' appears as *Balearis*, 'Cambyses' as *Cambisis*; (2) medially when stressed before *n*, *d*, *t*: 'Philimene' becomes *Filimine*, 'Alceta' becomes *Alciþen*, 'Lampedo' becomes *Lampida*; (3) medially before *c* and before and after *l*: thus 'Cecrope' becomes *Cicrope*, 'Pelopis' appears as *Philopes*, and 'Penthesilea' as *Pentesilia*.

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Lat. *i*. This vowel > *e* in the same positions as where *e* > *i*. (1) 'Amosis' appears as *Amoses*; (2) 'Caudinas' appears as *Caudenes*, 'Bituitus' as *Betuitus*, 'Meotidas' as *Meotedisc*; (3) 'Micipsae' appears as *Mecipsus*, 'Mythilenus' as *Thelenus*, 'Gallium' as *Galleum*. Little more need be said about this vowel; its affinities with *e* are its most remarkable feature, as above noted. We are justified in concluding that to the scribe there was hardly any difference in the sound of *e* and *i* as pronounced by the person dictating.

Lat. *i* > *o*, in two names, evidently through the influence of other *o*-sounds present in the name: *Aristonocus* and *Domotius* representing 'Aristonicus' and 'Domitius' respectively. Only once does *i* appear as *y*, namely in *Bryttania*. Lat. *i* > *u* in *Lisum* and *Lucinius* for 'Lirim' and 'Licinius' respectively, but here there seems to have been a confusion of names rather than any phonetic change. In a few cases *i* is represented by the O.E. letter ȝ, usually printed as *g*. That this stood for the voiced palatal [j] is confirmed by the substitution of *i* for the Latin *g*, to which reference will be made later. The names where O.E. ȝ replaces the Lat. *i* are: *Argeatàs* for 'Ariarathes,' *Atregsas* for 'Atrei,' and *Ilirgus* for 'Illyrius.'

Lat. *o*. We have spoken of the change of *o* to *a* and of *o* to *e*, and there only remains to be noted the change of *o* to *u* in a few names. (1) In a final syllable: 'Argos' becomes *Argus*; (2) before a nasal and before *l*: 'Laomedon' becomes *Laumenda* and 'Persepolim' becomes *Persibulis*.

Lat. *u*. The most frequent changes of *u* occur when it is in a final syllable, and we have already noted the variants of final *-us*. In addition, *u* > *i* in a stressed syllable in the O.E. *Silla*, *Silomone* and *Luchina* for 'Sulla' (also *Sylla* in MSS.), 'Sulmonem' and 'Lugdunum' respectively. Before *l* and *r*, *u* > *o*, as in *Ercoles*, *Forius* and *Moluia* for 'Herculis,' 'Furius' and 'Mulvium' respectively. Again, *u* > *y* in *þrysci* (for *Etrusci*). The change of *u* to *eo* occurs only in *Geoweorþan* for 'Jugurtha.'

Lat. *y*. In the Latin text *i* and *y* are frequently confused in names, and in the O.E. forms of the names *i* and *y* seem also on the whole to be written indifferently for each other. In only five of the O.E. names is Lat. *y* represented by any vowel other than *i* or *y*; these are: *Cerene*, *Dameris*, *Euredica*, *Ganemeþis* and *Hierusalem* for 'Cyrenarum,' 'Tamyris,' 'Eurydice,' 'Ganymedem' and 'Hierusolyma' respectively. We may note that besides *Dameris* the form *Damaris* also occurs, which points to lack of stress on the second syllable.

Lat. 'diphthongs.' The vowel sounds in the Latin text written with two letters each and usually called 'diphthongs' seem to have caused much

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difficulty to the copyists of Latin MSS., as witnessed by the numerous variant readings of the words in which they occur, especially of the names. The spellings of these names in the O.E. text throw some light on the manner in which the 'dictator,' and perhaps the scholar interpreting the Latin text to Alfred, pronounced these vowel sounds. Thus the Lat. *ae* seems to have been pronounced, or at least heard by the scribe, as an *e*, either slack or tense. It is chiefly represented by *e* in the O.E. spelling, although very often *æ* and *e* are used indiscriminately. This *e* or *æ* for the Latin *ae* occurs in all positions, initially, medially, finally, stressed or unstressed. The Lat. *ae* also becomes *a* or *o*, but it is noticeable that this occurs either in words which already contain the vowels *a* or *o*, or in words which have in the O.E. other spellings with *e* for the Lat. *ae*. Hence we find 'Lacedaemonii' appearing as *Lacedamania* and *Lacedomonia*, while 'Palaestina' is spelt *Palastine* and *Palestine*. Instead of the usual *Crecas* for the Lat. 'Graeci,' the spelling *Creacas* occurs once, but this form is not infrequent in other O.E. texts.

Lat. *oe*. It is impossible to say what changes, if any, this sound has undergone, as it occurs in only a few names, and always has many variants in the Latin, cf. the forms of 'Moesia' cited above. The Latin 'Croesus' appears unchanged in the O.E. spelling.

Lat. *eu*. The name 'Eumenes' appears first as *Eumen* 142. 33, which occurs once again 146. 14, whereas *Umenes* occurs no fewer than nine times in the course of a few lines on p. 146. What the exact sound was, as heard by the scribe, we cannot be quite sure, but it was probably either [ᵉu] or [u].

Lat. *au*. This is in almost every instance faithfully rendered. The name 'Plautius' however appears once as *Folucius* 216. 13 (MS. C.), and 'Augustus' as *Agustus*, which is the usual O.E. spelling.

Our examination of the vowels and diphthongs of the names makes it clear that certain phonetic factors were in operation, tending to cause modifications in the Latin pronunciation of Alfred and his scholars. Stress seems to play the greatest part, and next to this is the tendency for one vowel to influence another in the same name. Both of these factors point unmistakably to dictation of the names and to the inability of the scribe to distinguish and record the sounds he heard with any degree of nicety.

The Consonants.

It is even more difficult to obtain from the names of the O.E. *Orosius* any clear ideas concerning the consonantal correspondences. Yet some

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of the differences indicate certain tendencies in the pronunciations that the scribe heard—we prefer to put it cautiously—and out of the varied attempts to represent a sound we can sometimes form a fairly accurate idea as to how it sounded when dictated. Considering the consonants as a whole, we find that the most outstanding feature of the O.E. spelling is the doubling of a single consonant medially after a short vowel. Where the Latin has one *s* in 'Nisibin' the O.E. has two; for 'Arpalus,' 'Quintilius' and 'Corinthia' the O.E. has respectively *Arpallus*, *Quintillius*, and *Corrinthia*. This doubling might seem to prove that after a short vowel a consonant had a greater degree of length than usual and that the scribe wished to indicate this extra length. If that were the case, we should have expected the doubling to be carried out systematically, but of this there is no trace. In many names we actually find the converse, where medially after a short vowel the O.E. has only one consonant, although the Latin has two, as in the names *Tirenum*, *Masilia*, *Apius*, etc. Some names even show examples of both changes; thus 'Abennem' becomes *Abbenem*, 'Arridaeus' becomes *Aridaeuss*. Moreover, certain names have sometimes one, sometimes two consonants; thus we find *Asia* alternating with *Assia*, and *Adriaticum* with *Addriaticum* in the O.E. text.

The conditions which, as we have seen, caused omission and addition of syllables seem also to have affected the consonants, such changes being due either to imperfect recognition of a word or syllable, or to difficulty in representing a particular sound. The omission of *c* in *Gallia* for 'Gallica,' of *m* in *Decius* for 'Decimus,' of *n* in *Flaminius* for 'Flaminius'; the addition of *c* in *Babylonicum* for 'Babylonium,' and the form *Cutulus* for 'Attalus'—all these seem to be due to confusions arising from the dictation. Many other changes however point rather to uncertainty in spelling. Three times the Lat. *ch* is represented by O.E. *h*: in *Arhalus*, *Eurilohus* and *Sihonas*; Lat. *cch* by O.E. *h* in *Bohan*; *ch* by O.E. *hh* in *Lisimahhus*, and *c* by O.E. *h* in *Theuhale* for 'Deucalion.' Yet we have *ch* for the Lat. *c* in *Archadius*. Unfortunately there are no other names illustrating these particular changes; if there were, it might be possible to conclude that before a back vowel there was a tendency on the part of the 'dictator' to use the guttural voiceless spirant [x] rather than the voiceless plosive [k]. Matters are however further complicated by the use of *c* for the Lat. *ch* in *Dacos*, *Dranceas*, *Ocus*, and *Parcoadras*. The spelling *Ciarsathi* for 'Charsathii' may indicate the palatalised [k'], or perhaps [tʃ] as the pronunciation of the Latin *ch*. This treatment of the Lat. *c* and *ch* is a typical example of the inter

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changes represented by the O.E. spellings, and it is not easy to decide whether consonants (i.e. the sounds) were dropped or added in particular instances, or whether the O.E. spelling is here an attempt to reproduce unfamiliar sounds heard by the scribe as he listened to the 'dictator.' Apart from this connexion with *h*, the Lat. *c* is kept regularly except in a few cases. Before *i* followed by another vowel *c* > *t* in the O.E., and conversely Lat. *t* becomes *c* in *Folucius* for 'Plautius'; but, as we have already noticed, even the Latin readings vary as to the use of *c* and *t* in some names. The O.E. *sc*, *ch*, *c*, and *s* seem to be intended to represent the sound [ʃ], as in our *she*, *hush*, in the names *Sceltiuerin* for 'Celtiberorum,' *Thelescises* for 'Telechises,' *Wulchi* for 'Volsci,' *Ulcinienses* for 'Volscenses.' This is further borne out by the O.E. *Wulchi 7 Falisci* for 'Volscorum et Faliscorum' 100. 28. The Lat. *x* is represented in the O.E. by four spellings in the three names in which it occurs: *Artecserses* for 'Artaxerxes,' *Xercsis* for 'Xerxes,' and *Exantipuse* for 'Xantippus.'

The voiceless velar plosive [k] has taken the place of the Lat. voiced plosive [g] in *Craccus*, *Creca* and *Clafrione* for 'Graccus,' 'Graecia' and 'Glabrione' respectively; *Gallica* for 'Caligula' is doubtless due to confusion with 'Gallia.' In connexion with a front vowel or *r* the voiced velar plosive [g] was evidently pronounced as a voiced palatal continuant [j]. We have already cited cases where an O.E. ȝ = [j] replaces a Latin *i*, but it is more frequent to find an O.E. *i* replacing a Latin *g*. This [j] pronunciation will account for such spellings as *Iersomas*, *Iesulause*, *Cartainens-*, *Gurius*, for the Latin 'Gessonas,' 'Agesilaus,' 'Cartaginiens-,' and 'Gurges' respectively, as well as for the omission and addition of *g* after and before *i*.

The aspirate *h* of Latin names is sometimes retained initially in the O.E. but is very frequently omitted, and on three occasions prefixed unnecessarily. The scribe may not have been certain about using initial *h*; some names have double forms, one with *h* and one without.

Turning to the point-lingual group of consonants, we find that there are many changes of plosives to spirants and of voiced to voiceless. In the O.E. forms, the symbols *þ* and *ð* as well as *th* were used indiscriminately, as is well shown in *Sciþþie*, *Sciððie*, *Sciþðie*, and *Thigesþres* (Thyestis). The Latin voiced plosive *d* becomes the spirant [ð], written *þ*, *ð*, or *th*, medially after a vowel, *r*, or *n* in 25 different names, and once initially in *Theuale* for 'Deucalion.' Otherwise *d* remains, except in four names where it becomes *t*: *Ætiubena*, *Hasterbalas*, *Proponditis* and *Tardanus*. In one instance *d* becomes *g* = [j]: *Megelan* for 'Mediolanum.'

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The Latin voiceless plosive *t* also becomes the spirant, written *þ*, *ð*, or *th*, medially after a vowel, and before *r* in six names. Usually however *t* remains, except that in eight names it becomes *d*, initially before a vowel, medially before *r*, and after *n*; once only it becomes *b* in *Bryti*, one of the variants for the Latin 'Etrusci,' but this must be a scribal error.

The Latin *th* remains initially, except in *Temeseras* for 'Themiscyrios' and *Traci* once for 'Thraci.' Medially before a vowel or *r* it becomes *t* in six names, and once *s* in *Pison* for 'Pithon.' The scholars may have pronounced the Latin *th* in different ways, as [θ], [ð], [t], and even as an aspirated *t*.

The Latin *s* is changed in only a few instances. We have seen that it was added in three names, and was palatalised when conjoined with *c*. In three names it becomes *r*: *Bonorum*, *Iersomas*, *Marisia*, for 'Bonosum,' 'Gessonas' and 'Massilia' respectively. Note also that *r* becomes *s* in one case: *Lisum* for the Latin 'Lirim.' This shows that *s* was pronounced as *z*. Twice *s* becomes *t*: in *Othinentium* and *Rædgotan* for 'Atheniensium' and 'Radagaisus.'

The Latin *z* appears in only a few names. It is retained initially in *Zoffirion*, but it is written *s* in the O.E. *Seuges* and *Soroastrem*, and also medially in *Farnabuses*. In *Macheus* for 'Mazeus' it may have been pronounced as [ʃ] or [ʒ as in *measure*].

The Latin *n* is generally retained, but in isolated examples undergoes change. In the O.E. spelling *Artabatus* it becomes *t*; *nt* becomes *th* in *Athium*; it is assimilated to *l* in *Mallius* for 'Manlius' (but *Mallius* occurs also as a variant in Latin MSS.). It becomes *r* in *Cirinens-* for 'Cininens-,' and *Greas* for 'Gnaeus'; but here the change may possibly be due to a scribal confusion of *r* and *n*. After a vowel, *n* is added in *Laumenda*, *Pincentes* and *Pencentes*, *Sarmondisc*, *Leonantius* for 'Laomedon,' 'Picentes,' 'Sarmaticus' and 'Leonnatus' respectively. It would seem that the king was trying as he dictated these names to imitate a nasalised pronunciation of vowels by the scholar who was explaining the Latin to him.

The Latin *l* becomes *r* in *Atirius*. *Marisia* is 'Massilia' transposed. In *Fiaminius* *fl* becomes *fi*, and *ll* becomes *fl* in *Feſles* for 'Ophellas.' These are distinctly interesting phonetic changes. In all other names in which it occurs this consonant is retained, though it is written indifferently either single or double.

The Latin *r* is kept in the O.E. with only a few exceptions. It is replaced by *n* in *Canone*, by *l* in *Asilia*, by *m* in *Ambogestes*, by *s* in

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Lisum. It is added in *Thigesþres* for 'Thyestis,' while *rr* becomes *r* in *Ariþeusses*, *Pirus* and *Tirenum*.

In the group of labial consonants *b* is retained as a plosive, but sometimes becomes the voiced spirant, either the labio-dental [v] or the bilabial [β̬]. It also sometimes becomes the voiceless spirant [f]. Once it becomes the voiceless plosive [p]. Medially between vowels *b* > *u* in *Beuius*, *Euoi*, *Fauia*, *Sceltiuerim*, *Siuos*; it also appears as *u* in *Galua*. It becomes [v], written *f*, between vowels, as in *Sceltiferin*, *Trefia*; and before *r* in *Clafrione*. The scribe evidently experienced some difficulty in distinguishing between *b*, *v* and *f*. In the Latin variant readings of some names *p* and *ph* alternate with *f*, and are often written *f* or *ff* in the O.E. Medially before a vowel, *p* > *f*; also initially before a vowel or *r*[1]. *Ph* becomes *f* initially[2], and *ff* medially between vowels[3]. Initially, and before a vowel, *r* or *l*, *p* becomes *b*[4]; once after *m*, as in *Ambictio*, *ph* > *b*. Only twice is *p* written *ph* in the O.E., in *Philopes* and *Olimphiade*. In the majority of instances *p* is retained for the plosive. The Latin *f* is always kept in the O.E., except once where it is replaced by the voiced form, *Uauius* for 'Fabius.' The Latin *v* (or *u*) sometimes loses its voiced quality and is written *f* as in *Fulcania*, *Fulcisci* for 'Volsci.' Medially it is also written *f*, but was no doubt pronounced as [v] or [β̬], and once it is written *b*, in *Iobeses*, which also occurs as *Iofes*. Initially, *v* is written *w* in two names, *Wespanianus* (*Uespassianus*, MS. C.), and *Wulchi*. The latter name seems to have been difficult to record, for it is also spelt *Fulcis-*, *Ulsc-*, and *Ulc-*. The nasal labial [m] suffers no change, except to become *n* in *Enilius*, and to be omitted in *Decius* (for 'Decimus').

As we concluded after an examination of the vowel-changes, so also on the evidence of the consonants, it is quite clear that the pronunciation aloud of the names has had a strong influence on the O.E. spellings, and has given rise to variants from the Latin which would not have occurred if the translation had not been dictated. Many of the changes are isolated or rare, and can be safely ascribed to the scribe's mistakes, but others which are well illustrated cannot be included in this category. We should not, for example, regard the introduction of the palatal spirant [j], written *i*, before a front vowel as a scribal error, but as a representation of a sound actually heard.

In treating the question of pronunciation we must consider how the

[1] *Arfatium, Calfurnius, Escolafius, Feucestas, Piðnam, Folucius, Frigam, Iðasfene.*
[2] *Falores, Fefles, Fenitia, Filimene, Filiotes, Filonem, Fetontis.*
[3] *Cleoffiles, Effesum, Riffeng, Zoffirion.*
[4] *Abulia, Bachinum, Bothmose, Brobus, Blacidus, Persibulis, Tribulitania.*

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changes came about which gave rise to differences in spelling from the Latin. We have seen that the Latin text was probably explained to King Alfred by his scholars, and afterwards dictated by him to some amanuensis[1]. This would give rise to two *viva voce* pronunciations: the scholar's and the king's. We do not know who the scholars were that helped in the interpretation of the *Orosius*, but if we could assume that they were foreigners it would make matters easier. When they had given their explanations, the king would understand their English in spite of a foreign pronunciation, but in the case of names, the majority of which were quite new to him, he would imitate the scholar's pronunciation as well as he could. This he would pass on to the scribe, probably with many minor variations; and the scribe in turn would represent it as well as he could, although he too would make further mistakes and might alter the sounds when he repeated to himself the names he had heard.

This assumption of foreign influence is not at all improbable when we consider the conditions of learning in England at that time. The king himself tells us in his preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* that he cannot think of a single man south of the Thames able to read Latin and English when he came to the throne. It is therefore not very likely that there were any Englishmen capable of instructing Alfred or helping in the translation. On the other hand, we do know that there were many foreigners at the king's court. Asser states that 'many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, pagans, Britons, Scots and Armoricans, noble and humble, submitted voluntarily to his authority, and all of them according to their nation and deserving were ruled, loved, honoured and enriched with money and power.' Even if we had to conclude that Alfred's assistants were the learned bishops and priests, we know that he chose some of these from the Carolingian empire. Grimbald and John are mentioned in the preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* as Alfred's helpers with his translation, and both were from the Continent, Grimbald probably from Flanders, while John was a Saxon. Moreover others of his learned men were not West-Saxons; Asser was a Welshman; Werfrith and Plegmund were Mercians.

It might be suggested that the scribe himself, always supposing that a scribe was employed, was a foreigner and that he made the changes in repeating the names as he wrote them down; but it is much more probable that he was an Englishman. We have seen that he was not

[1] Although we have assumed throughout the existence of a scribe, we cannot rule out the possibility that Alfred may have himself taken down the translation, either wholly or in part. This would hardly affect our argument for the pronunciation aloud of the names.

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educated enough to recognise many of the names, nor to understand the Latin he chanced to hear. He was, however, quite familiar with the English tongue, finding no difficulty in the dictation except when the strange names appeared. Such a scribe we should expect to find after learning had once more been established in England.

In connexion with this problem of nationality, it is interesting to note an interesting parallel between the O.E. *Orosius* and the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine, another translation attributed to King Alfred. In a discussion of the MS. of the O.E. version in his edition Mr H. Lee Hargrove conjectures that the MS. was written by an Anglo-Norman French scribe from dictation. As proof he cites certain phonological and scribal differences between the MS. forms of words and the normal West-Saxon forms, especially noting the confusion of *ð* (or *þ*) with *d* and *t*, the interchange of the nasals *n* and *m*, and the loss and addition of initial *h*. We have seen that the same differences occur in the O.E. *Orosius* between the normal Latin of the names and their O.E. forms. Among the vowels in the text of the O.E. *Soliloquies* there is a similar confusion of *a*, *æ* and *e*, and among the consonants *r* > *n*; *m* and *n* interchange; *n* is dropped; *d* > *t*; *ð* (or *þ*) > *t* and *d*; *s* is used for *c* and *ð* (or *þ*); *c* is used for *g* or *t*; *g* is used for *c*; *h* is omitted initially. We have only to compare these changes with those which we have already noted in the spellings of the names of the O.E. *Orosius* to be struck by their resemblance. We may suppose either that there is some connexion between the MS. of the *Soliloquies* and the MSS. of the *Orosius*, or that if an Anglo-French scribe, or a 'dictator,' is the cause of the peculiarities of spelling in the *Soliloquies*, then a foreign scribe or 'dictator' might also be their cause in the case of the *Orosius*. Concerning the first suggestion, a connexion between the MSS. is difficult to accept, if Mr Hargrove's supposition is correct, that the MS. of the *Soliloquies* dates from the twelfth century, seeing that the *Orosius* MSS. are both much older. Summarising, Mr Hargrove says, 'As to the date of the MS. there is a variety of opinion. Pauli places it in the twelfth century, while Birch is inclined to date the writing at the tenth century, not far from Alfred's time, say 930–950; most scholars however, including Wülcker, Napier, Morley, Schröer and Hulme, agree with Pauli in assigning it to the twelfth century.' We cannot therefore draw any conclusions from this coincidence, and must rely on the evidence given in the O.E. *Orosius* itself. The influence of foreign scholars seems the best explanation of some of the changes which we have noticed. Without such influence it is hardly possible to explain the consonantal variations, which cannot be due to the defective

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hearing or incapacity of the person who wrote down the O.E. text.

Was the O.E. text revised? The mass of glaring inconsistencies and errors in the spellings of the names makes this wholly improbable; it would rather seem that when once written it was not retouched, nor were any emendations made when it was copied. Why the *Orosius* was not retouched or corrected by the learned helpers of the king is a very puzzling question and one which seems to have some bearing on the question of the date of its composition.

The first reason that suggests itself is that some external influence was of such power as to make a final revision impossible—some sudden attack by the Danes, or a fresh military campaign. The first interval of peace with the Danes terminated in 893, and as Wülcker, and after him Bosworth and some others, place the translation of the *Orosius* immediately before this period ended, it might seem that the renewed war with the Danes was the cause of its hasty completion without revision. But difficulties arise. The preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* is now generally considered to be one of the first works actually composed by Alfred himself. Plummer looks upon it as a preface to all his translations, yet he shows that it cannot have been written before 893, because Grimbald is therein mentioned as one of the king's helpers, and Plummer proves that Grimbald cannot have come to England before 893. Hence it would seem that the *Orosius* must have been written after this date. This is made more probable by the fact that Asser does not mention any works except the *Dialogues* of Gregory, translated by Werfrith at the command of the king. Plummer argues that Asser's silence is due to the simple reason that the other translations were not yet written, and Asser himself is believed to have written his *Life* of the king in 894. This puts the *Orosius* still later. Bernhard ten Brink suggests that Alfred was compelled to bring his translation of Bede's *History* to a close 'because a new and more difficult task was already beginning to stimulate him,' i.e., the *Boethius* translation. This suggestion of haste we are inclined to transfer to the *Orosius*, which the consensus of opinion now places later in date than the *History*, and thus we would account for the non-revision and hurried work so apparent in the last book of the *Orosius*. But again there is no conclusive date for the *Boethius*, which is generally assumed to belong to some time about 897, the beginning of the last period of peace, which closed with Alfred's death in 901. Although nothing definite can be established beyond what we proved from the consular names, that the *Orosius* preceded the *Boethius*, it would appear

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that the *Orosius* belongs to a period between 894 and 897, which we know was a period of constant tumult. Perhaps this accounts for the peculiarities of the spellings of names in the *Orosius*, for if it was written at a time when Alfred could not give it every attention, the inconsistencies and errors might easily escape detection. This would also explain the absence of revision, and if it were true that the troubles of war made the task much lengthier than would normally have been the case, it would make it more probable that the king purposely summarised so briefly the last book of the *History* of which he was doubtless beginning to grow weary.

It is unfortunate that so little is known of the literary works of our first great king, and that comparatively few attempts have been made to solve the problems which have arisen as the passing of the centuries has widened the gulf between us and our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. We have in this study confined ourselves to the names, but in not a few instances it has been felt that this limitation was a drawback, that the evidence lacking to prove certain suggestions might be obtained from a further study of the whole of the text of the O.E. *Orosius*. It is not impossible that if such a study were successful, a similar treatment of all the writings ascribed to King Alfred would be instrumental in solving some of the problems and doubts which suggest themselves.

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THE REPUTATION OF NATIVE VERSUS FOREIGN 'METAPHYSICAL POETS' IN ENGLAND

As everyone knows, one peculiarity of the last years of the Renaissance was their overmastering desire for refinement, elegance, and elaboration—a desire which made itself felt in all the arts as well as in social intercourse, and which in literature eventually ran into such an unrestrained, rank luxuriance of stylistic devices, vocabulary, conceits, allusions, and so on that many writers since have called it a 'common blight' and a 'plague' infecting the poetry and prose of all the cultured nations of Europe. In England the Euphuists, the Spenserians, and the so-called Metaphysical Poets were the most contaminated by it, but in their own day and for a short time after they nevertheless achieved considerable popularity. Of these three groups the course of the reputation of the Metaphysical Poets is especially interesting, reflecting as it does the changing taste of succeeding periods, as seen in the widespread, though not universal, reaction against these men during the age of Pope, and in the very general revival of liking during the last third of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth[1].

Inasmuch, however, as these English poets had other properties than their stylistic ones, and inasmuch as their revival was probably due to these (such as lyricism, intensity, intellectual content, rhythmical experimentation, a flavour of the recherché and the antique) rather than to their fashion of exaggerated wit, it may be useful to verify such conclusions by comparing the attitude of the English public toward certain continental poets who were known to them for similar eccentricities of expression, in order to see whether the same revival took place. Critics from the eighteenth century onward to the twentieth have mentioned three foreign writers, from three different nations, as most resembling the English Metaphysicals, sometimes claiming the relation-

[1] For the data upon which these generalisations are based, see my articles, 'The Reputation of the "Metaphysical Poets" during the Seventeenth Century,' *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, XXIII (1924), pp. 173–98; 'The Reputation of the "Metaphysical Poets" during the Age of Pope,' *Philol. Quart.*, IV (1925), pp. 161–79; and 'The Reputation of the "Metaphysical Poets" during the Age of Johnson and the "Romantic Revival",' *Studies in Philology*, XXII (1925), pp. 81–132. For articles dealing with individual aspects of the question, see 'The Term "Metaphysical Poets" before Johnson,' *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII (1922), pp. 11–17; 'The Reputation of Abraham Cowley (1660–1800),' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, XXXVIII (1923), pp. 588–641; 'The Reputation of John Donne as Metrist,' *Sewanee Rev.*, XXX (1922), pp. 1–12; and 'The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles,' *Modern Philology*, XX (1923), pp. 225–40.

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ship of master and disciple, but sometimes specifically rejecting it. However, the authorities all agree that the poetry of Marino in Italy, Du Bartas in France, and Góngora in Spain was symptomatic of the extravagant effort toward studied refinement manifest throughout Europe, and that their work has at least many superficial resemblances to that of the English Metaphysicals.

I. Marino.

Giambattista Marino was the only one of these foreign poets whom early English critics and readers regarded as having had any influence on the native writers, but nevertheless the first period of his reputation was marked chiefly by translation and imitation rather than by criticism.

Specimens of the two chief types of Marino's work—the lyric and the epic—were put at the disposal of the seventeenth-century public in the form of translation. Perhaps the earliest of these specimens was Samuel Daniel's version of the lyric, 'A Description of Beauty,' done about 1600[1]. But the only lyrical translations to gain much currency were the four made in 1651 by Thomas Stanley[2], who was master of several languages as well as a philosopher of some repute. Stanley's extensive reading and many adaptations helped him to mould his own poetical style, and his translations of Marino were always praised by his critics and biographers[3]. His kinsman, Sir Edward Sherburne, also translated 'Forsaken Lydia' from Marino in the same year.

It was in the epic mood, however, that Marino was best known to Englishmen, and the work which was chiefly responsible for accomplishing this result was Richard Crashaw's translation of the first book of *La Strage degli Innocenti* as *The Suspicion of Herod* in 1646. The inclusion of this in *Steps to the Temple* certainly did not impair the great popularity of that volume. Moreover, even as late as 1675, fifty years after Marino's death, *La Strage degli Innocenti* was considered alive enough for an anonymous writer, 'R.T.,' to translate its four books as '*The Slaughter of the Innocents by Herod.* Written in Italian by that famous

[1] This poem was reprinted by Mrs Elizabeth Cooper in her *Muses' Library*, London, 1737, pp. 382–6, as one of the best examples of Daniel's work.

[2] Stanley, *Poems*, London, 1651, pp. 24, 36, 60, 195.

[3] References to Stanley's translations from Marino may be found as follows: Edward Phillips, *Theatrum Poetarum*, Geneva, 1824, II, p. 18—dedicated to Stanley in 1675; William Winstanley, *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, London, 1687, pp. 216–17; [Gildon], *English Dramatic Poets*, London, 1699, p. 137; Giles Jacob, *Historical Account of...English Poets*, London, 1720, pp. 204–5; Pope, in Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes...of Mr Pope...*, London, 1820, p. 198; [Owen and Johnston], *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1784, XI, pp. 555–9; and George Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Poets*, London, 1801, III, p. 285.

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Poet, the Cavalier Marini.' But seemingly it was only Marino the author of religious epics who appealed to the English translators; his equally famous secular heroic poem, *Adone*, was never Englished.

Naturally enough, the translators not only allowed their own styles to be influenced by their foreign originals, but their translations also influenced other English poets through imitation and the supplying of new material. Crashaw himself, for instance (usually regarded as a Metaphysical), has been cited from the time of Pope to the present as clearly showing the taint of Marinism[1]. Another imitator rather than translator was the Metaphysical, John Cleveland, who in his own day was more popular than Milton and who even ran Abraham Cowley a close race in the matter of editions; and Cleveland was a Marinist from first to last, although he had developed a style almost his own by the end of his life[2]. There is likewise some evidence that Abraham Cowley's religious epic, *Davideis* (1656), owed a debt to either Crashaw or Marino (probably the former)[3].

The most interesting result of the Crashaw translation, however, did not come to light till more than a century later. This was the charge made in 1785 by Peregrine Philips, a querulous attorney-at-law who played a large part in the Crashaw revival by editing a selection of his works, that John Milton had pilfered extensively from *The Suspicion of Herod*, particularly in *Paradise Lost*. This charge precipitated a considerable controversy, which drew in many of the leading critics of the later eighteenth century and, extending itself to the expressed conviction that Milton in most cases borrowed directly from Marino rather than from Crashaw, has reached even down to the present decade[4]. And indeed, there is no reason for the student to wonder at these imitations when he recalls Milton's visit to Italy and his encomiums of 'dulciloquum' Marino in his Latin poem to his friend Manso in 1638[5]. Nor should it

[1] Pope, *Works*, London, 1871 ff., VI, p. 117. Mario Praz, in *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra*, Firenza, 1925, discusses particularly the influence of Marino on Crashaw and Donne.

[2] Cf. John Berdan, ed. of *Cleveland*, New York, 1902, pp. 56–7, who disagrees with Edmund Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope*, New York, 1885, pp. 156 ff., on Cleveland's maturer reaction against Marino.

[3] Cf. J. M. McBryde, *Study of Cowley's Davideis* (Johns Hopkins Diss., 1899; reprinted from *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, II, pp. 454 ff.), pp. 56–9.

[4] This controversy may be traced in the following documents: *Critical Review*, LIX (1785), pp. 255 ff.; Henry Headley, *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, London, 1810, I, p. xxxvi; William Hayley, *Biographia Britannica*, London, 1789, IV, pp. 429–31; Joseph Warton, in W. L. Bowles's ed. of *Pope*, London, 1806, II, p. 40, VII, pp. 150–1; A. B. Grosart, ed. of *Crashaw*, Edinburgh, 1873, II, pp. lxxxiii ff.; Marianna Woodhull, *The Epic of Paradise Lost*, New York, 1907, pp. 238–9; O. F. Moore, 'The Infernal Council,' *Modern Philology*, XIX (1921), pp. 60–4.

[5] William Cowper considered this poem important enough to translate it about 1791.

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be forgotten that Dr Johnson once called Milton himself 'Metaphysical' in his early poem on 'Hobson the Carrier[1].'

Since translation, as well as imitation, may fairly be regarded as a sincere form of flattery, the first period of Marino's reputation in England would initially seem to have been an approving one. But even before this period was over, the critics had for the most part begun to take an unfavourable attitude. For example, Davenant, in the preface to *Gondibert* in 1650, placed himself with those 'who permit not *Ariosto*, no nor *Du Bartas* in this eminent rank of the Heroicks: rather than to make way by their admission for *Dante*, *Marino*, and others[2].' In 1674, analysing Marino, Thomas Rymer conjured with several neo-Classical shibboleths in a fashion which was to be followed by many later judges. After referring to certain descriptive passages in the *Adone*, in the preface to his translation of Rapin's *Reflections* on Aristotle, he went on: 'In these we have more of the *fancy* then [*sic*] of the *judgment*, variety of matter rather than exquisite sense.' This idea he then developed, with illustrations, in the same carping, minutely analytical manner as in his notorious discussion of *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Othello*[3]. Somewhat similarly, Sir Thomas Pope Blount in his 'commonplace' collection, *De Re Poetica* (1694), quoted Rapin's censures of Marino's *Adone* and the epics of the other Italian poets 'who were ignorant of *Aristotle*'s Rules; and followed no other Guides but their own *Genius*, and Capricious Fancy[4].' Dryden—whose descriptions Rymer in the passage just mentioned had preferred to those of Apollonius, Virgil, Tasso, Chapelain, Le Moyne, and Marino—made the same contrast in 1697:

> And whereas poems which are produced by the vigour of imagination only have a gloss upon them at the first which time wears off, the works of judgment are like the diamond; the more they are polished, the more lustre they receive. Such is the difference between Virgil's *Aeneis* and Marini's *Adone*[5].

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the only even slightly friendly attitude toward Marino was a migrant from abroad. One of the results of the Ancient-Modern controversy was a translation of Callières' *War...between the Ancients and Moderns* in 1705. On the whole the writer sided with the ancients, although allowing some of the moderns considerable ability. Tasso was chosen over Ariosto and Marino as the

[1] Johnson, *The Lives of the English Poets*, Oxford, 1905, I, p. 22.
[2] Davenant, *Gondibert: an Heroick Poem*, London, 1651, pp. 4–5.
[3] Rymer, in J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1908, II, p. 177 and *passim*.
[4] Blount, *De Re Poetica*, London, 1694, p. 95; also referred to in *Characters and Censures* (second half of same volume), p. 28.
[5] Dryden, in Ker, ed. of *Dramatic Essays*, Oxford, 1900, II, p. 225.

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best modern epic poet, but Marino was given command of the second line. When Tasso was cut to pieces by Virgil, Marino challenged Statius with his *Adone*, and conquered him because he himself was 'not encumber'd with the Baggage of Enchantments, and was sustained by a vast fertility of Genius upon all Subjects[1].' It might be mentioned here that Callières alluded to neither Du Bartas nor Góngora, although his work proposed to treat all the important poets, ancient and modern, except the English.

On the other hand, all foreign criticism to make itself known in England was far from being as liberal as Callières. When John Oldmixon translated and freely adapted Père Bouhours' *Arts of Logic and Rhetoric* in 1728 and patriotically upheld the English against the 'Bombast of the *Spaniards*, or the Affectation of the *Italians* and *French*,' he quoted passages from Marino in both Italian and English, and concluded that illustrations from such a poet were worthless, since Marino did not pretend to 'confine himself to Rules, or to make Nature his Guide[2].' Joseph Warton preserved the same respect for Bouhours in 1756 when, in criticising a passage from Pope, he suggested that Bouhours 'would rank this comparison among false thoughts and Italian conceits; such particularly as abound in the works of Marino[3].' Pope's probable feeling about such a remark can easily be surmised when one recalls that in 1710 he had blamed Marino for the fact that Crashaw's thoughts were often far-fetched, strained, and 'stiffened to make them appear the greater....This ambition of surprising a reader is the true natural cause of all fustian, or bombast in poetry[4].'

Although these attacks did not utterly destroy Marino's reading public in the latter part of the century[5], they certainly lessened it. And the attacks continually grew more violent. One of the harshest of these was made by his own countryman, Giuseppe Baretti, who dwelt for some time in England and became the friend of Dr Johnson. In his *Italian Library* (1757) Baretti compared Marino's reputation to a 'sudden flash of lightening,' which surprises, dazzles, and disappears. Then, showing how the poet might have excelled Tasso and equalled Ariosto, 'had he

[1] Anonymous translation of F. de Callières, *A Poetical Account of the War Lately Declared between the Ancients and Moderns*, London, 1705, pp. 25–6, 48 ff.

[2] Oldmixon, *The Arts of Logick and Rhetorick*, London, 1728, pp. 283–4.

[3] J. Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, London, 1806, I, pp. 31–2.

[4] Pope, see note 1, p. 154.

[5] For references to Marino, showing that he was known, see John Gilbert Cooper, 'The Power of Harmony' (1745); William Thompson, 'Sickness' (1746); and the 'Advertisement' to Sir William Jones, 'Caissa; or the Game of Chess' (1763)—all in Alexander Chalmers, *English Poets*, London, 1810, XV, p. 521; XV, p. 43; and XVIII, p. 450, respectively.

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not, out of a foolish fondness for novelty, deviated from the right track of common sense,' he went on:

> [His] surprising facility in versification filled Italy in a few years with his epic, lyric, satirical, and pastoral works, with which he so much dazzled the eyes of his countrymen as made them almost totally forget their old writers; and his exuberant fancy expanding itself into bold metaphors and wild exaggerations intirely corrupted, with astonishing rapidity, the taste of his contemporaneous authors and readers, so that many of them, improving extravagance with extravagance, and engrafting nonsense upon nonsense, published innumerable books big with bombastick and far-fetched thoughts, clad with tumorous and unnatural language[1].

The *Critical Review*, in examining Baretti's work, quoted a good part of these passages verbatim[2]. This attitude toward Marino in the original it never departed from, though it later spoke very favourably of Crashaw's translation. In 1766, for instance, it damned a new translation 'from the Italian of Il Cavalier Marino,' 'Cynthia and Daphne,' thus:

> Another tame decent poet, whom we can neither reprobate not recommend; only we must blame him for suffering his muse to feed on such vile carrion as the poetry of Il Cavalier Marino[3].

Thomas Gray, in a short essay found among his papers and designed to become part of his projected history of English poetry, in a similar fashion attacked Daniel, one of the first to translate Marino into English, for his 'remarkable want of judgment' in sometimes 'giving in to the conceits of Marino and the bad Italian writers,' who dazzle not only men who possess little imagination of their own, but also those of 'brighter parts,' whose minds, however, are 'not comprehensive or attention cool enough to judge of the whole or discern the superior beauties of propriety in place, of time, and of character[4].'

The accumulation of these attacks sometimes led to a defence (though not by Englishmen), but the defence was always smothered under still more ferocious assaults. For instance, in his *Letters of an English Traveller* and *New Letters of an English Traveller*, the Rev. Martin Sherlock had assailed Marino, among other Italian poets. Since Sherlock had originally written partly in French and partly in Italian, an English translation was soon made by Duncombe. The currency of Sherlock's opinions, thus stated in three languages, may be perceived from the appearance in 1780 of an answer by M. Bassi, an Italian professor of the Italian and English tongues at Paris. Bassi based his vindication upon an attempt to show why the Italians had had no tragic poets equal to

[1] Baretti, *Italian Library*, London, 1757, pp. li, lxxiv–lv; cf. also p. 65.
[2] *Critical Review*, III (1757), pp. 38–40.
[3] *Ibid.*, XXII (1766), p. 74.
[4] Gray, *Essays and Criticisms*, Boston and London, 1911, p. 120.

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those of other countries and to prove that they had always excelled in other species of poetry[1]. It should, however, be remembered that Bassi was an Italian; nor did his book appear in English. But even if it had, it is very doubtful whether his arguments would have had any effect on the hostile article on Marino which was printed in *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* in 1784[2] or on the statement of John Pinkerton in 1785 that Marino was probably to blame for the false Italian taste of the seventeenth century, which took the place of the 'pure style which had reigned till that time[3].'

The opinion of the remainder of the century on Marino was expressed chiefly through the indirect channel of the Crashaw revival. On the latter's account alone, Henry Headley lamented that poetical readers in general did not know more of the 'Sospetto D'Herode[4].' William Hayley, on the other hand, although as great an admirer of Crashaw, was not willing to be less severe on Marino for that reason. Quoting Boileau, he stated that careful critics might well call the Italian 'too sublime to be censured, and too fantastic to be praised,' for although his imagination was 'strong' it was not 'refined[5].' When Robert Anderson brought out his *Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*, he plagiarised extensively from Hayley's essay[6].

It is clear, then, that Marino, although still known and read in eighteenth-century England, no longer pleased public taste. His style was objected to mostly on the score of its luxuriance of conceits and its straining after novelty. It showed vivid 'imagination' and remarkable 'wit,' but it lacked the controlling quality of 'judgment.' In short, the beauties of 'simplicity' and 'nature' were completely absent, and without these it was almost impossible to please 'this age of taste.' Not even the newer precursors of Romanticism saw in him any other qualities such as they rediscovered in most of his so-called followers, the English Metaphysical Poets.

II. Du Bartas.

Since an investigation of the English translations of the works of Guillaume de Salluste, sieur du Bartas, made by such unlike writers as James VI of Scotland, Thomas Hudson, Sir Philip Sidney, William L'Isle, T. Winter, Thomas Lodge, and Joshua Sylvester, has been performed

[1] Cf. John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century...*, London, 1812–15, VIII, pp. 67–71; and *Critical Review*, LI (1781), p. 69.

[2] [Owen and Johnston], *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1784, IX, pp. 78–80.

[3] Pinkerton, *Letters on Literature*, London, 1785, p. 119.

[4] Headley, I, p. 130.

[5] Hayley, IV, pp. 427–32.

[6] Anderson, 'Crashaw,' *Poets of Great Britain*, London and Edinburgh, 1792–1807, IV, pp. 699 ff.

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by A. H. Upham[1], and may be supplemented by easy reference to other sources[2], it is unnecessary to go into this matter here, with the exception of the work of Sylvester. For Sylvester's name became practically synonymous in England with that of Du Bartas for the majority of readers, although as a matter of fact he exaggerated even the exaggerated style of his original.

The pious adulation of Du Bartas's *Semaines* through the intermediary of Sylvester's *Divine Weeks and Works* extended almost up to the Restoration and may be traced in Upham's chapter and in Grosart's preface to his edition of Sylvester[3]. It remains, therefore, to follow Sylvester's reputation as a translator of the Frenchman's elephantine religious epic down to the nineteenth century and to compare it with Du Bartas' own.

In this process, it soon appears that the tone of the references to Sylvester's work changed considerably even within the seventeenth century. In the Restoration, Dryden struck the heaviest blows—once, in 1677, censuring Sylvester for having 'unluckily attempted' to introduce 'connexion of epithets, or the conjunction of two words in one' into English; and again, in 1681, intimating that only immature intellects could be pleased by his 'swelling puffy style.' 'I am much deceived,' he wrote, 'if this be not abominable fustian, that is, thoughts and words ill-sorted, and without the least relation to each other[4].' In theoretical terms, therefore, Sylvester failed to qualify according to Dryden's well-known definition of 'true wit,' which he believed depended upon 'a propriety of thoughts and words[5].' In the early part of the eighteenth century, Addison followed suit in *The Spectator*, No. 58 by damning Sylvester's 'false wit'—i.e., his 'shaped verses'—in the dedication of his work[6]. And by the second half of the century, Sylvester and his style were in almost universal disrepute in England. The remarks of the Rev. Walter Harte, following Dryden's objections, may be taken as typical of the general attitude:

> Then came the bold and self-sufficient translator of Du Bartas, who broke down all the flood-gates of the true stream of eloquence (which formerly preserved the river

[1] Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1908, pp. 150 ff.

[2] Cf. P. Weller, *J. Sylvesters Englische Übersetzung der religiösen Epen des Du Bartas* (1902); *Encyclopædia Britannica*; British Museum catalogues; McBryde, pp. 26–7; Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910, pp. 340 ff.; G. Pellisier, *La vie et les œuvres de Du Bartas*, Paris, 1883; etc.

[3] Grosart, ed. of *Sylvester* (*Chertsey Worthies*, 1880), I, pp. lii ff.

[4] Dryden, in Ker, I, pp. 89, 247.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 190. For other criticisms of Sylvester, cf. Edward Phillips, I, p. xxvi, and William Winstanley, pp. 108–9.

[6] For additional references, cf. *The Post-Angel*, I (1701), p. 246; Jacob, pp. 209–10; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, London, 1813–20, II, p. 579; and IV, p. 310; and [Theophilus] Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1753, I, pp. 143–5.

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clear, within due bounds, and full to its banks) and, like the rat in the Low-Country dikes, mischievously or wantonly deluged the whole land[1].

Sylvester was thoroughly discredited as a translator and poet by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

As for imitations and 'borrowings,' Englishmen of the seventeenth century found Du Bartas a much more fruitful source for suggestions and inspiration than Marino had ever been. Among this number[2], several of the Metaphysicals are themselves to be found, including John Donne, Francis Quarles, and Abraham Cowley, especially in the latter's *Davideis*[3]. *Paradise Lost* also became suspect at the end of the eighteenth century, and enough evidence had been adduced to show with reasonable certainty that Milton had at least included Du Bartas and Sylvester among his reading[4], just as he had done with Marino.

It has been shown above that the tone of criticism of Sylvester began to change about the time of the Restoration, but this change had been anticipated somewhat by a more sceptical attitude toward Du Bartas himself. The posture of adulation was the popular one, and was maintained by most people until the middle of the century[5], but the incipient doubts implied by Thomas Nashe in 1592 and by the anonymous authors of *The Return from Parnassus* nine or ten years later[6] became very vocal beginning with Davenant's refusal to admit Du Bartas, along with Marino, to the first rank of heroic poets[7]. Dryden likewise was as hostile to Du Bartas as he was to Sylvester. In his free translation of Boileau's *Art of Poetry* (1683), while speaking of the kinds of wit, he wrote:

> Thus in times past Dubartas vainly writ,
> Allaying sacred truth with trifling wit...,

and farther on scoffed at the Frenchman's absurdities:

> ...Nor, with Dubartas, bridle up the floods,
> And periwig with wool the baldpate woods[8].

During the eighteenth century, those who expressed opinions were consistently against Du Bartas. It is true that Samuel Richardson

[1] Harte, 'Advertisement' to *Religious Melancholy*, in Chalmers, XVI, p. 399. Cf. also Bowles, ed. of *Pope*, IV, pp. 242–3, n.; James Granger, *Biographical History...*, London, 1825, I, p. 354, and II, p. 130; Headley, I, pp. 75 n., 78, 113 n., 165 n., and II, pp. 101, 128, 164; the different editions of George Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Poets*, under 'Sylvester'; and Joseph Ritson, *Bibliographica Poetica*, London, 1802, pp. 355–6.

[2] Upham names Spenser, Sir John Davies, John Davies of Hereford, Michael Drayton, Abraham Fraunce, Barnaby Barnes, Nicholas Breton, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, Drummond of Hawthornden, etc.

[3] For discussions of the relationship between Du Bartas and Cowley, see Upham and McBryde.

[4] For discussions of this point, see Charles Dunster, *Considerations on Milton's Early Reading*, London, 1800; *Critical Review*, new arrangement, XXX (1800), pp. 438–42; Grosart, *Sylvester*, I, p. xlii; Upham, pp. 215–16.

[5] See Upham for examples.

[6] Nashe, *Works*, London, 1905, I, pp. 193–4; *Return from Parnassus*, Oxford, 1886, Pt ii: III, iii, ll. 1307 ff.

[7] Cf. note 2, p. 155.

[8] Dryden, *Art of Poetry*, ll. 21–22, 101–2.

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quoted him in *Pamela* as 'old Du Bartas[1],' and that Aaron Hill translated two minor poems about the middle of the century[2], but neither of them uttered any judgments on Du Bartas as a poet. On the other hand, in 1718, Charles Gildon, at this time an ardent partisan of the 'rules,' asked:

> ...Are the *regular* Pieces of that People [France] more valuable than those which are *irregular*, and on the contrary? Are not *Boileau*, *Racine*, and the like, more entertaining to them than *Alexander Hardy*, *du Bartas*, or the like[3]?

Similarly, late in the century, James Granger not only attacked Sylvester's 'debasing the original with false wit' but also, following Davenant, maintained that Du Bartas himself was 'by no means entitled' to rank with 'the modern heroic poets of the first form[4].'

It would seem, therefore, that the reputation of Du Bartas underwent much the same fate as did that of Marino. Wordsworth wrote of it as follows in 1815:

> Who is there that now reads the 'Creation' of Dubartas? Yet all Europe once resounded with his praise; he was caressed by kings; and, when his Poem was translated into our language, the 'Faery Queen' faded before it[5].

Yet, as in the case of Crashaw and Marino, there are some slight signs to indicate that the English translator eventually came to be regarded with a little more leniency than his original, just as the critical attitude toward him developed somewhat later. In 1814 the *Quarterly Review* devoted considerable space to an account, from the historical viewpoint, of Chalmers's new collection of *English Poets*. Of Du Bartas it stated that his 'fame...passed away....His faults were exaggerated, his absurdities remembered, and his merits overlooked or forgotten.' But of Sylvester it wrote (though with a touch of irony at times) that he was admirably qualified to translate the French poet, moulding the language freely to his will, introducing new compounds, clashing internal rimes, etc., and although he used 'shaped verses' and now and then indulged in other preposterousness, the sweetness in the general flow of his verse brought him the title of 'silver tongued Sylvester,' and his use of the heroic couplet influenced Sandys, Browne, May, Chamberlain, Wither, Quarles and Cowley[6].

III. Góngora.

The recent sudden interest in Luis de Góngora y Argote has provided for the contemporary reader a sufficiently adequate account of his life

[1] Cf. Erich Poetzsche, *Richardsons Belesenheit*, Kiel, 1908, p. 75.
[2] Hill, *Works*, London, 1754, IV, pp. 133–42, 143–7.
[3] Gildon, *The Complete Art of Poetry*, in W. H. Durham, *Critical Essays of the XVIIIth Century*, New Haven, 1915, pp. 50–1.
[4] Granger, I, p. 354.
[5] Wordsworth, *Prose Works*, London, 1876, II, p. 111.
[6] *Quart. Rev.* XII (1814), pp. 74–76.

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and the English translations of his poems, which include the work of Thomas Stanley, Sir Richard Fanshawe and Philip Ayres in the seventeenth century, and of Sir John Bowring, James Young Gibson and Archdeacon Edward Churton in the nineteenth[1]. But although studies from this point of view have been made, little attention has been paid to the opinions which English readers up to the nineteenth century held of Góngora and his work. This deficiency the present article will in some way attempt to remedy, though it must be admitted at the outset that the number of references to him is comparatively small—partly, perhaps, because he was never naturalised to the extent of more than three or four small groups of translations, and partly because Spanish was a language much less studied in England than Italian or French[2].

Although Philip Ayres, in his anthology of 'the most celebrated' lyric poems in the leading languages, had included Marino and Góngora and had mentioned Cowley in his preface (1687)[3], it remained for the *Athenian Mercury* to link the Spaniard and the Englishman in style. To the question whether a certain figure in Cowley's second book on plants '*is any more excusable than that strange Metaphor of* Gongora *a* Spanish Poet, *who calls the Girasole the* Methusalah *of Flowers*,' the editor (probably John Dunton) replied that the 'Phrase was not altogether so despicable as some believe it,' went on to explain why the figure was just, cited another similar one in the same foreign poet, and ended thus:

> ...therefore these expressions were excellent according to the Genius of that Nation, who understood what they said, and in their way of speaking made not such monstrous Metaphors as Father Bouhours wou'd pretend[4].

But the eighteenth century would not follow this lead. John Oldmixon thoroughly agreed with Bouhours:

> ...*Père Bouhours* remarks, that the *Spanish* Wits are so apt to be obscure, that it is not taken Notice of by *Spanish* Readers....Several *Spaniards* have confess'd that they do not understand their Poet, *Gongora*; and probably he acquir'd the Surname of *Marvellous*, on account of his not being intelligible; insomuch that to say a thing that is very obscure in *Spanish*, they have a Proverb, *È scuro coma las*

[1] Cf. Elisha K. Kane, *Gongorism and the Golden Age*, Chapel Hill, 1928; C. L. Penney, *Luis de Góngora y Argote*, New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1927; H. Thomas, 'Three Translators of Gongora and Other Spanish Poets during the Seventeenth Century,' *Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII (1920), pp. 180–256, 311–16; Mario Praz, 'Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XX (1925), pp. 280–94, 409–31; as well as the older *Essay on Gongora* by Churton in 1862.

[2] Just as the work of Crashaw and Sylvester chiefly represented Marino and Du Bartas in England, so Stanley's 'The Solitude' became the main poem by which Góngora was known there. References to this translation may be found as follows: Gerard Langbaine, *Account of...English Dramatick Poets*, Oxford, 1691, p. 491; Wood, IV, pp. 517–18; and *Biographia Britannica*, VI, pp. 3820–1.

[3] Ayres, in George Saintsbury, *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, Oxford, 1905–6, II, pp. 269, 329.

[4] *Athenian Mercury*, VII (1692), p. 2.

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soledades de Gongora. These *Soledades* were two Poems of *Gongora*'s on Solitude; and the Obscurity in them was greater than in his other Poems[1].

Some forty years later, likewise, the following passage occurred in an anonymous *Review of the Characters of the Principal Nations of Europe*:

> In Poetry they [the Spanish] have not been so happy. They have no Epic Poem to place on a level with those of Tasso, Ariosto, or Milton. Gongora, the most celebrated of all their Lyric Poets, is absolutely Fustian; and according to Horace, '*Dum vitat Humum Nubes et Inania Captat,*' While he shuns Vulgarity becomes unintelligible. Even his own Countrymen have stiled him the Marvellous, and few of them are able to read him with any Satisfaction, from the Difficulty of comprehending him[2].

Nevertheless, at this juncture the historical sense seemed to become more pronounced. The *Critical Review* immediately replied that the anonymous author had failed to do complete justice to Spanish poetry: 'Don Alonzo Ercilla, Lewis Gongora and others, though by no means first rate poets, are far from being so despicable as he represents them[3].' In a somewhat similar vein, Joseph Ritson, while informing his readers in 1783 that 'numerous specimens of Romance writing' were to be found in Góngora's *Obras*, quoted Le Sage's opinion of the poet from *Gil Blas* rather than his own: '*l'incomparable* Don Luis de Gongora, *le plus beau génie que l'Espagne ait jamais produit*[4].' Finally, in the next year the *New and General Biographical Dictionary* gave an excellent non-partisan summary of the situation:

> ...The Spaniards have a very high idea of this poet, even so as to entitle him prince of the poets of their own nation. Notes and commentaries have been written on his works, and he has been decked out in form like a variorum classic. Some have found great fault with him, charging him with affectation in the use of figures, with a false sublime, with obscurity and an embarrassed diction: however, there have not been wanting persons to undertake his defense, and to free him from all such invidious imputations[5].

Such an account, nevertheless, was scarcely calculated to make many converts for Góngora among its readers. It is a remarkable fact that so many of these English and continental 'Metaphysical' poets—Cowley, Marino, Du Bartas, Góngora—once hailed as the chiefest of their day—within a very few decades of their deaths began to be spoken of apologetically because of the false brilliance of their styles.

All the data drawn from a rather extensive survey of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature have now been presented. Needless to say, the volume of references to Marino, Du Bartas and Góngora is

[1] Oldmixon, pp. 381–2.
[2] *Review of the Characters of...Europe,* Dublin, 1770, I, p. 178.
[3] *Critical Review,* XXIX (1770), p. 357.
[4] *Gil Blas,* Bk 7, ch. 13; quoted by Ritson, *Select Collection of English Songs,* London, 1813, I, p. xxxix n.
[5] *New and General Biographical Dictionary,* VI, p. 154.

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very slight compared to the number made to the 'School of Donne'—if there ever were such a school. But certain conclusions concerning English taste and critical theories may be deduced even from this meagre number.

In the early seventeenth century all three continental poets had considerable weight and authority. They were read, translated, and imitated. By the Restoration all were being severely attacked for excesses of style—whereas the English Metaphysicals were yet fairly well entrenched in popular regard. During the age of Pope the foreigners were held in even more contempt than the English, for whom some readers and critics still had a good word to say. During the age of Johnson that dictator's criticisms of the English would seem fulsome encomiums compared to what was being generally said about the foreigners. There was a revival of interest in the English Metaphysicals as a minor aspect of the Romantic Revival. But there was no such revival for Marino, Du Bartas and Góngora. Góngora, although less widely known than the others, perhaps found more defenders proportionally than the other two.

What does all this mean? The first conclusion would obviously be that the revival was primarily patriotic—that the older native writers with exaggerated styles could be forgiven more easily than the older foreigners. Of course, one phase of the Romantic Revival was an interest in the foreign, the exotic, the strange. But this interest scarcely extended to the relatively recent writers of the larger and better known nations. When contemporary, it was an interest in little known and outlying peoples; when not contemporary, it had to go back at least to the comparative remoteness of the Middle Ages. So the English 'Metaphysical Revival' was partly patriotic.

In the second place, what was it that readers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were looking for? Certainly it was not the forced glitter of style found in both the English and the continental poets. Critics made the same objections to both, in vocabularies almost identical. It was, then, something beyond the style—perhaps something in the substance or the poetic feeling. Very possibly it was the lyric quality—the expression of concentrated, deeply felt emotion or of light, graceful irony—that they sought. This it was easier for them to find in native poets, because there the language formed no additional barrier to the trappings of a strained, 'conceited' style.

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THE TWO VERSIONS OF THE 'CÁNTICO ESPIRITUAL'

In the two versions of the *Cántico Espiritual* we are faced with a problem. While everyone agrees that the short version given by the MS. at Sanlúcar de Barrameda is authentic, as is shown by interlineal and marginal autographic corrections and annotations, the long version, represented by the MS. at Jaén, is considered apocryphal by Dom Chevallier[1] and M. Baruzi[2]. The whole question is extremely complicated. Not the least of the difficulties it presents is the note on the first page of the Sanlúcar MS. running: 'Este es el borrador de que ya se sacó en limpio, Fray Juan de la Cruz.' Were this note, with the signature, genuine, as it is in the opinion of P. Silverio de Santa Teresa[3], the matter would be simple. But, since M. Baruzi rejected the authenticity of the signature, the word *borrador* has been the subject of much controversy. Neither M. Baruzi nor Dom Chevallier regards the Sanlúcar MS. as a 'rough copy' in the ordinary sense of the word. Yet surely, with the presence of the marginal notes, one would expect the author of the *Cántico* to have rewritten the text of the Sanlúcar MS., including and developing these notes. Neither of these critics has suggested who could have dared to append the note and forge St John's signature on a MS. containing specimens of the Saint's handwriting. Moreover the question of the development of the marginal notes in the Jaén MS. has been left without explanation. M. Baruzi, in view of his suspicions regarding the note on the first page, has also decided to consider the development of the marginal notes as no proof of the authenticity of the second version. Dom Chevallier has left the matter without any explanation. Yet it is a question that cannot be ignored. Twenty-four of the twenty-seven marginal notes have been expanded into sentences and paragraphs in the long version of the Jaén MS. As M. Cavallera[4] has so justly pointed out, it seems extremely unlikely that the new paragraphs could have been written by anyone but St John himself. Even if the Jaén version, which as everyone now agrees is only a copy, derives from two different types of the first version, as Dom Chevallier has suggested in his valuable

[1] Dom Ph. Chevallier, 'Le Cantique Spirituel de Saint Jean de la Croix a-t-il été interpolé?' in *Bulletin Hispanique*, Bordeaux, Oct., Dec., 1922. Also 'Le Cantique Spirituel interpolé' in *Vie Spirituelle*, July–August, 1926.

[2] Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix*, ch. I, Les Textes.

[3] P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, Photographic edition of the *Cántico Espiritual*, Burgos, 1928.

[4] Ferdinand Cavallera, *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, July, 1925, p. 312.

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and instructive article in the *Vie Spirituelle*, there is as yet no reason for thinking that St John did not rewrite the *Cántico* expanding these marginal notes. It is within the bounds of possibility that the Jaén MS. is a copy of a revised version of the *Cántico*. Certainly the manner in which the notes are developed leads one to think that it is the work of St John himself. Even though the Jaén MS. may contain apocryphal additions, it seems that in all likelihood the *Cántico* was revised by St John along lines similar to the long version.

Further, M. Baruzi considered apocryphal the eleventh stanza of the long version ('Descubre tu presencia'). But the interesting article by Fr. Louis de la Trinité in the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* (t. XVI, 1927, pp. 165–87), on the evidence in the Process for the Beatification of St John concerning the *Cántico Espiritual*, shows that the verse 'Descubre tu presencia' was connected in the minds of those who had known St John with the *Cántico* itself. One witness even quotes this verse along with that beginning 'Mas como perseveras' which immediately precedes it. In the long version this verse ('Mas como,' etc.) immediately precedes 'Descubre tu presencia,' as it does in the deposition of this witness. The place it holds (no. xi) in the long version seems therefore completely justified, while M. Baruzi's suggestion that it is apocryphal appears untenable.

The present article was written in the belief that St John did revise the *Cántico* on the lines of the MS. of Jaén. Dom Chevallier has justly said[1] that the short version describes one phase of the mystic life, while the long version describes four: the two versions are therefore no longer two stages in the growth of the same entity, but two separate entities. Dom Chevallier's inference that the second version could not have been developed by the author himself from the first does not appear justifiable, for St John, for a variety of reasons, may have wished to alter the whole construction of his work. This article studies the difference in construction between the two versions of the *Cántico*, and shows that the development in the second version is in complete harmony with the ideas of St John of the Cross as expressed in the *Subida*, the *Noche* and the *Llama*. I have followed the *Edición Crítica* (Toledo, 1912) in all quotations from the short version, and, when quoting from the long version, I have used the critical edition of the Jaén MS. by Martínez Burgos (Madrid, 1925).

A purely literary consideration of the poem is out of place when we are dealing with a work the purpose of which is not literary perfection, but the advance of the soul in the mystic life. The mystical ideas ex-

[1] Dom Ph. Chevallier, 'Le Cantique Spirituel interpolé,' in *Vie Spirituelle*, Jan., 1927.

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pressed govern the form that clothes the work. If these ideas are found unsuitable for any reason, the composition of the work must change with the altered ideas. Now the first version of the *Cántico* dwells on the happiness of union with God after a period of abandonment and search. The second version dwells on the fact that a very long period of purgation and trial must precede the state of spiritual union.

The *Cántico*, as is well known, was composed during St John's imprisonment at Toledo. It was unfinished when he escaped from the convent, the last eight stanzas of the first version being added soon after. In this version the state called Spiritual Marriage is implied in stanza xv (xxiv in the second version)[1]: 'Nuestro lecho florido.' The rest of the poem is given up to a long description of the things experienced during this state. The insistence on union in this version of the poem is an indication that, in spite of the trials both spiritual and physical that St John endured in prison, he came ultimately to the realisation of union with God, which no earthly misery or temporary sensation of abandonment could destroy. But, as the *Subida*, the *Noche*, and the *Llama* would seem to show, so early an arrival of the soul at the state of spiritual marriage, unpreceded by a long period of purgation, does not fit in with St John's conception of the mystic's life. The second version of the poem, which places the Spiritual Marriage as late as stanza xxii ('Entrádose ha la Esposa'), is much more in keeping with St John's views as expressed in his other works.

It would seem as though St John's mind was not quite clear when first composing the *Cántico*. This is shown by the discrepancies between the Commentary as a whole, and the explanations of each separate verse. We get references to the Spiritual Marriage as early as stanza xv ('Nuestro lecho florido'), but the Spiritual Marriage is not said definitely to have taken place till stanza xxvii ('Entrádose ha la Esposa') where St John divides the *Cántico* into four parts: the first a period of mortification, described in stanzas i–v; the second, contemplation, from v–xii; in verse xii the Spiritual Betrothal takes place, and this state is described in stanzas xii–xxvii, when the Spiritual Marriage is achieved. It is

[1] The alteration in the sequence of the stanzas is as follows:

First version		Second version
1–10	=	1–10
		11 interpolated
11–14	=	12–15
15–24	=	24–33
25–26	=	16–17
27–28	=	22–23
29–30	=	20–21
31–32	=	18–19
33–39	=	34–40

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worthy of note that the same division is made in the second version of the poem. The same stanzas[1], though now numbered differently, mark the different stages. But in the second version no passages seem out of their proper place in the mystical scheme set forth by St John. In the first version, however, stanzas xv–xviii seem to describe phases of the Mystical Marriage, while stanzas xxix–xxxiii, treating of the final purgation of the soul, should precede the Mystical Marriage.

It seems clear from the above that the second version of the *Cántico* is a far more logical piece of work than the first. It approximates more nearly to the general mystical scheme laid out by St John, and, for this reason, would seem to be more helpful to readers desirous of attaining to the state of Spiritual Marriage. The great difference between the two versions of the poem is that the first, with its emphasis on the bliss of Union, has a more personal note, while the second, with its changes in the balance of ideas, tends towards a systematised version of a personal experience. Whoever rewrote the *Cántico* made a conscious effort to bring it into a recognised scheme of progress, such as that described throughout St John's works. For the purpose of our examination, then, it will be necessary to analyse both versions of the *Cántico*; for, while they start from the same point, they show certain modifications which play an important part in the study of the sources of St John's ideas.

The analysis of the *Cántico* demands the solution of a second problem. Why should St John of the Cross have started with an adaptation of those passages of the *Song of Solomon* which describe the Bride's search for the Bridegroom? These are three; the first, which occurs in chapter I, is inferred from those verses where the Bride asks the Bridegroom where he rests at midday; the other two, found in chapters III and IV, are those descriptions of the Bride's feverish search at night through the city, and her encounters with the watchmen and the guards. These passages are fused cunningly by St John, and in the five opening stanzas of the *Cántico* we find references to them all. In reality, however, St John's point of departure is the

> In lectulo meo per noctes quaesivi quem diligit anima mea.
> Quaesivi illum et non inveni,

of the *Song*. St John's bitter opening cry in the *Cántico*,

> Adonde te escondiste
> Amado, y me dexaste con gemido,

is a parallel to this verse from the *Song*.

[1] Stanza v: 'Mil gracias derramando.'
Stanza xv: 'Apártalos Amado.'
Stanza xxvii: 'Entrádose ha la Esposa.'

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There is another interesting point in connexion with this passage. In the system of *Ten Grades*[1] of St Thomas Aquinas, found in the opusculum *De dilectione Dei et Proximi*, chapter XXVII, the same passage is quoted where Grade II is discussed:

Quaerere Incessanter: Super hunc gradum pedem anima ponit, cum per infirmitatem prius mutata, Deum quem quaesivit aliqualiter in lecto aegritudinis, convalescens ad bonum frequenti et diligenti discursu rationis inquirit dicens *In lectulo meo per noctes quaesivi quem diligit anima mea*: quaesivi infirma infirmiter: *surgam et circumibo civitatem* totam universitatem: *per vicos et plateas quaeram quem diligit anima mea, Quaerite faciem eius semper*; Semper quaerite, sed non invenietis ubique.

This striking passage is followed up by two further quotations from the same part of the *Song*: 'Invenerunt me vigiles, num quem diligit anima mea vidistis,' and: 'Paululum cum pertransissem eos, inveni quem diligit anima mea.'

The Scheme of the Ten Grades of Love was well known to St John of the Cross, for he made an excellent synopsis of it in chapters XIX and XX of the *Noche del Espíritu*. Of course it is possible that he did not study it till after his escape from Toledo; but it is far more likely, since the Carmelites were ardent Thomists, that the passage quoted could have been the source of the opening stanzas of the *Cántico*, for in it we have the pregnant phrase: 'Surgam et circumibo civitatem *totam universitatem*.' It seems as though this phrase suggested to St John's mind the journey of the soul who, after asking the shepherds for news of her Beloved, sets forth upon a quest which takes her over hill and dale, through woods and flowering fields. The Commentary on stanza iv shows that, once the soul has attained self-knowledge, she can proceed to the consideration of the created world, thus gaining a certain knowledge of the Bridegroom:

Ahora en esta Canción [stanza iv] comienza (el alma) a caminar por la consideración y conocimiento de las criaturas al conocimiento de su Amado criador dellas; porque después de el exercicio del conocimiento propio, esta consideración de las criaturas es la primera por orden en este camino espiritual para ir conociendo a Dios.

Now it is a curious fact that these passages, describing the soul's search for God through all creation, also follow a progression of conduct suggested in the *Ten Grades*.

El tercer grado de la escala amorosa es el que hace al amor obrar y le pone calor para no faltar.... En este grado las obras grandes por el Amado tiene (el alma) por pequeñas, las muchas por pocas, el largo tiempo en que le sirve por corto, por el incendio de amor en que ya va ardiendo.... Tiene el alma aquí, por el grande amor que tiene a Dios, grandes lástimas y penas de lo poco que hace por Dios; y si le fuese

[1] *De decem gradibus Amoris.* This is a section of ch. XXVII of the opusculum *De dilectione Dei et Proximi.*

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lícito deshacerse mil veces por él, estaría consolada. Por eso se tiene por inútil en todo cuanto hace, y le parece vive de balde[1].

Grade III, 'Operari indesinenter,' seems to be described in the commentaries on the first three lines of stanza iii:

> Buscando mis amores
> Iré por esos montes y riberas,
> Ni cogeré las flores....

The Commentary on this verse sketches out a scheme of drastic purgation:

> Viendo el alma que para hallar al Amado no le bastan gemidos y oraciones, no tampoco ayudarse de buenos terceros como ha hecho en la primera y segunda Canción, por cuanto el deseo con que le busca es verdadero y el amor grande, no quiere dexar de hacer alguna diligencia de las que de su parte puede; porque el alma que de veras a Dios ama no empereza a hacer cuanto puede por hallar al Hijo de Dios su Amado, y aún después que lo ha hecho todo, no se satisface ni piensa que ha hecho nada. Y assí en esta tercera Canción; que ella misma por la obra le quiere buscar, y dice el modo que ha de tener en hallarlo, conviene a saber que ha de ir exercitándose en las virtudes y ejercicios espirituales de la vida activa y contemplativa, y que para esto no ha de admitir deleytes ni regalos algunos, ni bastarán a detenerla e impedirla este camino todas las fuerzas y asechanzas de los tres enemigos del alma que son mundo, demonio y carne[2].

The rest of the Commentary on these three lines works out the soul's purgation and self discipline in greater detail. The fourth line: 'Ni temeré las fieras,' with its Commentary seems to work out Grade IV: 'sustinere indefatigabiliter.' In the discussion of this grade in the *Noche Escura del Espíritu* (ch. XIX) St John says:

> El cuarto grado de esta escala de amor es en el cual se causa en el alma, por razón del Amado, un ordinario sufrir sin fatigarse. Porque, como dice San Agustín, todas las cosas grandes, graves y pesadas, casi ningunas las hace el amor.

The Commentary on 'ni temeré las fieras' runs on similar lines; it describes the terrors and trials of the mystic at this stage. These are so great that they hinder many from even starting the journey. But the author ends this passage with the following significant phrase:

> Pero el alma bien enamorada que estima a su Amado más que a todas las cosas, confiada del amor y favor de él, no tiene en mucho decir: *Ni temeré las fieras.*

So great a similarity between the scheme of progress described by St Thomas and the progress in purgation and love made by the Bride in the *Cántico* leads us on to an even closer examination of the poem in this respect. We have now reached stanza v, where, St John tells us, the contemplative life proper begins[3]. This large section, corresponding to the *via illuminativa*, includes stanzas v to xii (xi in first version). This part of the poem is an expansion of the idea in St Teresa's poem, 'Vivo

[1] *Noche Escura*, ch. XIX.
[2] Commentary on stanza iii, Jaén version.
[3] See Commentary on stanza xxii (Jaén version = xxvii of the *Borrador*).

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sin vivir en mí,' and describes one of the most torturing experiences that St Teresa and St John ever had. It is a significant fact that Grade V of the *Ten Grades* is called 'Appetere impatienter,' or 'Amor impatiens.' It seems that not until the soul first has passing glimpses of the true nature of God does it begin to feel this terrible desire for death that will enable it to see God as He really is. St Thomas describes this stage with the following quotations from the *Psalms* and from *Genesis*: 'Concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini (*Ps.* 83). Accipe Rachelem impatientis desiderii exemplar. Da mihi, inquit, liberos, alioquin moriar.'

These two quotations are used by St John in the Commentaries on these verses, as well as a reiteration of the expression 'amor impaciente.' In the Commentary on stanza vii we read:

Y este morir de amor se causa en el alma mediante un toque de noticia suma de la divinidad, que es el *no sé qué* que dice en esta canción que quedan balbuciendo; el cual toque no es continuo, ni mucho, porque se desataría el alma del cuerpo, mas pasa en breve, y así queda muriendo de amor, y más muere viendo que no se acaba de morir de amor. Este se llama amor impaciente del cual se trata en el Génesis, donde dice la Escriptura que era tanto el amor que tenía Rachel de concebir, que dijo a su esposo Jacob: Da mihi liberos, alioquin moriar. Esto es: Dame hijos, si nó, yo moriré.

Again, in stanza ix we have a reference to *amor impaciente*, while the much disputed stanza xi of the second version contains a very pointed allusion to this grade of love; commenting the line 'Descubre tu presencia,' the author writes:

Pero por cuanto anda esta alma en fervores y afecciones de amor de Dios, habemos de entender que esta presencia que aquí pide al Amado que le descubra, principalmente se entiende de cierta presencia afectiva que de sí hizo el Amado a el alma; la cual fué tan alta que le paresció a el alma y sintió estar allí un inmenso ser encubierto, del cual la comunica Dios ciertos visos entreescuros de su divina hermosura, y hacen tal efecto en el alma, que la hace cudiciar y desfallecer en deseo de aquello que siente encubierto allí en aquella presencia, que es conforme a aquello que sentía David cuando dijo: *codicia y desfallece mi alma en las entradas del Señor.*

Further on in this same stanza the Commentary seems to allude to the whole of the *Ten Grades*, the first of which is *Languere utiliter*. This idea of the salutary disease of love seems to have suggested to the author of stanza xi the following curious passage:

Mira que la dolencia
De amor, que no se cura
Sino con la presencia y figura.

La causa porque la enfermedad de amor no tiene otra cura sino la presencia y figura del Amado, como aquí dice, es porque la dolencia de amor, así como es diferente de las demás enfermedades, su medicina es también diferente. Porque en las demás enfermedades, para seguir buena filosofía, cúranse contrarios con contrarios; mas el amor no se cura sino con cosas conformes a el amor. *La razón es, porque la salud de el alma es el amor de Dios, y así cuando no tiene cumplido amor, no tiene cumplida salud y por eso está enferma, porque la enfermedad no es otra cosa sino falta de salud; de manera que cuando ningún grado de amor tiene el alma, está muerta, mas cuando tiene*

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algún grado de amor de Dios, por mínimo que sea, ya está viva, pero está muy debilitada y enferma por el poco amor que tiene; pero cuanto más amor se le fuere aumentando, más salud tendrá, y cuando tuviere perfecto amor será su salud salud cumplida. Donde es de saber, que el amor nunca llega a estar perfecto, hasta que emparejan tan en uno los amantes, que se transfiguran el uno en el otro, y entonces está el amor todo sano[1].

Stanza xi (second version), if regarded in the light of the two above quotations, expresses the final eruption of love which drives the soul up the Mystic Stair from Grade V to Grade VI, 'Currere velociter.' In the *Ten Grades* St Thomas quotes the psalm 'Quemadmodum desiderat cervum ad fontes aquarum,' and makes a long digression on the subject of the five different kinds of *fontes*. This digression is passed over by St John in the *Noche*, but it is a curious fact that the next stanza (xi in the first version, xii in the second) should begin: '¡O cristalina fuente!' It is still more striking that the second version of the *Cántico* contains a passage bearing out the idea of *currere velociter*, and another quoting the same psalm, neither of which is to be found in the first version. The first of these passages occurs in the *Anotación* preceding the stanza and runs as follows:

En esta sazón, sintiéndose el alma, con tanta vehemencia de ir a Dios, como la piedra, cuando se va más *llegando a su centro*, y sintiéndose también estar como la cera que comenzó a recebir la impresión del sello y no se acabó de figurar...no sabe qué se hacer sino volverse a la misma fé[1].

The second passage, also interpolated, is more significant than the first:

De tal manera anda el alma en este tiempo, que, aunque en breves palabras, no quiero dejar de decir algo dello, aunque por palabras no se puede explicar. Porque la substancia corporal y espiritual parece a el alma se le seca en sed de esta fuente viva de Dios; porque es su sed semejante a aquella que tenía David cuando dijo: *Como el ciervo desea la fuente de las aguas, así mi alma desea a ti, Dios. Estuvo mi alma sedienta de Dios, fuenta viva; ¡cuándo vendré y paresceré delante de la cara de Dios!*

Finding such allusions in interpolated passages—the long passages on stanza xi, and the two above quoted—leads to the suspicion that whoever rewrote the *Cántico* did so with the *Ten Grades* in his mind, adding paragraphs where he thought the *Cántico* did not sufficiently conform to the scheme of progress set forth in St Thomas's opusculum. We are now brought to stanza xiii (xii in the first version), where the Spiritual Betrothal takes place. Great confusion has been caused by two apparently conflicting divisions of the poem. According to one, the Spiritual Betrothal would seem to be part of the illuminative way, while the other appears to include it in the unitive way. The first passage is not to be found in the *Borrador*; it comes in the *Argumento* preceding the whole of the Commentary of the second version, and is an important inter-

[1] The italicising is my own.

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polation, for it states positively that the last few verses treat of the state of complete union with God after death. This state corresponds with the tenth Grade of St Thomas, the *Assimilari totaliter* of those in *patria*.

El principio dellas (estas canciones) trata de los principiantes que es la vía purgativa; las de más adelante tratan de los aprovechados donde se hace el desposorio espiritual, y esta es la vía iluminativa. Después destas las que se siguen tratan de la vía unitiva que es de los perfectos donde se hace el matrimonio espiritual. La cual vía unitiva y de perfectos se sigue a la iluminativa que es de los aprovechados; y las últimas canciones tratan del estado beatífico que solo ya el alma en aquel estado perfecto pretende.

This passage made the editor of the *edición crítica* think that St John set a meaning upon the term Spiritual Betrothal differing from that of other mystics. But in reality there is no difference between him and the others, particularly if the above passage is compared with the Commentary on stanza xxii (xxvii in the first version):

Entrádose ha la Esposa.

Para declarar el orden de estas canciones más distintamente y dar a entender el que ordinariamente lleva el alma hasta llegar hasta este estado de matrimonio espiritual, que es el más alto del que agora mediante el favor divino habemos de hablar, es de notar que antes que el alma aquí llegue, se ejercita en los trabajos y amarguras de la mortificación y en la meditación de las cosas espirituales que al principio dixo al alma desde la primera canción hasta aquella que dice *Mil gracias derramando*. Y despues entra en la vía contemplativa, en que pasa por las vías y estrechos de amor que en el suceso de las canciones ha ido contando, hasta la que dice *Apártalos, Amado*, en que se hizo el Desposorio Espiritual. Y demás desto va por la vía unitiva, en que recibe muchas y grandes comunicaciones y visitas y dones y joyas de el Esposo bien así como desposada, se va enterando y perfeccionando en el amor dél, como ha contado desde la dicha canción donde se hizo el desposorio que dice *Apártalos, Amado*, hasta esta de agora que comienza *Entrádose ha la Esposa* donde restaba ya el hacerse el matrimonio espiritual entre la dicha alma y el Hijo de Dios.

The Spiritual Betrothal, then, is the point where the illuminative way merges into the unitive; it is the bridge between the two, both the culminating point of illumination, where the conception of God is at last perfected, and the lowest point of union, where the soul first starts to live in conformity with its new conception of God. If we compare the function of the Spiritual Betrothal with the idea conveyed by the seventh step in the *Ten Grades*, we shall find that St Thomas illustrates the *audere vehementer* of the soul by quoting the opening words of the *Song*: 'Osculetur me osculis oris sui,' the Bride's demand for union with the Beloved. In the *Noche* (ch. xx) St John writes of this step:

El séptimo grado de esta escala hace atrever al alma con vehemencia; aquí el amor no se aprovecha de juicio para esperar, ni usa del consejo para se retirar, ni con vergüenza se puede enfrenar; porque el favor que ya Dios hace aquí al alma, la hace atrever con vehemencia. De donde se sigue lo que dice el Apóstol, y es: la caridad todo lo cree, todo lo espera, y todo lo puede (I *Cor.* xiii, 7).

Stanza xiii (xii in the first version): 'Apártalos, Amado,' seems to illustrate this vehement daring; for the soul is here described as fleeing

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in ecstasy to God as the result of a divine communication, thinking that her time was come and that death should free her so that she might enjoy God's company for ever.

El cual deseo y vuelo le impidió luego el Esposo diciendo: Vuélvete paloma, que la comunicación que ahora de mí recibes, aún no es el estado de gloria que tu ahora preténdes.

At the end of the Commentary on this stanza we find St John quoting from the same chapter in *Corinthians*: this is an additional reason for thinking that he had the seventh grade in his mind while composing this section on the Spiritual Betrothal. It seems that, according to the scheme of the *Ten Grades*, the soul is so inflamed with love that she dares to rise nearer to Him, and in the eighth grade she seizes Him, never to let go. It will be remembered that, according to the *Cántico*, directly the Spiritual Betrothal has been effected, the soul enters upon the unitive way proper. She walks ever in closer and closer union with the Bridegroom, until her constant communication with Him makes her to burn sweetly with love. Thus, in terms of the *Ten Grades*, could we describe the progress of the soul from the Spiritual Betrothal to the Spiritual Marriage.

At this point, however, our difficulties grow greater, for it is in this discussion of the first steps along the unitive way that the two versions of the poem first diverge. As above pointed out, the changes seem to indicate a more logical and systematic treatment of the subject, the way to the Spiritual Marriage being more carefully prepared. Stanzas such as 'Nuestro lecho florido' and 'En la interior bodega' are used in the second version of the *Cántico* to describe the joys of perfect earthly union with God, while in the first *Cántico* (according to the Commentary) they only refer to certain high states of prayer preceding Marriage. This may be due to the fact that when St John wrote the Commentary on the *Cántico*—some years after it was composed—he apparently no longer experienced the overflowing bliss so manifest in the poem. '*Por cuanto estas Canciones, religiosa madre, parecen ser escritas con algún fervor de amor de Dios*[1], he begins his Prologue to Anne of Jesus, as though this fervour had now left him, and instead of being subjective had become objective. This may have been the reason for altering the sequence of the verses; for once the lyrical impetus had left him, St John's orderly, analytical mind would have wished to construct the poem on logical, not lyrical lines. Indeed, on closer examination, we find that the re-

[1] The italicising is my own.

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maining verses (xiii–xxxix) of the first version fall into three divisions, just as do those (xiv–xl) of the second version. But in the first version the Spiritual Betrothal is a much happier state, bordering so closely on Spiritual Marriage that it is as hard to distinguish between them as between the Sixth and Seventh Mansions of St Teresa's Interior Castle. The second version keeps back the greatest happiness until the Spiritual Marriage has taken place, and emphasises the necessity for absolute purgation before the soul is ready to be accounted the Bride of Christ.

In both versions of the poem, then, three stages are described in these twenty-six verses. The first, the state of Spiritual Betrothal, or a period of probation; the second, Spiritual Marriage, and a description of this state on earth; the third, Spiritual Marriage made complete in the future life. If we compare these three stages with those described in the *Ten Grades*, we find that the first, Spiritual Betrothal, corresponds with Grade VIII, *Stringere inamissibiliter*; the Ninth Grade, *Ardere suaviter*, the highest state attainable on earth, corresponds of course to Spiritual Marriage; while the Tenth Grade, *Assimilari totaliter*, describes perfect transformation into God after death.

In the *Noche* St John writes of the Eighth Grade:

> En este grado de unión satisface el alma su deseo, mas no de continuo, porque algunos llegan a poner el pié y luego le vuelven a quitar; que si así fuese y durasen en este, tendrían cierta manera de gloria en esta vida, y así muy pocos espacios pasa el alma en él.

The soul is described as experiencing a foretaste of glory in the verses xiv and xv (xiii and xiv of the first version):

> Mi Amado las montañas,
> Los valles solitarios nemorosos,
> Las Insulas extrañas,
> Los Ríos sonorosos,
> El silbo de los aires amorosos;
> La Noche sosegada
> En par de los levantes del Aurora,
> La música callada,
> La soledad sonora,
> La cena que recrea y enamora.

The first version keeps at this high pitch of ecstasy, and continues (stanza xv) with the description of the union it has experienced. *Nuestro lecho florido* follows the verses above quoted. So high is the emotional key, so exalted the state described here in the Commentary, that it is almost with a feeling of relief that we find it placed as late as stanza xxiv in the second version. For so high is the union, so unspeakable the joys experienced in it, that we feel the crisis has come too early in the poem;

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there must be a fall after this tremendous uprush of feeling. Even the Commentary, written long after the poem, echoes this exalted tone.

En las dos canciones pasadas [quoted above] ha cantado la Esposa las gracias y grandezas de su Amado; y en esta canta el feliz y alto estado en que se ve puesta, y la seguridad de él, y las riquezas de dones y virtudes con que se ve dotada y arreada en el tálamo de la unión de su Esposo; porque dice estar ya ella en uno con el Amado, y tener las virtudes fuertes, y la caridad en perfección y paz cumplida, y toda ella enriquecida y hermoseada con dones y hermosura, según se puede en esta vida poseer y gozar.

Surely the above passage is scarcely applicable to a soul just beginning the Unitive Way! But, when we come to the Commentary on 'En la interior bodega,' we find a passage even more out of place in this early stage of the unitive way:

Esta bodega que aquí dice el alma, es el último y más estrecho grado de amor en que el alma puede situarse en esta vida, que por eso la llama interior bodega, es a saber la más interior. De donde se sigue, que hay otros no tan interiores que son los grados de amor por do se sube hasta este último.

St John goes on to explain that there are seven such wine-cellars, as there are seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, but that the innermost is only reached by those who achieve Spiritual Marriage.

Es de saber que muchas almas llegan y entran en las primeras bodegas, cada una según la perfección de amor que tiene; mas a esta última y más interior pocas llegan en esta vida, porque en ella es ya hecha la unión perfecta con Dios que llaman matrimonio espiritual, de el cual habla ya el alma en este lugar[1].

It becomes a little surprising to learn that the soul, though raised to this high state of union, has still much to do to perfect itself. As late on as stanza xxv we find references to temptations, disquiet, desires and so on, which prove that the soul has not yet made the drastic purgation mapped out in the *Noche*; and, although St John does not state that the Spiritual Marriage has taken place before stanza xxvii, his commentary on stanza xviii, 'En la interior bodega,' is proof that his mind was not quite clear on this subject. According to the scheme laid out by him in the *Subida*, the *Noche*, and the *Llama*, so high a state of union as that described in stanza xviii would have been impossible without the final purgation shown to be yet wanting, for the commentary on stanza xxv, 'Cogednos las raposas,' runs:

Viendo la Esposa las virtudes de su alma puestas ya en el punto de su perfección, en que está ya gozando el deleite y suavidad y fragancia de ellas...deseando ella continuar esta suavidad y que no haya cosa que pueda impedírselo, pide en esta canción a los Angeles y Ministros de Dios que entiendan en apartar de ella todas aquellas cosas que pueden derribar y ajar la dicha flor y fragancia de sus virtudes, como son todas las turbaciones, tentaciones, desasosiegos, apetitos si algunos quedan, imaginaciones y otros movimientos naturales y espirituales, que aquí pone nombre de raposas ...Y así deseando ella que no le impida cosa este deleite interior que es la viña florida,

[1] These three quotations are from the first version.

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desea le quiten no sólo las cosas dichas, mas que también haya soledad de todas las cosas, de manera, que en todas las potencias y apetitos interiores y exteriores no haya forma ni imagen ni otra cosa que paresca y se represente delante del alma y del Amado[1].

The Commentary on stanza xxvi, 'Detente, Cierzo muerto,' describes the possibility of spiritual dryness at this stage of the mystic way; and although, if we consider the Spiritual Marriage not to have been effected till stanza xxvii, spiritual dryness may well precede such a transformation, such passages do not seem logical after the union described in stanza xviii. On the assumption that St John is the author of both versions, it is easy to understand his change of thought.

It seems as though St John's conception of certain states of union altered between the first and second writing of the Commentary. The first writing would have been a commentary on the *Cántico* as it ran when first composed. But the exact signification he attached to the stanzas when composing them was either lost to him, or else his conception of the things he experienced had altered with a new understanding of the Mystic Way gained by a further four years' experience after his escape from prison. He may, therefore, have found it necessary to alter the *Cántico* so as to conform to his new ideas. If we examine the second version of the *Cántico*, we shall be able to estimate the importance of the alterations made.

An *anotación*[2] preceding stanza xvi (second version) 'Cazadnos las raposas' is very enlightening, for it shows that, when St John rewrote the *Cántico*, he altered it wherever it appeared confusing or inaccurate:

Antes que entremos en la declaración de las demás Canciones, conviene aquí advertir que no porque habemos dicho que en aqueste estado de desposorio, aunque habemos dicho que el alma goza de toda tranquilidad y que se le comunica todo lo demás que se puede en esta vida, entiéndese que la tranquilidad sólo es según la parte superior, porque la parte sensitiva hasta el estado de matrimonio espiritual, nunca acaba de perder sus resabios ni sujetar del todo sus fuerzas, como después se dirá, y que lo que se le comunica es lo más que se puede en razón de desposorio, aunque en las visitas goza de tanto bien el alma Esposa, como se ha dicho, todavía padece ausencias y perturbaciones y molestias de parte de la porción inferior y del demonio, todo lo cual cesa en el estado del matrimonio.

This *anotación* is a general one, for the proper understanding of the poem as a whole; but a second *anotación*[3] follows, and refers specifically to stanza xvi. This points out the lack of peace experienced by the soul at this stage of union (Spiritual Betrothal), for the devil does his best to make her fall from her state of grace:

Conociendo el demonio esta prosperidad del alma (el cual por su gran malicia todo el bien que en ella ve envidia) a este tiempo usa de toda su habilidad y ejercita todas

[1] This is taken from the first version.
[2] Interpolated in the second version.
[3] *Ibid.*

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sus artes para poder turbar en el alma, siquiera una mínima parte deste bien.... Aprovéchase aquí el demonio de los apetitos sensitivos, aunque con estos en este estado las más veces puede muy poco o nada por estar ellos amortiguados; y de que con esto no puede, representa a la imaginación muchas variedades, y a las veces levanta la parte sensitiva muchos movimientos, como después se dirá, y otras molestias que causa, así espirituales como sensitivas de las cuales no es en mano del alma poderse librar hasta que el Señor envía su ángel.

The actual commentary on the stanza opens:

Deseando, pues, el alma que no le impidan la continuación de este deleite interior de amor, que es la flor de la viña de su alma, ni los invidiosos y maliciosos demonios, ni los furiosos apetitos de la sensualidad, ni las varias idas y venidas de imaginaciones, ni otras cualesquier noticias y presencias de cosas, invoca a los ángeles diciendo que cacen todas estas cosas y las impidan de manera que no impidan el ejercicio de amor interior, en cuyo deleite y sabor se están comunicando y gozando las virtudes y gracias entre el alma y el Hijo de Dios: Y así dice

Cazadnos las raposas,
Que está ya florecida nuestra viña[1].

The following stanza: 'Detente, Cierzo muerto,' appears, in its new position, to illustrate St John's words in the discussion of Grade VIII in the *Noche*. There, as was pointed out above, St John said:

En este grado de unión satisface el alma su deseo, mas no de continuo, porque algunos llegan a poner el pié y luego le vuelven a quitar.

Stanza xvii describes these vacillations. The union experienced is not continuous, and the soul suffers greatly between the periods of contact with the Beloved. The *anotación*[2] preceding the stanza expresses this idea—which is a kind of paraphrase of St Thomas's 'Stringere inamissibiliter':

Para más noticia de la canción que se sigue [runs the *anotación*] conviene aquí advertir, que las ausencias que padece el alma de su Amado en este estado de desposorio espiritual son muy aflictivas, y algunas son de manera que no hay pena que se le compare. La causa desto es que como el amor que tiene a Dios en este estado es grande y fuerte, atorméntale grande y fuertemente en la ausencia. Y añádese a esta pena la molestia que a este tiempo recibe en cualquier manera de trato o comunicación de las criaturas, que es muy grande. Porque como ella está con aquella gran fuerza de deseo abisal por la unión con Dios, cualquiera entretenimiento le es gravísimo y molesto;... Y como está ya el alma saboreada con estas dulces visitas, sonle más desables sobre el oro y toda hermosura. Y por esto temiendo el alma mucho carecer, aún por un momento, de tan preciosa presencia, hablando con la sequedad y con el Espíritu de su Esposo, dice esta Canción: 'Detente, cierzo muerto.'

The hatred of the limitations of mortality which hinders the soul in its proper enjoyment of union with God is carried still further in the *anotación*[2] preceding stanza xix, 'Escóndete, Carillo.'

Está tan hecha enemiga el alma en este estado de la parte inferior y de sus operaciones, que no quería que la comunicase Dios nada de lo espiritual, cuando lo comunica a la parte superior; porque o ha de ser muy poco, o no lo ha de poder sufrir por la flaqueza de su condición, sin que desfallezca el natural y por consiguiente padezca y se aflija el espíritu, y así no lo pueda gozar en paz.

[1] Contrast this passage with the passage on the same stanza, quoted above, p. 176.
[2] Interpolated in the second version.

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The soul cannot be contented with glimpses and snatches of the presence of God; it aspires to a lasting union:

En esto (y mira con tu haz a las montañas) pide el alma todo lo que le (Dios) puede pedir; porque no anda ya contentándose en conocimiento y comunicación de Dios por las espaldas, como hizo Dios con Moysen, que es conocerle por sus efectos y obras, sino con la haz de Dios, que es comunicación esencial de la divinidad sin otro algún medio en el alma, por cierto contacto de ella en la divinidad.

Stanzas xx and xxi are the Bridegroom's reply to the Bride's petition, and for this reason seem to be far better placed in the second version of the *Cántico* than the first:

A las aves ligeras,
Leones, ciervos, gamos saltadores,
Montes, valles, riberas,
Aguas, aires, ardores,
Y miedos de las noches veladores.

Por las amenas liras
Y canto de serenas os conjuro
Que cesen vuestras iras,
Y no toquéis al muro,
Porque la Esposa duerma más seguro.

The *anotación*[1] preceding these two verses summarises the final purification and strengthening necessary before perfect union can be attained. Stanzas xx and xxi thus become the bridge between Spiritual Betrothal and Spiritual Marriage, just as the Spiritual Betrothal was itself the bridge between the illuminative and unitive ways:

Para llegar a tan alto estado de perfección como aquí el alma pretende que es el matrimonio espiritual, no sólo le basta estar limpia y purificada de todas las imperfecciones y rebeliones y hábitos imperfectos de la parte inferior, en que desnudado el viejo hombre, está ya sujeta y rendida a la superior, sino que también ha menester grande fortaleza y muy subido amor para tan fuerte y estrecho abrazo de Dios. Porque no solamente en este estado consigue el alma muy alta pureza y hermosura, sino también terrible fortaleza por razón de el estrecho y fuerte nudo, que por medio de esta unión entre Dios y el alma se da. Por lo cual, para venir a él, ha menester ella estar en el punto de pureza, fortaleza, y amor competente.

The opening paragraph of the commentary on these two stanzas is an enlargement of the similar paragraph in the first version. In the first version the stanzas with their commentary seem out of place, for they come after the Spiritual Marriage, definitely stated to have taken place in stanza xxvii, while they are numbered xxix and xxx. The second version, therefore, improves upon the first, especially as it makes of this passage the final melting away of all impurities which prevent the soul from burning sweetly in the transforming love of the Beloved.

En estas dos canciones [we read in the Commentary] pone el Esposo Hijo de Dios al alma Esposa en posesión de paz y tranquilidad, en conformidad de la parte inferior con la superior, limpiándola de todas sus imperfecciones y poniendo en razón las

[1] Interpolated in the second version.

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potencias y razones naturales del alma, sosegando todos los demás apetitos, según se contiene en las sobredichas dos canciones, cuyo sentido es el siguiente: Primeramente conjura el Esposo y manda a las inútiles digresiones de la fantasía e imaginativa que de aquí adelante cesen; y también pone en razón a las dos potencias naturales, irascible y concupiscible, que antes algún tanto afligían el alma; y pone en perfección de sus objetos, a las tres potencias de el alma, memoria y entendimiento y voluntad, según se puede en esta vida. Demás desto conjura y manda a las cuatro pasiones del alma que son: gozo, esperanza, dolor, y temor, que ya de aquí adelante estén mitigadas y puestas en razón. Todas las cuales son significadas por todos aquellos nombres que se ponen en la canción primera, cuyas molestas operaciones y movimientos hace el Esposo que ya cesen en el alma, por medio de la gran suavidad y deleite y fortaleza que ella posee en la comunicación y entrega espiritual, que Dios de sí le hace en este tiempo. En la cual porque Dios se transforma vivamente al alma en sí, todas las potencias apetitos y movimientos del alma pierden su imperfección natural y se mudan en divinos.

From the above it is easy to see that the second version of the *Cántico* is a conscious improvement on the first as a *mystical treatise*. The interpolated passages express St John's new conception of the Spiritual Betrothal, and conform more nearly to the theories expressed in his other works. The Spiritual Betrothal, in the second version, is a period of probation. The joys of union are fleetingly accorded to the soul, and so great are they that the soul determines not to let anything come between her and her Beloved; *stringere inamissibiliter*. In the first version the soul was so overjoyed by her experience of union that she could do nothing but sing His praises. The task of destroying all imperfections was put off until the happiness inspiring the poet had been expressed; then only was there time for sterner action. The consideration of this part of the poem alone is almost enough to convince the reader that the first *Cántico* was the expression of a personal experience; the second that of a well meditated scheme of life.

The description of the Spiritual Marriage in the second version expresses all the bliss which characterised the Betrothal in the first *Cántico*. Stanzas xv–xxiv of the first version have become xxiv–xxxiii of the second, and they follow the two verses in which both versions describe the celebration of the Marriage:

Entrádose ha la Esposa
En el ameno huerto deseado,
Y a su sabor reposa,
El cuello reclinado
Sobre los dulces brazos del Amado.
Debajo del manzano
Allí conmigo fuiste desposada,
Allí te dí la mano,
Y fuiste reparada
Donde tu madre fuera violada.

The next ten verses have been taken bodily from an earlier stage in the first version, and applied to this later stage of Spiritual Marriage, the

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highest attainable on earth. In the *Noche* St John says of the equivalent stage in the *Ten Grades*—the ninth:

> El nono grado de amor hace arder al alma con suavidad. Este grado es el de los perfectos, los cuales arden ya en Dios suavemente. Porque este ardor suave y deleitoso les causa el Espíritu Santo por razón de la unión que tienen en Dios. Por eso dice San Gregorio de los Apóstoles, que cuando el Espíritu Santo visiblemente vino sobre ellos, que interiormente ardieron por amor suavemente. De los bienes y riquezas de Dios que el alma goza en este grado no se puede hablar; porque si de ello se escribiesen muchos libros, quedaría lo más por decir.

We might, therefore, regard the ten verses referred to above as the imperfect expression of those things 'que no se puede hablar.' Their transference from one part of the poem to another may be due to the *Ten Grades*; for, if St John once accepted the *Ten Grades* as the scheme he was to follow, he would be bound to keep the emotional crisis back until the highest state of love had been reached.

With regard to the last seven verses of the poem, the fact that they form the conclusion of the *Cántico* in both versions leads us to suppose that St John wished the two stanzas preceding 'Gozémonos, Amado' to express the highest stage (on earth) of spiritual marriage:

> La blanca palomica
> Al arca con su ramo ha tornado,
> Y ya la tortolica
> Al socio deseado
> En las riberas verdes ha hallado.
> En soledad vivía
> Y en soledad ha puesto ya su nido,
> Y en soledad la guía
> A solas su querido,
> También en soledad de amor querido.

So great is the union Between the soul and the Beloved, so detached is the former from everything that is not the Beloved, that the time has come for her to proceed to a complete transformation into Him, by means of death. The last five stanzas of the *Cántico* correspond to the *Assimilari totaliter* of the *Ten Grades*; but the two verses above quoted form another bridge—this time between the highest state of union on earth and the first state *in patria*. An *anotación*[1] preceding stanza xxxvi 'Gozémonos, Amado' points this out very clearly. Having said that the soul is now 'en su punto de perfección,' or in 'Esta cumbre de perfección y libertad de espíritu en Dios, acabadas todas las repugnancias y contrariedades de la sensualidad, ya no tiene otra cosa en que entender, ni otro ejercicio en que se emplear, sino en darse en deleites y gozos de íntimo amor con el Esposo,' St John goes on to say that the soul can make no more progress in love of God until she sees Him in the Beatific Vision.

[1] Interpolated in the second version.

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Y por eso, como habemos dicho, esta alma ya no entiende sino en andar gozando de los deleites de este pasto; sólo le queda una cosa que desear, que es gozarle perfectamente en la vida eterna. Y así en la siguiente *Canción*, y en las demás que se siguen, se emplea en pedir el Amado este beatífico pasto en manifiesta visión de Dios.

In the second version of the commentary on stanza xxxvii, 'Allí me mostrarías' brings out the idea of transformation far better than the corresponding commentary in the first *Cántico*. The passage in the second is much longer than in the first version, and insists on the completeness of the transformation:

Allí me mostrarías
Aquello que mi alma pretendía.

Esta pretensión de el alma es la igualdad de amor con Dios, que siempre ella natural y sobrenaturalmente apetece; porque el amante no puede estar satisfecho si no siente que ama cuanto es amado. Y como el alma ve que con la transformación que tiene en Dios en esta vida, aunque es inmenso el amor, no puede llegar a igualar con la perfección de amor con que de Dios es amada, desea la clara transformación de gloria, que llegará a igualar con el dicho amor. Porque, aunque en este alto estado, que aquí tiene, hay unión verdadera de voluntad, no puede llegar a los quilates y fuerza de amor que en aquella fuerte unión de gloria tendrá; porque así como según dice S. Pablo, Cor. 13, conocerá el alma entonces como es conocida de Dios, así le amará también como es amada de Dios. Porque así como entonces su entendimiento será entendimiento de Dios, su voluntad será voluntad de Dios, y así su amor será amor de Dios. Porque aunque allí no está perdida la voluntad de el alma, está tan fuertemente unida con la fortaleza de la voluntad de Dios, con que de él es amada, que le ama tan fuerte y perfectamente como de él es amada, estando las dos voluntades unidas en una sola voluntad y en un solo amor de Dios; y así ama el alma a Dios con voluntad y fuerza de el mismo Dios, unida con la misma fuerza de amor con que es amada de Dios; la cual fuerza es en el Espíritu Santo, en el cual está el alma allí transformada; que siendo él dado al alma para la fuerza de este amor, supone y suple en ella, por razón de la tal transformación de gloria, lo que falta en ella. Lo cual, aun en la transformación perfecta de este estado matrimonial, a que en esta vida el alma llega, en que está toda revertida en gracia, en alguna manera ama tanto por el Espíritu Santo que le es dado en la tal transformación. Rom. 5.

The last line of stanza xxxix, 'El aspiriar de el aire,' brings out the idea of transformation by means of burning, 'Ardere suaviter.' This line: 'Con llama que consume y no da pena,' brings the whole of the *Llama de amor viva* to the mind. The commentary on this line is peculiarly suggestive:

Por la llama entiende aquí el amor de el Espíritu Santo. El consumar significa aquí acabar y perficionar. En decir, pues, el alma que todas las cosas que ha dicho en esta Canción, se las ha de dar el Amado y las ha ella de poseer con consumado y perfecto amor, absortas todas y ella con ellas en amor perfecto y que no dé pena, lo cual dice para dar a entender la perfección entera de este amor. Porque para que lo sea, estas dos propriedades ha de tener, conviene a saber, que consume y transforme el alma en Dios, y que no dé pena la inflamación y transformación de esta llama en el alma. Lo cual no puede ser sino en el estado beatífico, donde ya esta llama es amor suave.

It must be remembered that the last seven verses of the *Cántico* are pronounced by the soul who is still only on the ninth step of the Mystical

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Ladder—'Ardere suaviter.' She speaks of what shall be accorded to her in the perfect transformation of the life hereafter. It is with no surprise therefore that we read the following Commentary on stanza xl, 'Que nadie lo miraba,' etc.:

Conociendo pues aquí la Esposa que ya el apetito de su voluntad está desasido de todas las cosas y arrimado a su Dios con estrechísimo amor, y que la parte sensitiva de el alma con todas sus fuerzas, potencias y apetitos está conformada con el Espíritu, acabadas ya y subjectadas sus rebeldías, y que el demonio por el vario y largo exercicio, y lucha espiritual está ya vencido y apartado muy lejos, y que su alma está unida y transformada en Dios con abundancias de riquezas y dones celestiales, y que según esto está ya bien dispuesta, y aparejada y fuerte, arrimada en su Esposo para subir por el desierto de la muerte abundando en deleites, a los asientos y sillas gloriosas de su Esposo, con deseo que el Esposo concluya ya este negocio, pónele por delante, para más moverle a ello, todas estas cosas en esta última Canción.

We have not here taken a step backwards, as it might appear at first sight, for no living being can speak of the glory of complete transformation. The soul, burning 'con llama que consume y no da pena,' has looked forward to the Beatific Vision; in this last verse she asks that the Beatific Vision may be accorded. The last paragraph of the second version repeats what has been said above:

Todas estas perfecciones y disposiciones antepone la Esposa a su Amado el Hijo de Dios, con deseo de ser por él trasladada del matrimonio espiritual, a que Dios le ha querido llegar en esta iglesia militante, al glorioso matrimonio de la triunfante.

We have seen, then, that both versions of the *Cántico* start with an idea extraordinarily like that expressed in the *Ten Grades*, 'Languere utiliter'; and, further, that St John's poem seems to elaborate the hint thrown out by St Thomas of the search through 'civitatem totam universitatem.' The examination of the poem brought us to the conviction that it was constructed on lines similar to the progress described in the *Ten Grades*. From the stanza in which occurs the Spiritual Betrothal to the seventh from the end, great alterations have been made in the sequence of the verses: M. Baruzi has claimed that the lyrical sweep of the poem has thus been entirely spoilt. But, as our examination shows, the alterations have all been to the good, as far as the logical growth of the poem is concerned. Whoever rewrote the *Cántico* did not chop it about at haphazard; the poem was altered to conform with a mystical scheme exactly parallel to the *Ten Grades* of St Thomas. Moreover, this mystical scheme seems to coincide with St John's general outline of the mystical life, such as we can reconstruct it from the fragments of the *Subida*, the *Noche* and the *Llama*, which St John considered the culminating point of his mystical expression. The *Cántico Espiritual* is the only work in which St John gives us a complete view of the mystic's

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life. The first version does not coincide with the general outline of his ideas, whereas the second—at the risk of mutilating the poem—seems to summarise them. It does not, therefore, seem improbable that the second version is the definitive text of the *Cántico*, and that the first is, simply, the *borrador* or rough copy from which the second was made.

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Note. I am indebted to the Rev. Father Benedict Zimmerman for his kindness in lending me copies of the articles by Dom. Ph. Chevallier, Fr. Louis de la Trinité, and M. Ferdinand Cavallera, mentioned in this article, as well as a copy of the photographic edition of the *Cántico* of the MS. at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, by P. Silverio de Santa Teresa.

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GOTHIC NOTES

I. Skeireins, vi, 10–11.

In the Codex Ambrosianus the passage stands as follows: 'Jains auk manniskaim waurdam weilwodjands tweifljan þuhta sunjains wisands þaim unkunnandam mahta.' Streitberg (*Gotische Bibel*, Heidelberg, 1919) quotes the following translation of Jellinek with approval, as conveying the sense of the passage: 'Wenn joh. auch wahrhaft war, so konnten seine äusserungen doch von denen, die dies nicht wussten, bezweifelt werden.' From this it is to be understood that, even though John spoke truly, yet his assertions might be doubted by those ignorant of this fact. Streitberg adds the remark: 'Die gramm. Konstruktion ist jedoch unklar; wahrscheinlich verderbt.'

The above explanation would certainly seem to suit the whole context of the passage. But, as Streitberg says, it has not hitherto been possible to base it on any definitely recognisable grammar and syntax. Its acceptance, therefore, implies the assumption which he makes, namely, that the text is here corrupt.

Accepting, as is usually done, the above position, some attempt at an emendation to bring the grammatical construction of the passage into line with the interpretation offered, would seem to be a logical corollary. I tentatively put forward the following. For *þuhta* read *þugkjan*. *þugkjan* would then be an infinitive, to be construed with the pret. sing. *mahta*. Punctuating as below, the translation would then run: 'For that man (John), bearing witness with (merely) human words, though he spoke truly (being true), might seem to be doubtful (*tweifljan-þugkjan-mahta*) to the ignorant (*þaim unkunnandam*, as dative pl.). 'Jains auk, manniskaim waurdam weilwodjands, tweifljan þugkjan—sunjeins wisands—þaim unkunnandam mahta.'

In the above passage as thus emended, the placing of the finite verb at the very end of a fairly long clause, might perhaps be explained as being due to the influence of Latin rather than Greek syntax.

If the two words *þuhta* and *þugkjan* are set side by side as expressed in the alphabet of Wulfila, it is, perhaps, possible to imagine how the scribe of the Codex Ambrosianus misread the *j* of his original as *h*, the forms being not unlike, and then wrote *þuhta* as being the nearest

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similar-looking word containing an *h* that he could think of at the moment.

It seems, however, extremely doubtful whether *tweifljan* can be taken in the sense required by the above interpretation, since, both from its form and its Germanic cognates (O.H.G. *zwîfalēn* and *zwîf(o)lōn*, O.S. *twîflian*, O.N. *tvila*), we should definitely expect it to be *transitive*.

I offer the foregoing emendation and explanations rather as an attempt at a logical *skeireins* of Streitberg's and Jellinek's interpretation, than as my own confident belief; and I am conscious that some may regard them as something of a *reductio ad absurdum*. I am content to leave it so. For, after all, if—instead of accepting a syntactically improbable explanation of a text which is only to be explained on the hypothesis of a corruption, and consequently to be emended—we set out once more in an unprejudiced effort to explain the text as it stands in the Codex, it may be we shall be better rewarded.

Let us assume, therefore, that the Ambrosian scribe made no mistake and that the passage as it has come down to us is correct. What then? If we take the passage as virtually two sentences, with the break after *wisands*, and regard (as the most obviously natural order) *unkunnandam* as a dat. pl. masc., agreeing with *þaim*, then, it seems to me, we have two perfectly intelligible (and grammatical) sentences. Thus:

(*a*) 'Jains auk, manniskaim waurdam weitwodjands, tweifljan þuhta, sunjeins wisands,' i.e. 'for this man (John), bearing witness with (merely) human words, has seemed (*þuhta*) to cause doubt—although he spoke the truth (lit. *being true*).'

(*b*) 'þaim unkunnandam mahta,' i.e. 'To the ignorant he could (seem so).'

In the latter sentence *þugkjan* is to be understood after *mahta*, as being implied by the sense. It appears to me that this interpretation—which requires no alteration of the text whatever—is in even better harmony with the context than that of Jellinek and Streitberg, for the writer is here anxious to set at rest any doubts that may have been roused among the less educated Christians by the apparent discrepancies between the expressions used respectively by John and Christ. John, he tells us, has seemed to raise doubts by some of his utterances. But, in fact, this is only in appearance, and because John was handicapped by being merely human he could not always express himself clearly. Only to the ignorant, however, has he so seemed, for to the understanding mind these seeming inconsistencies are perfectly explicable and become completely reconciled.

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The meaning 'to cause doubt' for *tweifljan*—which is, unhappily, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Gothic—is also satisfactory, in view of its form and Germanic parallels (cf. especially its use in the O.S. *Heliand*).

Textually, syntactically and historically, therefore, the foregoing interpretation seems to me to be more satisfying than any explanation based on the assumption of corruption and consequent emendation[1].

II. Luke i, 8.

It seems to me that the exact significance of this passage has not yet been made clear—especially with reference to the expression *in wikon*. Broadly speaking, one class of commentators regard *wiko* as meaning 'turn,' 'series,' etc. (represented by Streitberg in his edition of the Gothic Bible, where he paraphrases without actually explaining *wiko*); and the other take it simply as having the same force as 'week' (cf., e.g., the Glossary to Wright's *Gothic Grammar*, where O.E. *wice* and *wuce*, O.N. *vika*, O.H.G. *wëcha* and *wëhha*—all meaning 'week'—are given as cognates). The verse (there are no variant readings of any significance) stands as follows in the Greek (from which, presumably, the Gothic is rendered), Latin, Gothic and English (authorised version):

ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ.

Factum est autem, cum sacerdotio fungeretur *in ordine vicis suae* ante deum.

Warþ þan, miþþanei gudjinoda is *in wikon kunjis seinis* in andwairþja gudis.

And it came to pass, that while he (Zacharias) executed the priest's office before God, *in the order of his course.*

It will be seen at a glance that the Gothic is here a rendering of the Greek and not of the Latin; and that the crucial words are therefore τάξις, which is Gothic *wiko*, and ἐφημερία, Gothic *kuni*.

Taking the more difficult word first: ἐφημερία, in its technical Jewish sense of a division of the priesthood in the Temple at Jerusalem, is referred to in the following passages in the *Septuagint*. I *Chron.* xxiv, 19; II *Chron.* viii, 14, and xxxii, 1; *Neh.* xiii, 30. If we examine these passages, read with Josephus' casual references, in the light of the fullest modern commentaries (see discussion of references in Schurer, *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Part i, Vol. i, pp. 216 ff. and in *International Critical Commentary* on *St Luke*, p. 8), we find that the Jewish priests were divided into *families*, each family having definite duties *at specified periods of time*. These divisions (corresponding to families and therefore hereditary) are called ἐφημερίαι in the *Septuagint*.

[1] It will be seen that my interpretation of the un-emended text agrees in part with—and has been to that extent anticipated by—that of Dietrich the editor of *Skeireins*, Strassburg, 1903. But I have differed substantially from Dietrich in several essential points.

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An *ἐφημερία* was probably a family of priests that performed its specified duty in the Temple ritual *on a given day only*. It would seem also, that the term may have had occasionally a second sense, namely that of a priestly family which held the right to perform a specified ceremony or ritual *for one week only*. It would appear that on this second meaning (a far more dubious one) rests the view that *wiko* is 'week.' I can see no other possible justification for it in view of the Greek text (in which *τάξις* must be its equivalent). Moreover, it will now be clear why Gothic *kuni* is used to render *ἐφημερία*, for the *ἐφημερία was* a *race* (of priests), and the Gothic translator may fairly be supposed to have been familiar with this special technical sense of the word in view of its occurrence more than once in the *Septuagint*.

The Greek *τάξις* has the well authenticated sense—besides its regular meaning of *arrangement*, etc.—of *office*, *post*, *duty*, etc. (see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*). It is not difficult to believe that it bore this sense in the mind of the Gothic translator and that he took the phrase *ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ* as meaning 'in the office of his class or family' —i.e., while Zacharias was performing the office or duty assigned to the family of priests to which he belonged, for that day; *wiko*, then, means *office* or *duty*.

The above inference as to the correct interpretation of *wiko* is confirmed by the O.E. parallel form *wice*. The O.E. *wice* is used by Ælfric and others (see the *Dictionary* of Bosworth and Toller, and its *Supplement*) to mean *office*, *duty*, etc. Further confirmation may be had from the quite frequent use of *wice* in the above and similar senses in Middle English (cf., e.g., *The Owl and the Nightingale*, l. 605).

I conclude from the foregoing arguments, that *wiko* = *τάξις* = *office* = O.E. *wice* in that sense (the weak nominal form in the O.E. word corresponds exactly with the Gothic), and that *kuni* = *ἐφημερία*, the idea being that Zacharias was performing the ritual office in the temple assigned for that day to the particular family of priests to which he belonged.

III. Gothic Calendar, October 29.

This is perhaps the most difficult crux in the whole Gothic *corpus*, and it has excited the attention of ecclesiastical as well as of linguistic experts (see the articles in *Analecta Bollandiana* cited by Streitberg). Below is the passage as it appears without emendation: ·κθ· gaminþi marwtre þize bi Werekan papan jah Batwin bilaif. aikklesjons fullaizos ana gutþindai gabrannidai.

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The following remarks are offered only tentatively, as it seems scarcely likely that a passage of such difficulty and dubiety will ever be definitely 'solved.' The historical facts, as distinct from what has been conjectured, have been shown by the hagiographical experts referred to above to be as follows:

Between A.D. 367 and 378, twenty-six Christians of the Gothic Church, of whom the Wereka and Batwins of our text were two, were burned alive in their church in Beroea in Thrace. October 29 (though the Greek *Menologium* gives March 26) is the correct date. Wereka and (probably) Batwins were elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*) of the Gothic religious community in Thrace. It is these martyrs and their two leaders who are commemorated in the *Calendar*, and whose Feast in the Arian Church falls on October 29.

It is agreed by all that *marwtre* of our text = *martwre* = *martyre*, genitive plural; the Gothic symbol transliterating the Greek *υ* (from the capital form Y) and *w* alike.

Bilaif cannot be a noun, as has been suggested, because any compound of *laiba* = O.E. *lāf*, etc., would be a feminine -*ō* stem: or, alternatively, if *bilaif* is assumed to be formed from a verb *bileiban*, then it would be far more reasonable (if *bileiban* is accepted) to take *bilaif* as a preterite singular of the verb. Neither is there any evidence to support the view that *bilaif* is a form of a preterite present verb, nor are there any cognates of such a form. It remains, therefore, to take *bilaif* as the pret. sing. of a hypothetical verb *bileiban*, as Streitberg has done. This *bileiban* would be an exact cognate in *form* to the German *bleiben* or to the O.E. *be-līfan* = 'remain.' I should like to give *bilaif*, taking it thus, the meaning 'has survived.' Later Germanic cognates of *bileiban*, especially the Dutch, seem to warrant the sense 'remain over,' and it may not be too much to assume such a meaning for this older Gothic verb.

By emending *gabrannidai* to *gabrannidaizos*, it has been suggested that the phrase *aikklesjons fullaizos . . . gabrannidaizos* may be taken as a genitive dependent on *gaminþi*, and in apposition with *þize marwtre*. The translation would then run: 'The memory of the martyrs . . . (and) of the church . . . which was burned when full, has remained (survived).' In view of Sozomenos, VI, 37—describing how, in the time of the persecutions under Athanarich, the Christians fled to a church in Thrace, which was then set on fire so that all perished—this seems plausible enough. But its construction, with its very Greek participial arrangement, is not in accordance with the general impression made by the whole *Calendar*. It would seem that the *Calendar* is the work of a relatively

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uneducated man rather than of one who read Sozomenos or imitated good Greek syntax.

What, then, if we adopt the other suggestion made by previous commentators, namely, that *aikklesjons fullaizos* is a genitive absolute in itself; we should then translate: 'The memory of the martyrs...has survived. While the church was full (lit. the church being full), they were burned (*gabrannidai* would then be nom. pl. of the past part., and = *gabrannidai wesun*).' The difficulty here, apart from the boldness of making a Gothic absolute clause out of a noun and adjective only, is that the only other genitive absolute in Gothic would seem to be *Mark* xvi, 1, where the gen. absol. clause *inwisandins Sabbate dagis* depends upon the interpretation of the reading *inwisandinsabbatedagis* of the Codex Argenteus, and has been doubted or otherwise explained. In view, however, of the unquestioned *dagis* in the Codex Argenteus of *Mark* xvi, 1, I am convinced, for myself, that the gen. absolute explanation is the right one, and therefore propose to accept *aikklesjons fullaizos* as a genuine genitive absolute.

I accept *gaminþi* = *commemoratio* and propose to translate it 'memory.' I also accept the rare use of *bi* = 'accompanied by' or 'in the company of,' and *ana* = 'in.' I take *þize* as demonstrative.

Punctuating as below, I construe the passage thus: 'Gaminþi marwtre, þize bi Werekan papan jah Batwin, bilaif. Aikklesjons fullaizos, ana Gutþindai gabrannidai.' *Gaminþi marwtre* = the memory of (the) martyrs; *þize bi Werekan papan jah Batwin* = those who accompanied Wereka the Elder and Batwins (*or* Wereka and Batwins the Elders); *bilaif* = has survived; *aikklesjons fullaizos* = while the church was full; *gabrannidai* (*wesun*) = they were burnt.

Finally, if this view be thought too bold, I would suggest the emendation of placing the preposition (properly an adverb) *innana* before *aikklesjons*. In *Mark* xv, 16, we find *innana* used in the sense of *within* and governing the genitive. For here the Greek ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς is rendered in Gothic *innana gardis*. The phrase *innana aikklesjons fullaizos* would then mean 'within (or inside) the church when it was full' (lit. 'the full church'). This emendation would do away with the necessity for assuming a genitive absolute, and the rest of the translation would remain as above. I should, however, prefer not to emend.

C. L. Wrenn.

Oxford.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A Note on 'Beowulf,' l. 1379.

Editors of *Beowulf*, from Thorkelin down, share at least one weakness: they like to tamper with the text. The following passage is a good example of this weakness:

Eard git ne const,
frecne stowe, ðær þu findan miht
1379 felasinnigne secg; sec gif þu dyrre!

'Not yet dost thou know the place, the fearful spot, where thou canst find the wicked man; seek if thou dare!'

The stone of stumbling here lies in the *fela-* of *felasinnigne*. Not that the half-line fails to scan, nor that there is anything unusual about the compound. The editors are bothered by the alliteration, and the alliteration only. The stave is *s*, and there is an *s* in *felasinnigne*. Therefore *fela-* must be cancelled, and the *s* thus brought into initial position. Curiously enough, nobody seems to notice that *secg* likewise has an *s*, and this already in initial position. The alliterative requirements of the line are amply served, in fact, by *secg* and *sec*, and there is no need to bring the medial *s* of *felasinnigne* into the picture at all. In other words, the cancellation of *fela-* is needless and such a procedure must be condemned as unsound. Parallels in *Beowulf* are ll. 445 and 2220; these I have discussed elsewhere, and my defence of the text of these two lines applies equally well to l. 1379[1].

Kemp Malone.

Baltimore, Md. U.S.A.

The Influence of the 'Ancren Riwle' in the late Fourteenth Century.

I do not think that it has been noted that the Vernon MS. version of the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*circa* 1375) contains what appears to be a clear case of reminiscence of a passage in the *Ancren Riwle*, for the words in question have no basis in the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. The passages referred to are as follows:

(þe fend com as a neddre forte begylen Eue)....And Eue tolde him a long tale, al what God hedde Iseid. And be hire tellyng þe schrewe fond wey of hire frelete.

C. Horstmann, *Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden*, 222/9 sqq.

Eue heold in parais longe tale mid te neddre, 7 told hire al ꝥ lescun ꝥ God hire hefde ilered, 7 Adam, of þen epple 7 so þe ueond þurh hire word, understond anonriht hire wocnesse, 7 ivond wei touward hire of hire uorlorenesse.

Morton, *The Ancren Riwle*, 66/3 sqq.

[1] *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xxvii (1928), pp. 318 ff.

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It will be remembered that one of the manuscripts of the *Ancren Riwle* is to be found in the Vernon MS.

S. J. CRAWFORD.

SOUTHAMPTON.

A CASE OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN JACOB WIMPFELING AND SEBASTIAN BRANT.

The two small items printed below—the *Tetrastichon contra bellisequaces* by Jacobus Wimpfeling of Slettstadt, the Alsatian humanist and pedagogue, and its free rendering into German verse by Sebastian Brant—are to be found on the last page (B VI^{v}) of a collection of small pieces which at the desire[1] of the printer Joannes Prüss, junior, were sent by J. Wimpfeling to Strassburg in 1512, and printed there in 1513. (Cp. colophon: *Argentoraci, Ad honorem dignitatis Sacerdotalis & gloriam Cæsaris nostri Maximiliani Sempiternā. Ex œdibus Ioannis Prüs iunioris. Anno M.CCCCCXIII.*)

This rare association on two sheets (A I–IV, B I–VI) in 4° (I use a copy in my library) has not escaped the attention of writers on Wimpfeling and of bibliographers. J. A. von Riegger mentions it in his *Amoenitates literariae friburgenses, Ulmae* 1776 as No. 69 (p. 335) of the writings of J. Wimpfeling, gives the titles of the various items (A I^{r}: *Modus Predicandi subtilis... Stephani Hoest theologi uiæ modernæ Heidelbergenis—Tetrastichum contra bellisequaces.... Rithmus Germanicus de eodem*) and the preface of Wimpfeling (A I^{v}) after having previously reprinted (p. 70) the *Epitaphiū Joannis Kaiserspergii... p Joannē Botzheim D. D. eccl'ię cathedralis Constañ. canonicū*, the fifth item of the collection. G. Knod quotes it in his article 'Neun Briefe von und an Wimpfeling' (*Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Literatur der Renaissance*, vol. I, p. 231, note 1) and also J. Knepper, *Jacob Wimpfeling*, Freiburg, 1902, p. 300, note 1. Finally the collection is shortly described by Charles Schmidt in his *Répertoire Bibliographique Strasbourgeois, III: Jean Prüss père* 1482–1511, *Jean Prüss fils* 1511–46, Strasbourg, 1893, p. 30, where he remarks: 'Les vers allemands de la fin sont de Seb. Brant.' I am not aware that they or their source, Wimpfeling's *Tetrastichon*, have ever been reprinted.

In the preface, i.e. the letter to J. Prüss, jun. accompanying the MS., Wimpfeling alludes to the many and malicious attacks which fell to his

[1] Cp. Preface (A I^{v}): *Libenter ego tibi exemplaria lectu digna impertiar, cum neq; hactenus cuiusquā impressorū uota frustratus sim.*

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lot—he apparently thinks of his quarrels with the monks over his book *De integritate*, and with Jacob Locher over his *Germania*—and consoles himself with the similar fate of other persons, e.g., the Emperor Maximilian, Joannes Gerson and his friend Georg Zingelus *quē versifex ardente lauro clamosior* (i.e., Jacob Locher) *crudelissime infamauit*; he sends it to J. Prüss *ex eremo*, that is from a convent of nuns in the Black Forest (Sulzburg?), which he was to reform by command of the Bishop of Bâle, Cristoph of Udenheim, in the year 1512 and where he seems to have lived several years, for in 1515 he dates his preface to the new edition of *Aeneei Sylvii Germania* still *ex eremo* 14. *cal. Junias.* (Cp. K. F. Vierordt, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Baden*, 1847, Part I, p. 77.)

It may have been during one of his longer or shorter sojourns in Strassburg between 1501 and 1512 that he showed the *Tetrastichon* to his friend Sebastian Brant who, probably wishing it to have a far-reaching influence in those warlike days, suggested its rendering into the vernacular. At any rate, the fact that Wimpfeling sent the trifle to J. Prüss shows that he considered it worthy of publication. And thus the *Tetrastichon* and its German adaptation gain a deeper significance as reflecting a burning question of the period, the bold and licentious life of the 'frumen landsknechte,' and stressing the need of inner fortitude instead of outward valour and the higher duty of the Christian soldier to fight the flesh and the demon within him. It will be remembered that Erasmus published his *Enchiridion militis Christiani* in 1502.

The two disticha of the original Brant renders by six plus six German iambic lines (l. 3 read *Thů gmách*) of which the two first and two last have feminine rhymes, thus enclosing the masculine rhymes of the remainder, but the two final lines are an addition by Brant and point the moral. On the other hand, there is no equivalent in the German verse on the dangers of warfaring caused by *pestis*, *nix*, *aqua*, *flamma*, nor has that fine stylistic device of the rhetorical question, which gives the original such vivacity, been imitated by Brant, except on its first occurrence. A certain long-windedness and the omission of some significant points of the terse original, together with a strong didactic bias (cp. the moral ending) characterises Sebastian Brant's rendering.

Tetrastichon cōtra bellisequaces in sanguinem Christianū grassantes, ne manibus laborare cogant̄. Ia. Vuymphe.

Cur homo Marte peris, quem febris, pustula, pestis,
Bilis, uina, uenus, nix, aqua, flamma necat
Natus es ad martem? uir belli es? prœlia quæris?
Bellum cum uitijs, dæmone, carne geras.

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Rithmus eiusdem sensus, linguæ Germaniæ Sebastiani Brant.

¶[1] Kriegs knecht, was ist dier nodt sölchß bochen[2],
Das du ym krieg wilt sein erstochen?
Thů gemach[3] | die platren[4] | feber | vnd bil[5]
Werden erwirgen vwern[6] vil,
Von brassen[7], schlemmen, vnküscheit
Wirdt vch der gammell[8] bald geleit.
Bystu zů krieg geboren ye
Vnd wildt vff erden kriegen hie,
Krieg mit dem fleisch vnd diner sünd
Vnd wer dich geen dem bösen findt:
So magstu lang in kriegen alten[9]
Vnd wirst durch sölchen strit behalten.

R. PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

[1] I have added modern punctuation. [2] Boasting, arrogance.
[3] Go gently. [4] Smallpox. [5] Bile. [6] M.H.G. *iuwer* = of you.
[7] *prassen*, to feast, arouse. [8] *Kitzel, böse Lust*, inordinate desire, appetite.
[9] *Altern*, grow old.

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REVIEWS

The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire. By A. H. Smith. Cambridge: University Press. 1928. xlvi + 352 pp. 20*s*.

The fifth volume of the publications of the English Place-Name Society breaks new ground in two different directions. For the first time the Survey of English Place-Names treats a part of England where the Scandinavian element in the nomenclature is very marked. For this purpose the task not merely of collecting and identifying, but also of interpreting the material has been entrusted to a younger scholar, while the general editors have stood aside and have acted merely as supervisors of the work. Dr Smith has proved himself in every way competent to deal with the numerous problems which the North Riding has to offer. That he is thoroughly acquainted with the local topography and with the dialect is shown by the numerous annotations and dialect pronunciations which appear on almost every page of his book. In the work of interpretation of the collected forms he has been able again and again to provide a happy solution; in a large number of cases, even where the names offered difficult cruces, he has attained what is in effect certainty in the establishment of the etymology.

In his historical introduction Dr Smith shows that the few Celtic names that have survived in the North Riding nearly all denote natural features, the names indicating settlements have been swept away during the extensive English colonisations and again at a later stage when the Scandinavian settlements took place. He lays stress upon the significant fact that the Celtic names that have survived occur in fertile districts and not in upland areas, providing one further piece of evidence to show that there can have been no question of independent Celtic survivals in the more inaccessible parts of Eastern England. The English settlements in the North Riding date from the first quarter of the sixth century. There is reason to believe that the North and West Ridings were not occupied by the Angles until they had well established themselves in the East Riding. Many of the English names are of an extremely archaic type. The numerous parallels that can be adduced from other eastern counties show that, although the main body of the Anglian names was of Northumbrian origin, there was a very close affinity between all the Anglo-Saxons who settled along the eastern seaboard of Britain. The Scandinavian invasions affected the place-names of the North Riding almost as much as did the English settlement. East and West Scandinavians entered the area and found homes for themselves often side by side, the Danes radiating out from York especially towards the southern half of the Riding, the Norwegians coming over the Pennines from Cumberland and Westmoreland, occasionally accompanied by British settlers and frequently bringing with them Gaelic terms and Gaelic methods of name-formation which they had learnt in Ireland.

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To the actual matter of the book one has very little to add. Perhaps in the note on Hinderwell (p. 138) reference might have been made to the fact that the church is dedicated to St Hilda. In the list of personal names on p. 321 the name Cēolfriþ is starred as hypothetical or unrecorded in O.E. Dr Smith is aware of the fact that there were at least two persons who bore this name, one being the famous abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in the time of Bede. If the *ceolfrith presbiter* of *Liber Vitae*, fo. 18 *b*, is not the same as the *Ceolfriðus abbas* of Birch, chart No. 220, we have yet a third bearer of the name. By his note on p. 104 Dr Smith presumably implies that the name, compounded of two well-known stems, was no doubt more common in O.E. times than the extant documentary evidence would suggest. From the list of abbreviations on pp. xxxv–xxxix we miss various county abbreviations; these are by now well known to habitual readers of the Place-Name Society volumes, but they may puzzle a casual reader: e.g., Do (Dorset), Gl (Gloucestershire), Sf (Suffolk), Sr (Surrey) apart from the recognised Berks, Herts, Mon. On p. xxxix, l. 14, for *Anglicanum* read *Anglicum*; *ib.*, l. 42, for *Englische* read *englischen*; p. 213, l. 4, and p. 350, col. 2, l. 13, for *Harlingham* (Nf) read *Harling* (Nf).

A few minor details of this sort do not in any way detract from the value of Dr Smith's fine study. To any one who wishes for authoritative information on all that the place-names of the North Riding can contribute to the elucidation of the linguistic and historical problems of early Yorkshire the book will be indispensable. Altogether it is a worthy successor to the volumes issued by the Society in previous years.

O. K. Schram.

Liverpool.

The Kenning in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Poetry. By H. Van der Merwe Scholtz. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1929. 180 pp. 6*s*.

Although this is not a comprehensive and detailed account of the kenning and its use in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse, those aspects of the kenning which it treats—its nature, cause and development—are fundamental. The author considers Bode's definition and treatment of the kenning in Anglo-Saxon inadequate and misleading; his own treatment shares points with Meissner's treatment of the kenning in Old Norse. While recognising the 'occasional' kenning and its possible acceptance as a general kenning apart from the circumstances of its origin, he sees most kennings as the final stage in a process already responsible for the repetition of the same term, the term in apposition and the 'variation' which may elsewhere appear as an independent kenning. The reason for the kenning is found, not in mere ornament or metrical convenience (though this is partly true, certainly with regard to the intricate 'derived' kennings of Skaldic verse), but in a desire for more definite, more vivid expression, for stronger emphasis upon special elements contained, but liable to be overlooked, in the general term for the conception. The

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kenning is not a curious combination of words but an idea revealing the circumstances and mind of the poet. This is the real value of the study. The kenning is classified, not minutely and artificially, but broadly and vitally since it is another indication of those literary qualities of style and mood which distinguish Anglo-Saxon poetry from that of Old Norse. Hence certain pages, at first sight superfluous, find a place since they help to justify a study of this old habit of expression as serious as that accorded to the poetic diction of later times.

The argument is clearly set forth; the examples, though not numerous, are pertinent; the orderly lists of kennings, making nearly half the book, are interesting and suggestive. A few minor misprints have been overlooked, but the book merits attention for its sympathetic and sound, if not exhaustive, treatment of the subject.

H. A. C. GREEN.

LONDON.

Boethius. *De Consolatione Philosophiae.* Translated by JOHN WALTON. Edited by MARK SCIENCE. (Early English Text Society. Original series, No. CLXX.) London: H. Milford. 1927. lxvii + 379 pp. 30*s.*

John Walton's verse translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, made at the beginning of the fifteenth century, has hitherto been unobtainable in a complete form. The only printed edition dates back to 1525, which might account for the scant attention this work has received. The editor has spared no pains to give an accurate text, and has collated sixteen of the nineteen MSS. available, as well as the three extant copies of the 1525 edition. His text is based on the Lincoln Cathedral MS. A 4, 11, supplemented by MS. Royal 18, A xiii, British Museum—proved to be a closely allied MS. The text has been most carefully prepared and variants from all other MSS. are recorded in the footnotes. Where emendations have been necessary, they have been supported by readings common to the majority of the MSS., the Latin original and Chaucer's translation.

Many interesting points are discussed in connexion with the 1525 edition, where a large number of alterations are shown to be due to Chaucer's prose version.

The suggestion that John Walton, canon of Osney, was the translator to Sir Thomas Berkeley in succession to John of Trevisa, is proved to be quite feasible and we are warned against the inaccuracy of the references to Walton in Warton's *History of English Poetry.* The verse translation which was made for Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas, is based on a Latin MS., with liberal help from Chaucer's version, incorporating even the latter's glosses. While noting that the philosophical argument is given in a clear and simple form, Dr Science regrets that Walton failed to reproduce the fine metra of the Latin in adequate poetical form.

The text of the 1525 edition, which was prepared and printed by Thomas Richard, a Benedictine monk in the Abbey of Tavistock, is

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interesting as showing many instances of modernising words used by Chaucer which had become obsolete or archaic.

The Notes (pp. 337–41) and Glossary are not so satisfactory as the careful and thoroughgoing analysis of the MSS. Many words are not included in the Glossary, and the meaning has often to be sought by comparing the variants in the footnotes. Sometimes the spellings used in Glossary and text vary, as when Glossary gives 'schenship' for 'schenschip,' 9/1; 'parelouse' for 'perelous,' 17/8; 'prive' for 'þriue' 103/7. The Index of Names is much more complete, but even here all the variants are not noted and references are omitted.

The volume concludes with an Appendix giving the prose commentaries from the 1525 edition, which leaves the impression that Dr Science has omitted nothing connected with any of the previous versions of Walton's work.

We have noticed one or two printer's errors, e.g., Preface, l. 6, 'indicted' should be 'indicated'; p. x, l. 10, for 'test' read 'text'; p. xl, l. 7, for 'ease' read 'case'; p. xl, l. 18, for 'qninis' read 'quinis'; p. xlvii, end of first line of footnote inaccurate; p. lx, l. 16, delete 'but.'

Dr Science's book is an able and thorough piece of text-editing and a valuable addition to the E.E.T.S. series.

ANN KIRKMAN.

MANCHESTER.

The Pepys Ballads. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. xix + 273, ix + 257 pp. Each 16*s*.

Those who are interested in English Ballads are already under a deep obligation to Mr Rollins for the material which his labours in this kind have already made accessible to them, but to the serious student at least this obligation will be very considerably increased when he has completed the undertaking of which these two volumes are the first instalment. The contents of his previous publications were derived from various sources, and though it is probably impracticable to publish together all the surviving ballads that were issued down even to the year 1700, it is most desirable that the contents of well-known collections should be reproduced in their entirety. This has been already attempted, however unsatisfactorily, in the cases of the Roxburghe and Bagford Ballads, and Mr Rollins now purposes to reprint, without including such of them as are contained in the two last-mentioned collections or his own books, all those that are to be found in the famous collection begun by Selden and continued by Pepys. To this end he has obtained the permission of the authorities of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and he hopes to complete his task by the issue of four additional volumes. The two under notice contain ninety ballads from the first volume of the Pepys Collection, the originals of which appeared between 1535 and 1640; they are of great variety and interest, and happily include no more than two examples of that most tiresome class, pieces inspired by

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religious differences; the others present such matters as commonly appealed to the ballad-writer, though, as the editor points out, there is here a rather conspicuous absence of 'monsters' and 'prodigies'; love and marriage with their usual vicissitudes are most frequently the subjects, but unusual interest is lent to this instalment by the presence in it of the story of Gernutus and the pound of flesh, by other dramatic references and perhaps more than all by the ballad of *The Two Faithful Friends* which preserves the story of a lost Elizabethan play, *Alexander and Lodowick*. Mr Rollins's task as editor has been one of great difficulty, demanding, among other qualities, unwearied patience, a tenacious memory and a capacity for tiresome investigation to establish minute points; he has discharged it admirably; his short introductions to each ballad contain just what is wanted, and he has happily avoided impertinent observations, such as have made some parts of the Ballad Society's issue of the Roxburghe and all the Bagford Ballads too exasperating for the use of ordinary folk. He permits himself to make what he frankly describes, with various qualifying epithets, as 'guesses' at the dates of some dozen or so of his pieces, and if these may perhaps be regarded as superfluous, they do no harm, and his readers on turning to the text will find reason to congratulate him and themselves on his conservative attitude; his emendations, both those adopted and those only suggested in footnotes, are few and judicious. Here and there, as it seems to the writer, a little more or a little less might have been done in this direction, e.g., at i, p. 70, st. 18, one would suggest 'froward' for 'forward'; p. 236, st. 8, 'off' for 'of'; p. 243, st. 4, 'Bordello' for 'Bandello'; p. 244, st. 15, 'A' for 'From'; p. 245, st. 22, 'An' for 'A,' 'and' for 'an'; ii, p. 5, st. 8, 'ofspring are' for 'ofspringer'; p. 41, st. 2, 'gentle' for 'Gelding'; p. 98, st. 15, 'on' for 'one'; p. 178, st. 14, 'Lawne' for 'Lawen'; and although vagaries in punctuation must remain, at i, p. 125, st. 12, the removal of the colon after 'takes' seems called for; p. 233, st. 2, the comma should immediately follow 'he' instead of 'not'; p. 244, st. 10, a bracket-mark should be inserted before 'Truth'; and at ii, p. 103, st. 15, the comma after 'money's' should come out: of the emendations suggested by the editor it seems at least questionable whether that at i, p. 185, st. 16, 'try me' should not be 'try thee'; at p. 221, st. 6, 'ship' seems more likely than 'flit'; and p. 270, st. 1, 'Lass's' than 'lassie's': the text readings 'cured' at ii, p. 5, st. 5, and 'friend' at p. 120, st. 13, may well be correct and 'Doe,' i.e., 'that doe,' p. 72, st. 4, almost certainly is. In several cases he has suggested that words should be made plural to agree with those with which they are rhymed, but it would be easy to produce from ballads a sufficient number of such discrepancies to demonstrate that they are due not to the printer but the slovenly and uneducated author.

Although the editor himself makes no reference to the matter, the publishers' note upon the wrappers promises, one assumes at the end of the sixth and last volume, to appear 'later,' various indexes, and among them an index of words. It is perhaps unavoidable that we should be subjected to the inconvenience of having to wait till 'later' for an

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explanation of various matters which one is afraid will strike the general reader, whom it is hoped to attract, as not being quite obvious, but it is to be desired that Mr Rollins may see his way to provide something rather fuller than the indexes in his other ballad-books. It seems odd to find the name 'Bullen, A. H.' in what in one of them is described as a 'Glossarial Index,' and unlikely that even Americans are in need of an explanation of the word which immediately follows it. Meanwhile it is respectfully suggested that these, among other things, call for explanation or illustration: 'flayes' i, p. 5, 'excurse' p. 6, 'Ben-rowles' p. 44, 'Tawers' p. 52, 'Laymen' p. 53, 'Concluders, with Scanners' p. 57, 'boulted' p. 81, 'bushes' p. 93, 'weed' p. 138, 'winkhorne' p. 145, '*Garden-ally*' p. 153, 'Saint *Katharns*' p. 154, 'giue the squeake' p. 160, 'rigge' *ibid.*, 'tricke and trime' *ibid.*, 'sith, or sob' p. 171, 'a cry all' p. 174, 'carnall' p. 185, 'sheere' p. 203, 'hogged' p. 204, 'pictures' p. 211, 'descry' p. 219 (see also ii, p. 214), 'considerence' (? 'confidence') p. 220, 'stauers' p. 234, 'Doublets' p. 238, 'Rimer' p. 239 (see also ii, p. 46), 'new Bridewell' p. 240, 'peazing' p. 248, 'high-lawyer' p. 253, 'Reddockes' p. 260, 'Pidging-holes' p. 265 (see also ii, p. 121), 'transpire' ii, p. 4, 'kisse the post' p. 32, 'Cobs' *ibid.*, 'Retriefe' p. 42, 'sniffed' p. 44, 'spoule' p. 46, 'coring' p. 69 (not a misprint), 'squib' p. 74, 'Dutch in Kent street' p. 92, 'in feare' p. 95, 'procolle' p. 96, 'nody new cut and penieth, wid ruff' p. 98, 'Cauilleere' p. 121, 'Races in *Hide Parke*' p. 149, 'Slidethrifth' (i.e., 'Slide-thrift,' which Mr Rollins does not apparently recognise as a variant of 'shove-groat'), 'Kator and Size' *ibid.*, 'dodkin' p. 178, 'foyled' p. 181, 'inlure' p. 195.

Some detached comments here and there might possibly mislead a casual reader as to the editor's opinion of the literary quality of his subject-matter; in the Preface some of the verses are described as 'pretty,' 'tuneful,' 'musical' or 'melodious,' and more than once Mr Rollins allows himself to speak of them as 'poetry,' although in *A Pepysian Garland* he had said that to judge ballads as such would be unfair, that the great Elizabethans did not dream of so judging them, and that he would be a bold man who would. It is not by their high quality as literature but by their quaintness, their simplicity and their pictures of a world remote from ours that these ballads must attract the general reader, but some who may hope in their company to escape from the devastating effects of jazz-bands, 'movies' and 'talkies' may perhaps be disconcerted to learn that even Mr Rollins sees in the scene of one of them a model that might be used for 'present-day moving-picture Comedies,' and they are hardly likely to be completely reassured by his opinion that 'the balladists often had a lyric gift that made their ditties superior to the average American ragtime songs.' These observations, both of the editor and the writer, have reference, of course, to the professional balladists, such as Martin Parker, whose title to be considered a poet excited the scorn of Samuel Sheppard so long ago as 1646, when he inserted the initials M. P. by way of contemptuous comment in the margin of his *Times Display'd*. Here, as was frequently the case in the Miscellanies of the seventeenth century, some pieces by writers of

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recognised though not of the first rank appear side by side with those of obscure or unknown authors, and Basse, Barnfield, Dyer and Wither are represented by well-known poems upon which no comment need be made, except perhaps in the case of Wither's *Shall I wasting in despair*, in the note upon which Mr Rollins refers to and quotes, not quite accurately, two stanzas from the *Answer*, which has been attributed to Ben Jonson and which he says appeared in *A Description of Love*, 1625: this issue is of the fifth edition, and though the date of the first has not, so far as is generally known, been ascertained, the book was entered in the Stationers Register, June 14, 1618, and the second edition appeared in 1620.

As is well known ballads of this period (1535–1640) were usually headed by one or more woodcuts of more or, oftener, less relevance to their subjects. Some of those appearing with the ballads here reprinted are reproduced, and having regard to the fact that the same adornments were again and again repeated in different situations, it is perhaps asking too much, however strong one's passion for completeness, to expect to see them all. It would have been pleasant however to have had a little history of some of the blocks, e.g., that of part of the portrait of Prince Henry apparently copied from Hole's copper-plate, an impression of which ought to be in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, and of the figure (i, p. 191) which represented Gabriel Harvey in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596.

A word ought to be said as to the beauty of these two volumes which the editor very properly recognises; paper, type and binding are alike admirable, and the press-work is far in advance of anything which the present writer has met with in books of a similar character of American origin. It is the more regrettable to find that Mr Rollins speaks of the expense of production, no doubt considerable, having been undertaken with no possibility of material gain. It would be deplorable indeed if those who have made themselves responsible for the cost of putting such material within reach of students and the general public were to fail to meet with that encouragement which their unselfish enterprise in this undertaking most thoroughly deserves.

G. Thorn-Drury.

London.

Marlowe and his Circle. A Biographical Survey by Frederick S. Boas. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. 159 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This book, to say the least of it, is as useful as it is opportune. Properly to understand how far the study of Marlowe's life has advanced in the last quarter-century, both in discovery of fact and in scientific interpretation, one need but set Dr Boas's *Marlowe and his Circle* beside Mr Ingram's *Marlowe and his Associates* (1904). The scholar of to-day not only has many more facts to deal with, but his expert knowledge of Elizabethan life makes realism and shrewd caution replace the romance and the luxuriant flowering of the 'probably,' the 'doubtless,'

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and the 'we may well believe' of the earlier school. Dr Boas is here both critic and original investigator. His valuable contributions, from the Kyd-Puckering letter of thirty years ago, to the recent important revelations concerning Robert Poley, are familiar to all.

In the present work he sets himself a two-fold task: first, to correlate recent contributions to the subject, and review them as a whole; and second, 'to reconsider the case for and against accepting the verdict of the Coroner's jury that Ingram Frizer killed "Christopher Morley" on May 30, 1593, in self-defence.' The performance of the first part more than fulfils the author's promise of 'taking stock.' His discovery that Elizabeth used her musician Alfonso Ferrabosco as a political agent gives us a new and pretty parallel to Marlowe's double activity in poetry and secret service. Dr Boas's correction of my mistake in 1925 in failing to recognise the charge of Popery against Marlowe in the report 'that Christopher Morley was determined to haue gone beyond the seas to Reames and there to remaine' is both illuminating and suggestive. In dealing with the alternative charge of 'atheism,' Dr Boas presents the accumulated evidence so as to leave no doubt that Marlowe's conversation was subversive of the authority of formal religion and abominable to the faithful.

We should have welcomed some treatment of Professor Austin Gray's interesting paper in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* on Elizabethan spies and spying; and it is to be regretted that we must wait for a second edition for consideration of Miss Ethel Seaton's 'Marlowe, Robert Poley, and the Tippings' in *The Review of English Studies*, and the discoveries embodied in Miss Eugénie de Kalb's as yet unpublished thesis.

In his review of the findings of the Coroner's jury, Dr Boas comes to no hasty conclusion. Although he has amply found Poley to be the shiftiest of scoundrels, he is not thereby swept to the extreme view that the poet was deliberately murdered. In face of Marlowe's reputation among his contemporaries, it is rash to assume that he was incapable, on sufficient provocation, of such an attack as the jury describes. Dr Boas wisely suspends judgment.

An obvious difficulty which does not seem to have occurred either to Dr Boas or to the easy believers in Marlowe's assassination, is the stupid recklessness of such a murder as the latter imagine. Is it conceivable that if they wished to kill Marlowe, Frizer and Poley would choose to carry out the attack in a public house, and calmly run the mortal risk of a public trial? Much simpler and safer to do away with him on a dark road where their escape would be covered. I think too highly of Frizer's and Poley's care for their own skins to imagine for a moment that they would jeopardise themselves unnecessarily.

The plain fact remains that we have the detailed and unequivocal findings on the spot of the Coroner's jury. No one has brought forward the slightest evidence to show that the jury was deceived. Until we have some shadow of proof that Marlowe was not killed in self-defence, it is idle to challenge the verdict.

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Excellent as it is in subject-matter, the type-composition and proof-reading of this book are hardly up to the high standard of the Clarendon Press. All too frequently the eye is offended by uneven spacing within the word; and such careless variations as 'Mistress Ede' (p. 32) and 'mistress Ede' (p. 33), 'Wolf' (p. 124) and 'Wolfe' (p. 125), '*Sessions Roll*' (p. 63) and 'Session Rolls' (p. 83), are not much more acceptable than such spellings as 'St Omers' (p. 121), 'Helsingfor' (p. 156), 'Apostacy' (p. 150), and '*Corum*' (p. 157). In the index (p. 156), Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, has been confused with his father. But it is ungracious to be querulous over details in the presence of such a pleasing harmony of type, page-arrangement and format.

LESLIE HOTSON.

NEW YORK.

Much Ado About Nothing. Parallel Passage Edition, edited by ALPHONSO GERALD NEWCOMER, completed by HENRY DAVID GRAY. Stanford: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. 275 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This interesting edition, prepared for press as far as v, i, 174 by Professor Newcomer, who occupied the chair of English at Stanford University until his death in 1913, has now been completed and published, with here and there a few additional notes of his own (mainly on textual matters), by his successor Professor Henry David Gray. Its purpose and character are best expounded in the words of the introduction by the author.

> This volume has been prepared in pursuance of a plan which I have sometimes had the boldness to think would do more toward the further elucidation of Shakespeare's text than anything that yet remains to be done. It may be doubted whether even a comprehensive Elizabethan dictionary would add very much to what we already know of Shakespeare's English. Elizabethan writers have been diligently searched, with the more notorious of Shakespeare's cruxes in mind; and for the minor archaisms and obscurities of usage the *New English Dictionary* will generally be found a sufficient guide. What remains is something that really lies outside of the province of a lexicon, namely the characteristic, or as one may say the idiosyncratic, way of dealing with ideas and situations and of selecting or molding the symbols used for the expression of them. Every man, including even Shakespeare, has his own angle of vision, and grows peculiarly free of certain ranges of thought and imagination, the mastery of which is essential to any right understanding of the man. Thus there is no sounder canon of criticism, nor one more thoroughly established, than that which declares a writer to be his own best interpreter. Definition and paraphrase are often inadequate either to capture or to convey the precise meaning of the author, when if he be allowed to speak for himself, his meaning becomes instantly clear....
>
> The general purpose of my task is therefore apparent. It is not only to clear up as many obscurities as possible, but to determine more precisely the shade of meaning and to grasp more fully the extent of connotation that often lurk behind passages which already seem fairly clear....
>
> Commentators have long been in the habit of citing parallels, but they have done it mostly in a haphazard fashion; no one apparently has thought of subjecting every line and word of Shakespeare's text to exactly this kind of scrutiny.

Accordingly we have the text of *Much Ado* printed on the left-hand page, with parallel passages from other plays on the right and with footnotes giving further information and discussion where required.

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Thus, to take the opening fifteen lines of the play, fresh light is thrown upon the following:

(i) *but few of sort, and none of name*, by quotation of *Hen. V*, IV, viii, 80, 107 and of *Ric. III*, v, v, 12, while the word 'sort' is shown in a long footnote, containing further parallels from Shakespeare and other Elizabethans, to mean, not 'high rank' as most modern editors (myself included) have interpreted it, but 'social class' of any kind.

(ii) *much deserv'd on his part and equally rememb'red by Don Pedro*, by quotation of *Wint.* IV, iv, 527, *Macb.* I, iv, 29, *Cor.* II, ii, 50 and (in a footnote) *Macb.* II, iii, 23.

(iii) *beyond the promise of his age*, by quotation of *Cor.* II, ii, 91.

(iv) *doing in the figure of a lamb the feats of a lion*, by quotation of *Ric. II*, II, i, 173, 3 *Hen. VI*, II, i, 13 and *Cor.* II, i, 12.

Surely this is a remarkable achievement in a short piece of forthright prose dialogue, which, it might be imagined, would yield scanty material for commentary. And this standard of success is maintained throughout the text. Among specially noteworthy pieces of elucidation, for example, in the first scene, to look no further, may be instanced: *jade's trick* (I, i, 145), a common expression which has always puzzled me as well as other editors, but which is settled out of hand by a parallel from *Jul. Caes.* IV, ii, 25–7:

> But when they should endure the bloody spur
> They fall their crests, and, like deceitful jades,
> Sink in the trial;

tyrant (I, i, 170), where I am glad to say Professor Newcomer confirms my own conclusion that with Shakespeare 'tyrant' always stood for 'cruel monster,' and 'tyranny' for 'brutal cruelty' of any kind (surely a clear link with the Herod of the miracle-plays), in illustration of which may be cited a passage from *Twelfth Night* (III, i, 129–31), which Newcomer overlooks:

> Have you not set mine honour at the stake,
> And baited it with all the unmuzzled thoughts
> That tyrannous heart can think?

where the 'tyrant' is a bloodthirsty hound; *old ends* (I, i, 290), which is explained, by the help of *N.E.D.*, as a term belonging to tailors or cloth-dealers, and meaning odds-and-ends of cloth, wool, lace, etc.; *minister* (I, i, 314), upon which there is an illuminating note relating it 'to the profession of physic,' an explanation which not only lights up the whole passage in which the word occurs:

> How sweetly you do minister to love,
> That know love's grief by his *complexion*!
> But lest my liking might too sudden seem,
> I would have *salv'd* it with a longer treatise,

but does the same with *Two Gent.* II, iv, 149–50:

> When I was sick, you gave me bitter pills,
> And I must minister the like to you,

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to say nothing of the more famous lines in *Macb.* v, iii, 40–6, to which strangely enough Professor Newcomer does not refer:

> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?
> . . . . . .
> *Doct.* Therein the patient
> Must minister to himself.

It is not of course to be supposed that Professor Newcomer has swept the board of all difficulties or tracked down every nuance of meaning. He has overlooked, for instance, *continuer* (I, i, 144), a technical term for a horse with a good wind, for which he might have quoted *Tim.* I, i, 10–11: 'breathed, as it were, To an untirable and continuate goodness.' And though he devotes a very long note to *sigh away Sundays* (I, i, 204), he has I think missed the point through neglect of the context ('thrust thy head into a yoke, wear the print of it'), which I take to be a reference to the new-fangled uncomfortable starched ruffs (v. *N.E.D.* 'print,' 14 c) into which respectable citizens at the beginning of the seventeenth century thrust their heads of a Sunday. He is misleading too over *hare-finder* (I, i, 186), again through neglect of the context, though here the *N.E.D.* should have led him straight. 'Do you play the flouting-Jack,' Benedick asks Claudio, 'to tell us Cupid is a good hare-finder and Vulcan a rare carpenter?'—in other words, are you mocking at love? The clue to the meaning may be found in the common jest which describes the arrows of Cupid as bird-bolts, i.e., short wooden-headed arrows used by boys to shoot at small birds, a jest which is glanced at in 'subscrib'd for Cupid and challenged him at the bird-bolt' (I, i, 41–2), to which Newcomer himself cites as a parallel: 'Shot, by heaven! Proceed, sweet Cupid: thou hast thumped him with thy bird-bolt under the left pap' (*L.L.L.* IV, iii, 23) and *Rom.* II, iv, 16. Such shafts were made by carpenters, not smiths, so that to fill Cupid's quiver with them is to reflect upon the craft of Vulcan, the forger of the love-god's weapons. And if Cupid be a harmless archer of this kind, he is no true hunter but a 'beater,' a boy whose duty it was to start the game, and who was technically known as a 'hare-finder,' a title found in Markham's *Countrey Contentments* (v. *N.E.D.*), and referred to again in *Rom.* II, iv, 137–8.

I adduce these instances, not in any spirit of criticism, but merely to show how the book puts an editor upon his mettle. Indeed, it makes me want to begin editing *Much Ado* all over again. I have only two criticisms to make upon it: (i) that it was not given us at least ten years ago, and (ii) that it contains no word-index or table of references to other plays than *Much Ado*. And these are rather in the nature of personal complaints than of criticism, for had the volume appeared in 1919 I should have plundered it to the enrichment of a dozen glossaries I have since been responsible for, while in order to make full use of it for future glossaries I shall now be obliged to construct an index and a table of references of my own. Having said this, I need not add that I regard this edition of *Much Ado* as an indispensable tool for Shakespearian students and I believe that had Professor Newcomer's plan of editing the remaining plays of Shakespeare on the same lines not been

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frustrated by death he would have furnished us with a critical instrument of Shakespearian exegesis second only in importance to that provided by the *Oxford Dictionary*, the value of which, I think, he a little underrates.

In conclusion, I should like to quote another passage from his admirable introduction, with almost every word of which I find myself in agreement:

> Shakespeare is an extremely accurate thinker. That he is an obscure writer is not to be denied—it is an old charge of the classicists against him. He pours forth the riches of his mind in a glittering heap, not stopping to sort them. The passion of his characters often seems to choke their utterance, and even in calm passages language is stretched to the utmost bounds of license. Yet he himself knows just what he is saying; there is no suspicion of confusion or haziness in his own mind. Such sureness is an essential part of his greatness. This is one of the firmest conclusions to which every student of the dramatist comes—it is proved true so often that one has little hesitation in saying it will prove true always. A perplexing passage that in another writer might be dismissed as probably having no very clear meaning cannot be so dismissed if the writer is Shakespeare. Either the passage is corrupt, or there is something yet to be discovered.

That is excellently said, though I think the point of view is very far from being generally held. As evidence, however, that one other Shakespearian student at least has come to the same conclusion I may perhaps be allowed to quote the following from the Note on the Copy of the 'New Shakespeare' edition of *Twelfth Night*:

> Having now edited thirteen out of the fifteen comedies, I am bold to say that Shakespeare never places pointless remarks in the mouths of his characters, and that where they appear pointless, that is generally because we have missed the point, though occasionally it may be because someone has been tampering with Shakespeare's text.

To which I may add that the more one studies Shakespeare, the more it is borne in upon one that not textual analysis, or emendation, or even dramatic interpretation and the understanding of character, is the primary and urgent need of scholarship, but just simple exegesis, the glossing of the text so that the poet's meaning may be as clearly and as fully present to the mind of the modern reader as it was to that of the Elizabethan spectator, if not to Shakespeare himself. It is for this reason that I at once whole-heartedly welcome this experiment of Professor Newcomer and lament that it should have been limited to a single volume. Is it impossible for others to take up the task which has dropped from the dead fingers of its initiator? America is rich enough to organise an army of scholars for the purpose, and it would put the crown upon that great American monument to Shakespeare to the erection of which John Bartlett and Horace Howard Furness devoted their lives.

J. Dover Wilson.

London.

Shakespeare's Workshop. By W. J. Lawrence. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1928. ix + 161 pp. 5*s*.

Mr W. J. Lawrence has collected in a single volume ten studies, all rather brief, previously published in a variety of periodicals. To have

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the more important of these available in this form is a boon, but one regrets that Mr Lawrence should have felt it necessary to make weight with such obiter dicta as the essays on *Shakespeare's Lost Characters*, *Shakespeare on Masks* and *Windows in Shakespeare*, the gist of which might well be presented in a couple of paragraphs. On the other hand, the discussion of the dates and occasions of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and other plays is of great value, and despite Mr Lawrence's tendency to erect an imposing superstructure on but slight foundations, commentators will find it necessary to take his theories into account. The present writer cannot agree that Greek squeamishness was responsible for the off-stage action of Greek tragedy (p. 4), or that Shakespeare's anachronisms were always purposeful (*ibid.*); while the assertion that 'it was not the practice in Shakespeare's day for publication to follow close on performance' (p. 41) seems to call for some qualification. More serious flaws are a pervasive intolerance of others' hypotheses and a tendency to indulge his own. In general, Mr Lawrence's erudition is as all-embracing as ever, but no one familiar with Elizabethan handwriting could for an instant suppose 'Sill Clark' to be a printer's misreading of 'Will Carp.' In style, the studies, notwithstanding the revision acknowledged in the prefatory note, suffer from the more or less popular form of original publication. No provenance can excuse the first paragraph on p. 49. For scholarly use, they betray a certain lack of evidence for the arguments and of documentation; they impress one as collections of miscellaneous information, especially the title study, rather than as articulated theses. The endings are sometimes so abrupt as to suggest that Mr Lawrence had reached the end of his allotted space rather than his conclusion. The misprints are few and unimportant ('there' for 'three' p. 13, 'betrayed in ways' for 'in many ways' p. 35, and 'conside' for 'consider' p. 148), but the arrangement of notes at the end of the volume is trying to the serious reader: they are neither so numerous nor so lengthy as to encumber the page to which they refer. But perhaps one is tempted by Mr Lawrence's place among scholars to be hypercritical: these studies are not intended to be exhaustive, and for more casual reading they provide much interesting information and a pleasant glimpse into the ardours and endurances of scholarship.

ELEANORE BOSWELL.

LONDON.

A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642. By EDWIN NUNGEZER. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. vi + 437 pp. 22*s.* 6*d.*

At last we are given a much-needed book: Dr Nungezer is to be congratulated on adding a serviceable tool to the Elizabethan investigator's kit. True, like most pioneer manuals, it has its blemishes, but, on the whole, considering the difficulties which face every worker who

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essays to thread the mazes of early stage history, they are fewer than might have been anticipated. The dictionary is fairly exhaustive and excellently documented, and the biographies of the principal players are thoroughly well done. There is no slightest indication of perfunctoriness: on the contrary, so great has been Dr Nungezer's anxiety to make his work complete that he has even included considerable surplusage. At least thirty names have been dealt with, none of which is likely to be looked for in a book of this title. They are principally of royal choristers of a remote period, wholly unassociated with the public stage and scarcely associated with any stage whatsoever: names such as Henry Abyngdon, John Apperley, R. Choffe, R. Hewse and T. Tilbery. Much as he has availed of the work of earlier investigators, it is satisfactory to find that on vexed questions Dr Nungezer is capable of exercising an independent judgment, as witnessed by his admirable conclusion concerning William Robins. Only now and again has he been so far overawed by his authorities as to lend himself to the perpetuation of their fallacies. Perhaps the most deplorable instance is his acceptance of Professor Tucker Murray's identification of the unnamed company which visited Norwich in March 1635 as the King's Revels Men, since it has led to the vitiation of several of the biographies. Seeing that the company consisted of twenty-eight members—a number considerably in excess of the average travelling company of the period—there is reason to believe that it was no permanent company of itinerants, but a temporary amalgamation of players from various London theatres. At any rate, it cannot be shown that more than ten of its members had been, or ever were to be, associated with the King's Revels, and it can be shown that several of them had been Queen's Men immediately before.

Concision (like conception) may be a blessing, but not when it is gained at the expense of lucidity. Thus it is that one is more apt to quarrel with Dr Nungezer's phrasing than with his facts. He has a trick of speaking of the Children of the Chapel as 'Members of the Chapel Royal,' though it is certain that not all the Blackfriars boys of 1600–1605 sang in the royal choir. Field never did so, yet we are told that 'from 1600 to 1613, he was a member of the Chapel Royal,' and that in despite of the fact that royal choristers had ceased to appear on the stage in 1604. So, too, we find Dr Nungezer persistently merging the Duke of York's Men into Prince Charles's Men, ignoring the fact that before Prince Henry's death there was only one Prince's company. To tamper in this way with old names is to create perplexity. But, as the book, with all its faults, is bound to be in regular demand and should have the good fortune to reach a second edition, there will possibly be a chance to render it still more serviceable. In this hope, I append a list of names omitted, and another of additions and corrections:

NAMES OMITTED.

Armstead, Edw. Member of the Red Bull Company at the Fortune in 1634. See F. S. Boas on 'Crossfield's Diary and the Caroline Stage' in *The Fortnightly Review* for April 1925.

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Brayne, John. Owner of an inn-yard playing place, 1567, and subsequently part owner of the Theatre. (Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies*, pp. 12, 26; C. W. Wallace, *The First London Theatre*, *passim*.)

Buckle, John. Sharer in the Red Bull Company at the Fortune, 1634. (Boas, *loc. cit.*)

Cherrington, Will. Played Feminia (a boy's part) in Jordan's *Money is an Ass* (4to, 1668), written when Jordan was only fifteen for a small company of eight players, and acted in the country, *c.* 1637. (See *Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 219.) He was probably the Charleton acting at the new Theatre Royal in 1663.

Fintry (R.), Haughton (H.), Hunt (J.), Martyn (C.), Snell (T.). Were all members of the Lady Elizabeth's travelling company of boys in 1613. (E. K. Chambers, *Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 183.)

Shatterel, Edw. This Restoration player had probably acted as a boy on the Caroline stage. There are records of an Edward Schottuel acting at The Hague in 1644–5, and of Ed. Shatterel at the Red Bull in May 1659. (See Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 69.)

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Ashton; Bacon, J. The date of the revival should be 1635. Note that both are mentioned in stage directions. Bacon's name does not occur in Herbert's list of the King's minors in 1624, nor in the cast of *The Lover's Melancholy* (1628). His Christian name was John, not Job.

Barrett, Walter. Was one of the boys in the Lady Elizabeth's travelling company in 1613. (*Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 183.)

Bedowe, Elis. Not connected with the King's Revels. He was the 'Ellis' of *The Poor Man's Comfort*, as revived by the Queen's Men at the Cockpit in 1635.

Birch, Geo. Sometimes called 'Burght.' He was with the King's Men in 1641.

Blackwood, Thos. L. 4, for 'Leicester's' read 'Worcester's.'

Bond, Thos. Was a country player from 1623 to 1627.

Bourne, Theo. Probably the 'Thomas Bourne' at Norwich in an unnamed company in 1635. He spoke the new prologue to *The Witch of Edmonton* in a revival of the same year. For his Restoration record, see Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Summers, p. 71. The quotation from Pepys mistakenly given under 'Burt, Nicholas' undoubtedly refers to him.

Bray, Antony. Query, Brew (*q.v.*). The latter's identification with Anthony Brewer is little short of absurd.

Burbage, R. P. 70, l. 16, the date of *The Mad Lover* is 1616; l. 17, for '1618' read '1610.'

Burt, N. Delete the quotation from Pepys. The last trace of Burt is in 1690.

Caine, Andrew. He was originally (not alone during the Civil War) a goldsmith. (See Boas, *loc. cit.*) Joined the Palsgrave's Men, *c.* 1619.

Cartwright, Wm. sen. Cannot have joined the King's Revels in 1629, as in 1630 he was associated with the Palsgrave's Men at the Fortune. (See *Mod. Lang. Review* for April 1929, p. 126, Eleanore Boswell on 'Young Mr Cartwright.') Moreover, as he was one of the principals of the latter company in 1634 (Boas, *loc. cit.*) and remained so in 1636, he could not have visited Norwich in 1635 as a King's Revels man.

Cavallerizzo, Claudio. A mis-statement here is based on a blunder made by Dr Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell' Arte*, p. 174. The players in question were not an 'Italian Company of players,' but a number of Italians employed about the Court in various capacities, who, at the Queen's desire and purely as amateurs, presented before her an Italian comedy.

Clark, Hugh. The date of the revival of *The Custom of the Country* is November 1639.

Cooke, Wm. (3) (p. 104). Possibly the 'Wm. Coeck' who was acting at The Hague in 1644–5. (See Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. xcix.)

Davenant, W. (p. 113). Scenery had been employed in court plays (only) a score of years before the production of *The Siege of Rhodes*. (p. 114) Erroneous deduction that the musicians occupied the now usual orchestral pit at the Duke's in 1667. The quotation on which it is based first occurs in the 1674 quarto of *The Tempest*, which gives the text of the Shadwellian opera.

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Dover, Wm. Was one of the two wardrobe keepers in the King's Revels travelling company of 1634. (See Boas, *loc. cit.*)

Dowle, Rowland. Was all his life a hireling. In 1628–36, he was with the King's Men, and was the 'Rowland' of *Believe as You List*. He (and not Will Rowley, as maintained by Fleay and echoed by Professor J. T. Murray and Dr Nungezer) was the 'Rowl' of *Love's Pilgrimage* in the revival of 1635, and of *The Chances*, as revived in 1638. Rowley, at that period, would not have been playing attendants. Dowle was also the 'Rowland' of *The Witch of Edmonton*, as revived at the Cockpit in 1636[1]. Afterwards he rejoined the King's Men.

Estoteville, Geo. Was familiarly known as Stutfield or Stutville (*q.v.*).

Fenn, E. *The Witch of Edmonton* certainly dates from 1622, but the epilogue printed with the play, as spoken by Fenn, was delivered at the revival of 1636, when Fenn, Bird (who spoke the new prologue) and Mohun were all at the Cockpit. Since Fenn was playing youthful female rôles in 1635, he could not have been acting as early as 1622.

Goodale, T. Supplement by the details of him given on p. 235.

Goughe, A. Was in the cast of Wilson's *The Swizzer* in 1631.

Greville, Curtis. Also in the cast of *The Swizzer* (as 'Grenvill'). In 1634 he was a sharer of the King's Revels at Salisbury Court. (See Boas, *loc. cit.*)

Gunnell, R. In 1631 an action for debt was taken against Gunnell, Cartwright and others by one John Atkins. (See *Mod. Lang. Review* for April 1929, p. 126, note.) This circumstance reveals that Malcolm's date for Gunnell's death is wrong.

Hamluc, W. *Vide supra* under 'Fenn.'

Harris. Notable as the first player to be hanged. (See Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.)

Hart, Chas. No grounds exist for the frequently repeated statement that Hart was a grand-nephew of Shakespeare. William Hart, the Caroline player, his putative father, died unmarried in 1639. (See G. A. French, *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, 1869, p. 398, 'The Hart Family.') Under 'Hart, Wm.,' Dr Nungezer unwittingly bastardises Charles.

Honeyman, J. Ashton's lines to him are in his *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*, 1658, pp. 140–1.

Howard, Thomas. Thomas Heywood, the actor-dramatist, whose name was frequently thus spelled.

Jones, Jas. Was a member of the Lady Elizabeth's travelling company in 1613. (See *Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 183.)

Jordan, Thos. Misdescribed as 'primarily a writer of the Commonwealth and Restoration period,' seeing that two plays of his were acted before 1642: *Money is an Ass*, written when he was fifteen, and *The Walks of Islington and Hogsden*, licensed on August 2, 1641.

Kneller, James. In 1613 was one of the Lady Elizabeth's travelling company. (*Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 183.)

Knight. On p. 229, l. 18 he is identified with one Kite, but a Jeremias Kite was acting at The Hague in 1644–5. (Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. xcix.)

Loveday, T., Lovell, T. and Lowe, Nicholas. Were all in the cast of Jordan's *Money is an Ass*, on tour, *c.* 1637. Loveday and Lovell also acted on the Restoration stage.

Lowin, John. In May 1625 he purchased the office of court porter at a cost of £200. (*Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 184, no. vii.)

Mago, W. For *The Witch of Edmonton*, see above under 'Fenn.'

Martinelli, Angelica. The allusion in Marston is certainly not to an ape. Cf. *Satiromastix*, I, 2, 457, 'my faire Angelica...a tumbler' (woefully misinterpreted by Penniman). Possibly to be identified with the Signora Angela of 1567, for whom see Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell' Arte*, pp. 48–9.

Martinelli, Drusiano. Baschet, *Les Comédiens Italiens à la cour de France*, p. 80, says Drusiano came to England at the instance of Queen Elizabeth, a statement which receives some bolstering from a record of Italian tumblers at Court in 1577–8.

[1] His forename also occurs in a stage direction in the folio version of *The Coxcomb* (v, 3), the text of which represents a revival of the play at the same theatre in the same year.

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For the provision for them then made, see Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, IV, p. 154.

May, Ed. At the Cockpit in 1635, spoke the prologue ('per E. M.') written for the Queen's Men's revival of *The Poor Man's Comfort*. He was still there c. 1636, when *Wit Without Money* was revived. The quarto of 1639 is from the prompt book of that period and has at V, 2, 'Enter Uncle and Merchant: May with a torch.'

Penn, W. Was in the cast of *The Swizzer*, 1631.

Pennycuicke, A. The date of the extant cast of *King John and Matilda* is c. 1638–9, when the play was revived by the Queen's Men (then under the management of Turner) at Salisbury Court. See also under Perkins, R. where the date is given as c. 1629.

Perry, Wm. Probably it was another William Perry who was a boy member of Lady Elizabeth's travelling company in 1613. (*Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 183.)

Rainescrofte, Thos. Requires a cross reference to 'Ravenscroft, Thos.,' his right name (though the name is not included). For details of him, see *Mod. Lang. Review* for October 1924, art. 'Thomas Ravenscroft's Theatrical Associations.'

Raye, Ralph. Probably Ralph Reeve (*q.v.*).

Reed, Timothy. In 1628 he was still at the Cockpit. In 1634 he was a sharer of the King's Revels, but the company was dispersed in 1636. (Boas, *loc. cit.*) Subsequently, he joined the Queen's Men at Salisbury Court, and was acting there when the company revived *The Careless Shepherdess* with a special induction in which he is referred to. (See art. 'The Authorship of *The Careless Shepherdess*' in the *Times Literary Supplement* of July 24, 1924.) 'Reed of the Friars' in the pamphlet of 1641, means of the Whitefriars, otherwise Salisbury Court, and shows that he was still at that house.

Robins, Wm. Was at the Cockpit in 1634. (Boas, *loc. cit.*) He could not have been in the original production of *The Changeling*, made by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1622, but the play was revived at Salisbury Court in 1637, when he was acting there.

Robinson, John. In 1634 was with the King's Revels Men at Salisbury Court. (Boas, *loc. cit.*) Some time after 1634 he married Richard Gunnell's widow. (See Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.)

Sands, Jas. The stage direction cited from *The Poor Man's Fortune* refers to Thomas Sands, not James, being printed from a prompt book of 1635. *Vide supra*, under 'Bedowe, Elis.'

Sands, Thos. Played Callumney in *Money is an Ass* on tour, c. 1637. See cast in printed play.

Shanks, John. Collier woefully misdescribes 'Shankes Song': it is a pathetic character song. The MS. he based on is now in Ashmolean MS. 83, f. 114, no. 131. Variants exist. One version, in *Wit Restored* (1658), p. 110), is inaccurately styled 'The Irish Beggar.' The proper title is 'The Irish Footman's Ochone,' and under this another version is to be found in *Westminster Drollery*, Part II, 1672 (ed. Ebsworth, 1875, II, p. 52). A version beginning 'I pray you save poor Irish knave, ahone, ahone' is in the Bodleian in MS. Rawlinson, Poet. 142, f. 125, a commonplace book of the period of 1630–50.

Sharp, R. Was the original Duchess in *The Duchess of Malfi* in 1613, and in the cast of *The Swizzer* in 1631. Died January 25, 1632.

Sherlock, Wm. As 'Sherley,' he is mentioned in Crossfield's Diary as a member of the Cockpit company in 1634. (Boas, *loc. cit.*) He was for a time caretaker of that theatre, and lived in the house adjoining. (Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.) On the Restoration stage he was known as Sherley. (*Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Summers, p. 85.)

Stutfield. Cross reference to 'Estoteville' necessary. The prompt copies in Egerton MS. 1994 in which Stutfield's name appears are of the period of 1624–9. From 1631 to 1634 he was at Salisbury Court. Crossfield's Diary records him in 1634 as 'Staffeild.' (Boas, *loc. cit.*) In 1635 he was with the Queen's Men at the Cockpit, and in 1640 he was there with Beeston. In Ashmolean MS. 38, item 114 are lines signed 'Geo. Stutvill' (presumably written in 1638) entitled 'The Genius of the stage Dep(l)oring the death of Ben Jonson.'

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Tarbock, John. See H. N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors*, p. 238.
Thompson, J. Acted in *The Swizzer* in 1631.
Thompson, Sam. With the King's Revels in 1634. (Boas, *loc. cit.*) Died in 1652.
Townsend, J. He and Joseph Moore were in charge of the Lady Elizabeth's provincial company in 1613. (*Rev. Engl. Studies*, I, p. 183.)
Trevell, William. Delete the last sentence on p. 379: a mistake. (See H. N. Hillebrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–8.) This correction also applies to Woodford, Thos.
Trigg, W. Was in the cast of *The Swizzer* in 1631.
Tuckfeild, T. See the article on 'New Light on the Two Noble Kinsmen' in the *Times Literary Supplement* of July 14, 1921.
Underhill, N. Probably the 'Nick' of *Believe as You List* in 1631.
Willyams, Walter. Played Mr Featherbrain in *Money is an Ass* on tour, *c.* 1637.
Young, J. Was with the King's Revels Men in 1631–4. (Boas, *loc. cit.*)

W. J. Lawrence.

Babbacombe, South Devon.

The Poems of Thomas Randolph. Edited by G. Thorn-Drury. London: Frederick Etchells and Hugh Macdonald. 1929. 8vo. xxviii + 220 pp. 30*s*.

It is not difficult to account for the encomia offered to Thomas Randolph during his lifetime or the tributes published after his death which, in Mr Thorn-Drury's opinion, express such a sense of loss as attended the death of no other English poet. Dying before he had completed his thirtieth year, he had already established his footing on the road to fame as the brightest of Cambridge wits, the special protégé of his college Master—'soe approved by the whole University that scarce an age doth bring forth a better or the like'—the author or part-author of some half-dozen creditable plays and a considerable body of occasional verse, last, but not least, as the 'adopted son' of Ben Jonson. Winstanley's story of the bearding of Ben at the Devil's Tavern is perhaps too good to be authentic and Mr Thorn-Drury is cautiously sceptical; but true or false it is altogether characteristic of Randolph's 'nimble and fluent genius' which, one imagines, would have proved quite equal to the test. No son of Ben was more proud to wear the mantle of the master, whom he cannot praise too highly and to whom he owes not a little of his 'large brightness' and 'native sweetness.' But neither Ben's mantle nor the gown of the Trinity don is allowed to disguise the vigorous personality which drew so enthusiastic a circle of admirers. Youthful excesses appear to have hastened Randolph's untimely end, Mr Thorn-Drury charitably suggesting 'that he was one of those unfortunate but little blame-worthy persons who have strength neither of mind to refuse proffered hospitality, nor of body to sustain the possible effects of it.' But like other unfortunates—Robert Greene or the Earl of Rochester—he can moralise his song with the best, as witness the lines *To Mr Feltham*, the excerpts from Claudian or the decidedly Herbertian *Necessary Observations*, verse counterpart to the *Resolves*. His philosophy is temperamental, grave or gay as the mood takes him. It must have been good to sit under this votary plighted 'to no more wives then only nine,

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Parnassus brood,' who could yet fancy himself raping a 'Cherubin,' once his mistress; who could turn with so little effort from the unexceptionable theology of *An Eclogue upon Predestination* to the cleanly wantonness of *A Pastorall Courtship* or *The Milk-maids Epithalamium*.

In the collected edition of Randolph's poems published by his brother in 1638 and reproduced by the present editor no attempt is made to differentiate matured independent work from mere schoolboy exercises or effusions. The result is a body of verse remarkably uneven in quality, a consideration which has to be taken into account if we are attempting to appraise Randolph's genius. Mr Thorn-Drury is probably justified in concluding that enough remains to allow judgement to be passed without undue emphasis upon promise as distinct from performance. Randolph's 'enslavement to classic and academic traditions' which doubtless proved an asset to him among his equals and subordinates at Cambridge was a grievous handicap to him as a poet. But the familiar conceits and allusions which fall thick and fast throughout the pompous verses *On the Inestimable Content he injoyes in the Muses* and, to a less offensive degree, in the elegies and eclogues are only to be expected from a University wit of the Caroline age. So lisping in the figures and conventions of his time he strikes rather by 'large brightness' than 'native sweetness'; and the note of 'Coy Coelia,' *On the Death of a Nightingale* or *An Epitaph upon Mrs I. T.* is heard all too rarely. He looks to his favourite masters—Jonson and the Latin poets—not for verbal mellifluence or lyric grace but for vigour of thought, good sense and satiric wit. Perhaps Mr Thorn-Drury somewhat overstresses the imitative element which, as in all artificial poetry, is often a source of enlivenment rather than an encumbrance. For Randolph's learning, like everything else, sits lightly upon him, ready to serve the need of the moment with little suggestion of conscious effort. The occasional poet *par excellence*, this adopted son of Ben is not easy to place, tuning his song with like facility to the metaphysical strain of the pieces *To Time* or *Upon his Picture* and to eclogues of rural life and landscape which, says Mr Thorn-Drury, betray a sense of personal enjoyment and an eye to detail unparalleled in seventeenth-century poetry. He can write on anything or nothing. But always predominant is the personality of Thomas Randolph, cheerfully gossiping of himself, his lost finger and pockpitten face, greeting his familiars or railing on the 'importunate dunnes' who molest him. If he falls short of Jonson, Donne and Herrick he is probably the only English poet of his age whose *vers de société* and neutral style might stand comparison with that of Prior or Boileau. The academic tradition supplied him with something, at least, of the urbanity and self-assurance which, a generation or so later, he would have gained from the court or the coffee-house.

The present edition reproduces Robert Randolph's text of 1638 together with the new matter included in the enlarged edition of 1640 and all other poems which the editor has felt justified in accepting as indisputably authentic. Since the publication of Dr J. J. Parry's edition in 1917 a considerable body of material relating to Randolph has been

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brought to light, largely through the diligence of Professor Moore Smith, and the work of an editor thereby lightened. Mr Thorn-Drury's edition is timely and no scholar is better qualified for the task which he has undertaken. (We wish, by the way, that he had included a list of Contents, with the names of the poems, instead of leaving the reader with nothing but an Index of first lines.) The few unauthorised pieces which Parry reprinted from Hazlitt are properly rejected for reasons stated in the Introduction. In their place we have the greater number of additions to the Randolph canon printed by Professor Moore Smith in *Palæstra* CXLVIII (pp. 244–257), and in the *Warton Lecture on English Poetry* (British Academy, 1927). As Mr Thorn-Drury has had access to further material of Professor Moore Smith he has doubtless weighed the evidence in cases where his conclusions differ from those of his colleague; but seeing that the latter's canon is now commonly accepted as authoritative it is regrettable that the reasons for the rejection of certain pieces are not stated. We are sorry, for instance, to find 'poor Tom' deprived of the characteristic lines *On a Racket Court* which, as Professor Moore Smith pointed out, in one place run very close to the *Parley with his empty Purse*. The reference to 'my pock-holed face' and the initials T. R. in the Harflett transcript of *The Goodwifes Ale* is strong evidence in its favour, though the piece is included in *Poems by Francis Beaumont, Gent.* (1653). The name 'Randall' appended in Rawl. MS. Poet. 26 to the lines upon the marriage of Richard Love is almost certainly meant for 'Randolph.' The longer of the two pieces in the Harflett MS. upon Hobson the carrier must remain doubtful, though it pursues the motive of the six-line epigram bearing Randolph's initials and accepted by his present editor; but we see little reason for rejecting two other important Cambridge poems, the elegies upon Thomas Harrison and upon Harrison, Sleepe and Brooke. Mr Thorn-Drury may be right in his conclusions respecting these and other rejected pieces, but a word of explanation would have been welcome.

The same must be said of his incidental remarks upon Randolph's dramatic work. He dismisses as 'much too clever to be sound' Fleay's suppositions concerning 'Randolph's London career' which Mr W. J. Lawrence (*Times Literary Supplement*, November 29, 1923) has shown to accord approximately with the facts. It is indeed remarkable that Mr Thorn-Drury should make no mention of Mr Lawrence, who cites strong evidence to show that both *Amyntas* (dated by Mr Thorn-Drury 'after 1632') and *The Muses' Looking Glass* were acted at Salisbury Court late in 1630 after being previously performed in the country. Lastly Mr Thorn-Drury's list does not include *Præludium*, assigned to Randolph by Professor Moore Smith with the concurrence of Dr Greg (*Review of English Studies*, July 1925, p. 320).

These are minor points and the value of Mr Thorn-Drury's achievement is manifest. In a concise introduction he presents his author fairly and impartially. His editorial work, it need hardly be said, leaves nothing to be desired. His general notes, though brief, cover most of the historical ground and will prove indispensable to students of the

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subject. Editor and publishers alike are to be congratulated upon a book which is admirably produced and a joy to read.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

Lactantius and Milton. By KATHLEEN ELLEN HARTWELL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. 209 pp. 13*s.* 6*d.*

This book is a characteristic product of a certain type of American scholarship. It causes some wonder in the English reader that an essay of such limited scope (the essay proper occupies 133 pages) should cost 13*s.* 6*d.* Without disrespect to Miss Hartwell's labours, it is quite obvious that the barriers to publication of learned works in this country are much more formidable than they are in America.

The purpose of the book is to take the half-dozen passages in Milton where the influence of Lactantius may be reasonably suspected, and compare with the original citations in that dismal Father. In the nature of the case, the author is driven (and one must recognise her candour) to the phrases beloved by the source-hunter: 'there seems to be reason to believe'; 'Another moot point'; 'it does seem quite possible,' etc. I have not read a book recently which so teems with these tentatives. To cite an example of the method which might make us suspect irony (if the author could for a moment be suspected of irony), at pp. 90–3 Miss Hartwell discusses the origin (there must always be an origin) of Raphael's cautions to Adam against prying into God's secrets (*Paradise Lost*, VII, 111–30, and VIII, 66–75). Lactantius is duly cited to the same purpose, and Mr A. F. Leach (*Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster*, article in the *Publications of the British Academy*, 1907–8) is quoted as declaring the indebtedness of Milton to that source. Miss Hartwell continues: 'one would feel safe in declaring it, with Mr Leach, a reminiscence of the one by the other, were it not for an entry in the Commonplace Book, which shows that it was Eusebius, rather than Lactantius that Milton wanted to recall.' Again (p. 114): 'One could hardly ask for a clearer case of influence of the one by the other, were it not for the fact that Lactantius probably drew on Tertullian's *De Spectaculis* for some of his points.' On the other hand, these passages in Miss Hartwell's essay are evidence of a pleasing candour, amounting sometimes to naïveté. There is something, indeed a great deal, to be said for the learned inquiry which looks closely to phraseological parallels, but what are we to make of the scholarship which assigns the source of Milton's well-known passage on the phoenix (*Epitaphium Damonis*, 185–9) to Lactantius on the ground of the single word 'unica' occurring in both authors, and which detects a direct indebtedness of certain passages in the *Areopagitica* in the fact that Milton there uses Lactantius's favourite words, 'exercise,' and 'adversary' in discussing the opposition of virtue and vice?

Nevertheless I feel that Miss Hartwell's study justifies itself as a first essay in scholarship. It opens up generally the question of the great

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poet's relation to the Patristic writings. When she has studied the laws of evidence more closely, we may expect something of more permanent value on this interesting subject.

G. KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

Thomas Shadwell: His Life and Comedies. By ALBERT S. BORGMAN. New York: New York University Press. 1929. 270 pp. $5.00.

It is not easy to be critical about Thomas Shadwell. One must either accept Dryden's verdict and leave ill alone, or else decide that Shadwell has been unjustly treated and become his apologist. Whichever position one adopts, one is almost inevitably taking sides. Dr Borgman in his recent study of the dramatist is never wholly at ease in a difficult situation; he sets out to examine his author in an impartial spirit, and is yet constantly seeking, by implication or by actual reference, to defend him from Dryden's charge of dullness. In this he is deservedly successful; but his study would have gained in balance if he had paid rather more attention to the reasons for the low estimation in which Shadwell is held, even by those people who have read one or two of his plays and not merely what Dryden wrote about him.

Perhaps Dr Borgman felt that the deficiencies of Shadwell were only too well known, and that to enlarge upon the statement that 'he could do anything but write' was no longer necessary. Nothing, certainly, has told so hard against Shadwell's reputation as the slovenliness and lack of finish that spoil so much of his writing. Even of his best plays it may be said—as an anonymous satirist wrote of Shadwell himself—that each is

kickt
Into the World a wallowing Cub unlickt.

Another and less discreditable reason, however, for the neglect of Shadwell, Dr Borgman has hardly done more than hint at; yet it is one that ought to be emphasised. The virtue in Shadwell's plays, as in those of his master Jonson, is dramatic rather than literary. Dr Borgman, for instance, remarks on the tiresomeness of the horseplay in *Bury Fair*; and, to the reader, the capers of Oldwit and Sir Humphrey are a tedious entertainment. But when Sir Humphrey 'steals to Oldwit as he leans upon his cane, strikes it away, and flings him almost upon his nose,' or when he gives Trim 'a devilish kick on the shins,' we have two situations that are broadly effective on the stage, and that acquire a more subtle humour from the unqualified admiration of Oldwit for his friend's cleverness and from the formal disgust of Trim. The horseplay of Sir Humphrey gains much of its comic effect from the various reactions of his victims.

Dr Borgman's study is not altogether free from a minuteness of detail at the wrong places. In the biographical section, for instance, he delays unnecessarily over John Jenkins, Musician in Ordinary to Charles II, who may, or may not, have taught young Shadwell. On such occasions one seems to detect a certain unwillingness to sacrifice the hard-won fruits of research. Dr Borgman nowhere parades his learning; he occa-

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sionally fails to eliminate it. Elsewhere, however (as when he is dealing with the date of *MacFlecknoe*), he summarises and discusses the various arguments with ability. Working quite independently of Mr Montague Summers, he has succeeded in adding some details to our knowledge of the dramatist's life. Shadwell has found an apologist, who, if better equipped for the biographical than the critical part of his task, never blunders into nonsense.

JAMES R. SUTHERLAND.

GLASGOW.

Diaries of William Johnston Temple, 1780–96. Edited with a Memoir by LEWIS BETTANY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. 197 pp. 21*s*.

This is confessedly a book for Boswellian scholars and amateurs. Its appeal is so far limited, but how rich a study of character and temperament Mr Bettany has been able to make out of a country parson's diaries! William Temple (an ancestor of the present Archbishop of York) was, however, no ordinary country parson. He was a scholar and at many points touched the fringes of the literary world of his day. His own work, partly through defect of character (he would have made an excellent model for George Eliot's Rev. Mr Casaubon) came to nothing. One thing he did do, his character of Gray the poet was, through Boswell, inserted in Johnson's life of the poet, and apparently he rather fancied himself as a writer of the short eighteenth-century character. He wanted to 'do' Johnson on the strength of some half-a-dozen frozen interviews with the great man!

The chief interest of the book, that is of the diaries themselves and of Mr Bettany's excellent introductory Memoir, lies in the amusing, sometimes tragi-comical contrast between Temple and his most intimate friend, James Boswell. Mr Bettany finds that they had something in common, they 'resembled one another in the deliberate cult of hedonism and in a tendency to let sensibility triumph over commonsense.' That is, they were both typical eighteenth-century literary men. But Boswell had the crude animal spirits to balance, whereas the Vicar of St Gluvias was a miserable compound of morbid conscientiousness and poor spiritedness. This makes the diaries rather painful reading. The story of self-frustration drags on from 1780 to 1796. The shy scholar may be an attractive figure, but when shyness cloaks a fierce desire to be somebody either in the social or literary world, we are apt to be impatient with perpetual whining. 'Alas! where shall I find comfort? I think only in my books—but then my sight is not so clear,' sighs Casaubon-Temple when (after his wife's death) he reflects on the discomforts and trials of a large family. He was the victim of that strange moral influenza called the 'spleen,' or what the mediæval moralists called 'accidie.'

The Diaries without Mr Bettany's virile Memoir would be depressing reading. But their value as a record of eighteenth-century manners is great. They are in strong contrast to the Woodforde diary, but then the parson-author of that production had not Temple's real abilities or literary ambition. His immense interest in food contrasts with Temple's

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abstemiousness. A better comparison, and an equally striking contrast, is afforded by the contemporary diary of the Scotch minister George Ridpath. The manly commonsense, the moderate worldliness of the latter makes Temple cut a poor figure. But he had his virtues, which are not forgotten by the editor in his eminently fair summing-up.

G. KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

William Blakes Nachleben in der englischen Literatur des neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Von JACOB WALTER. (Zürich Dissertation.) Schaffhausen. 1927. viii + 99 pp.

Dr Walter has wisely restricted his undertaking to a much smaller field than the title suggests. After sketching very briefly the history of the discovery of Blake, he concentrates upon four Blake students, Rossetti, Thomson, Swinburne and Yeats. In the work of each of these men he sees a stage in the development of Blake's influence upon succeeding generations: in Rossetti, 'der rein dichterische Einfluss'; in Thomson, 'die auf Blakes *Lieder* gegründete *Mystik der kindlichen Einfalt*'; in Swinburne, 'die ersten Spuren des gedanklichen Einflusses der prophetischen Bücher Blakes'; in Yeats, 'die völlige Wiedergeburt der Weltanschauung Blakes und seiner Symbolik.' In each case, the thesis is developed at length with copious illustrations.

Dr Walter knows his Blake well, and he is widely acquainted with the work of his latter-day men. The point at which the whole undertaking lays itself open to question is the point at which most studies of man-to-man influence break down. For instance, most students of the field would agree that some influence of Blake may be discerned in Rossetti's work. When Dr Walter finds an echo of the tense questions of *The Tiger*, in the *Burden of Nineveh*, there is obviously something in it. But when he notes that the same rhetorical device of piling up proper names is used in the *Chimney Sweeper* and in the *Blessed Damozel*, and expects us to see a significant relation in that fact, then the method breaks down grotesquely. The same is true of many of the imagery parallels. For the imagery of Blake's early work is for the most part too conventional to allow of any certain conclusions.

Fortunately, Blake's point of view is far more characteristic and original than his imagery. So in spite of some tenuous parallels, the chapter on Thomson makes some interesting suggestions, notably that of the indebtedness of the *Naked Goddess* to the *Everlasting Gospel* and the *Songs of Experience*. But even here Dr Walter overlooks some essential differences between Blake's naturalism and Thomson's. Likewise, in his much more substantial chapter on Swinburne, while he is sound in his suggestion of certain possible sources of influence, he misses certain fundamental and obvious differences in the attitude of the two men towards sex, and in the relations of Swinburne's vague pantheism to Blake's Swedenborgianism.

More than a third of the ninety-five pages of the dissertation are

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devoted to the influence of Blake upon Yeats. This is a very reasonable concentration of emphasis, for Yeats knew more of Blake than any of his predecessors. Here Dr Walter by piling up example upon example, makes out a very imposing case, but again that case is vitiated by the disregard of other and even nearer sources, and by the over-emphasis of points of resemblance at the expense of differences that are just as important.

This dissertation, then, is a very good example of the pitfalls of the influence study. Faithful comparisons of passages, of elements, even of whole works, are of little avail unless the whole undertaking is constantly shaped by a sense of how the two men, taken by and large, stand with regard to each other on all sides of temperament, point of view, purpose. Such comparisons may be very difficult for the orthodox doctor's thesis, but they are indispensable if the influence study is to have any critical value.

HELEN C. WHITE.

MADISON, WIS.

The Historia Regum Britanniæ of Geoffrey of Monmouth with Contributions to the Study of its Place in Early British History. By ACTON GRISCOM. Together with a literal translation of the Welsh manuscript No. LXI of Jesus College, Oxford, by ROBERT ELLIS JONES. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. xiii + 672 pp. 42*s*.

Malory. By EUGÈNE VINAVER. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. x + 208 pp. 15*s*.

Mr Griscom's valuable and stimulating work does not claim to be the long-desired critical edition of the *Historia Regum Britanniæ*. We are told in the Preface: 'This volume offers (1) the first accurate Latin text made from manuscripts of the most important source of early British history and legend; (2) the first literal translation of one of the surviving Welsh Manuscript Chronicles, dealing with the same early history; and (3) a discussion of Geoffrey's claim to have had and translated an ancient British book.' There are extant no fewer than forty-eight manuscripts that can reasonably be assigned to the twelfth century. Mr Griscom has based his text upon the Cambridge No. 1706, which has the double dedication to Robert of Gloucester and Waleran, Count of Mellent, and does not contain the concluding epilogue to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, and which he regards as representing the earliest edition of the *Historia*, published in April 1136. This he has collated with two others: the Bern manuscript, the only one that has the dedication to King Stephen and Robert of Gloucester, as representative of an edition immediately following the first; and the Harlech manuscript in which appears the usual single dedication to Robert of Gloucester, and which represents a third recension, 'a form of Geoffrey's *Historia* which had become more or less stereotyped,' standing midway between the two earlier forms and the printed texts. In the Cambridge and Bern manuscripts, 'the names approximate far more nearly the Welsh originals

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than they do in the printed texts and in some of the later manuscripts' (p. 47), whereas we find the Harlech manuscript already 'showing the effort of scribes to Latinise the Welsh names' (p. 37). The text thus constructed is naturally not definitive (and its editor makes no such claim), but it is incomparably superior to that presented by any of the previous five editions.

It is generally admitted that, where Gildas or Nennius or Bede failed him, Geoffrey did not rely upon his fertile imagination alone, but drew from Welsh or other Celtic traditions, and that occasionally, as notably in the case of the massacre of the surrendered Roman legion (v, iv, cf. pp. 211–16), his statements find some confirmation from archæological investigations. But Mr Griscom goes considerably further, and maintains that the 'britannici sermonis liber vetustissimus,' that Geoffrey professes to have received from Archdeacon Walter of Oxford and to be translating into Latin, actually existed. He grants unreservedly that no one of the existing Welsh manuscripts represents the 'vetustissimus liber' itself, but holds that they are independent of Geoffrey's Latin and demonstrate the existence of some such written native source as the latter claims to have used. The particular Welsh manuscript from Jesus College, here selected for translation, is late fifteenth-century, but is based upon an earlier one, from which Mr Griscom holds that the colophon, tracing its lineage back to Archdeacon Walter himself, may have been taken bodily (p. 149): 'I, Gwallter, Archdeacon of Rydychen, turned this book from kymraec into lladin. And in my old age I have turned it the second time from ladin into kymraec' (p. 536).

This Welsh text unquestionably contains native matter not given by Geoffrey, as notably the story of Llud and Llefelys (pp. 301–5), and, in making Mordred oppose Arthur's landing at 'Norddhamtwn' instead of Geoffrey's 'Rutupi portus' (Richborough), it apparently misread a Welsh 'porth Hamon' (Southampton, cf. pp. 199–204). But, alluring though some of Mr Griscom's arguments are, he does not seem to us to have proved that the main source of the text is not Geoffrey. The words added after the account of the conveying of Arthur to Avalon to be healed, 'And there is not said here of the death of Arthyr more than this' (p. 501), seem a direct allusion to Geoffrey's silence as to the expectation of Arthur's return. In the colophon, I would suggest that there are two different people represented: the Archdeacon of Oxford, to whom the translator or the manuscript he used would attribute the Latin text, and the translator himself who, in his old age, is turning it back into Welsh. Mr Griscom notes (pp. 36–7) that a later hand on the Harlech manuscript attributes the Latin translation of the *Historia* to Walter rather than to Geoffrey, and I would add that there is some evidence that on the continent it occasionally passed under the name of the former. Benvenuto da Imola, the fourteenth-century commentator on Dante, quotes Geoffrey of Monmouth as 'Gualterius anglicus in sua chronica quae britannica vocatur.' But, whatever view may ultimately be taken of this Welsh text, every student of Geoffrey will be grateful to Mr Griscom for including the translation in his volume.

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Dr Vinaver's former work, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory* (Paris, 1925), was mainly concerned with Malory's treatment of the Tristan story, as contained in Books VIII–XII, in relation with its French source. In the present volume he has extended his researches to the other parts of the *Morte Darthur*, and given us the fullest and best study of the man and his work that has yet appeared, alike in the investigation of the relations of the romance with its sources and in defining its position in the evolution of Arthurian literature. Dr Vinaver allows Malory very little originality in invention: 'The great story-teller was seemingly incapable of creating a story; and even though a certain portion of the *Morte Darthur* has not yet been traced to any definite source, it is hard to believe that he himself invented any of its episodes' (p. 41). His originality, according to Dr Vinaver, lies in his fresh treatment and interpretation of the stories, the new colour and direction he gave them. Malory cared less for the adventurous aspect of mediæval romance than for its psychological element, is out of sympathy with the mediæval ideal of courtly love, and is in disposition a realist while nobly striving to restore to the world the moral teaching of mediæval chivalry. In a singularly interesting chapter, 'Camelot and Corbenic,' Dr Vinaver accepts with modifications the theories of M. Ferdinand Lot, M. Albert Pauphilet and M. Étienne Gilson, of the essential unity of authorship of the Vulgate corpus (apart from the *Merlin* and its continuation) and its religious, more specifically Cistercian, origin. Malory, he holds, either overlooked or ignored the mysticism of his source. The French romance would condemn earthly chivalry in comparison with heavenly; hence the futility of Gawain's secular virtue and courtly charm, and 'the greater Lancelot's excellence in this world, the more is he condemned in the world of the *Queste*' (p. 74). But with Malory, 'the Round Table, instead of forming an antithesis to the Grail ideals, itself becomes the symbol of all good. And if in the end it must fail, it will fail not because of a religious condemnation, but because of a human tragedy, which rests upon the conflict of love and loyalty' (p. 79). Thus, 'the ultimate debate is not between the ideals of Camelot and the ideals of Corbenic. Faced with two main themes and forced to subordinate one, Malory made Corbenic a province of Camelot' (p. 84). For the rest, Malory disentangled from his 'Frensshe boke' the epic of Arthur, and gave it the unity it now possesses in a style and language 'combining pathos and simplicity, romance and epic straightforwardness' (p. 104).

There are various incidents in which Malory, whether to simplify or for some other reason, has altered his sources. In one the result has been disastrous. It may perhaps be that the inadequate treatment of Galehaut 'the haut prince,' who is shorn of most of his significance as the supreme type of friendship of man for man in his relations with Lancelot, is due to the unidentified redaction of the *Lancelot* that Malory followed, which may have saved us from the appearance of the false Guinevere. But this does not explain the amazing transformation of his character in one episode. 'There was cried by the coasts of Cornwall a great tornament

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and jousts, and all was done by Sir Galahalt the haut prince and King Bagdemagus to the intent to slay Sir Lancelot, or else utterly destroy and shame him, because Sir Lancelot had always the higher degree' (x, 50). Bagdemagus and Galehaut together with their knights set upon the disguised Tristan, and wound him grievously, taking him for Lancelot. But, in the French *Tristan* (Löseth, § 282 *e*), we read that Tristan was grievously wounded 'a une assemblee d'un tournoiement que le hault prince Galeoth avoit fait entre lui et le roy Baudemagus, et ce lui avoit fait Meleagant en trahison, car il cuidoit que ce fust Lancelot du lac qu'il haïssoit.' Malory, who perhaps did not know the full story of the relations between Galehaut and Lancelot, is attempting at once to give a more detailed explanation of the wounding of Tristan and to simplify the episode by the omission of any mention of Meleagant. I am at a loss to understand how Dr Vinaver, in his former work, could write that Malory 'explique cet événement d'une façon bien plus complète et plus satisfaisante.' On the other hand, the new version of the end of the Maiden of Astolat is an inestimable gain. Dr Vinaver (pp. 150–2) makes it clear that Malory's Book XVIII and the English stanzaic *Morte Arthur* had as source the same lost French redaction of the *Mort Artu*. But neither in the English poem nor in any other version is Lancelot present at the court when the Maiden's body arrives as in Malory, who has changed the scene from Camelot to Westminster and addressed the letter to Lancelot himself (XVIII, 20). The essential features of this most beautiful chapter are manifestly Malory's own.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

L'ordre des mots en français moderne. Par ANDREAS BLINKENBERG. I. (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, XVII, 1.) Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst og Søn. 1928. 247 pp.

The author's aim in this book is to treat as a continuous whole what is usually to be found in a fragmentary or disjointed form under separate headings—the noun, the adjective, etc.—in studies of French syntax. To do so he must of course start from the conviction that there are general principles of word-order prevailing in every sentence, and not merely independent and varying rules applicable to the various parts of speech. He discusses these principles at the outset in an interesting introductory chapter which is concerned chiefly with the question of the relative position of the main components of the sentence, subject and predicate. He admits the legitimacy and the utility of distinguishing between the psychological subject and the grammatical subject (or predicate) in accounting for certain departures from the normal subject-predicate order, but, though he himself has an attractive explanation of the prevalency of this sequence, he refuses to be pinned down by any formula in explaining the protean phenomena of language. Nor will he, like so many recent writers on syntax, especially in Germany, interpret

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everything in terms of style or emotivity. As befits a grammarian, he is well aware of what is mechanical, fixed, and rigid in inherited speech, of the automatism of talk, as well as the part that whim or chance may play in the setting out of words, aware too of the count that must be taken of æsthetic purpose and playful impulse in sentence building, in distinction to what is emotional or purely rational.

He adds to this awareness a clear insight into the sense values of French modes of expression, both conversational and literary, and is therefore a well-equipped and reliable guide through the somewhat tortuous ways of Modern French syntax. His purpose is to describe things as they are. He is not concerned with history, and it may surprise some readers how entirely satisfying a piece of work conceived on these lines can be. Only in one chapter, that on 'Exclamatory Sentences,' which are treated as more or less identical with interrogative sentences, does the absence of some historical background prove a little disconcerting.

Though the book is not a manual in the narrow sense, it will prove of great value to foreign students of French who have already a good grip of the language. To the more advanced, it brings home in a most striking manner the increasing emancipation of modern French syntax from the bonds of classicism, its recovery of something of its earlier freedom which renders possible even such phraseology as the following, quoted by Mr Blinkenberg: *l'excès même de ses vertus ne fut point à quelques-uns sans donner de l'irritation.*

There is much to praise and little to cavil at in Mr Blinkenberg's lucid and penetrating study, little at any rate of fundamental importance. More attention might have been paid, perhaps, to that very delicate but very important topic, sentence rhythm. Rhythm is, in a sense, the soul of the written word as intonation is the soul of the spoken word. It is personal, but racial and national as well, and, like the soul itself, it evades the anatomist's knife—and Mr Blinkenberg, though a skilful dissector, is no mystic. He sees, for example, in the position of the indirect object, *à Shelley*, in the following sentence from Maurois' *Ariel*: *Les nouveaux chants de Don Juan parurent à Shelley admirables*, a 'procédé purement littéraire de mise en relief.' It may be that, but it is much more an order conditioned by weight of words and rhythm, though generated, none the less, by a more colloquial . . . *lui parurent à Shelley admirables.*

Of the minor points I have noted the following are perhaps worthy of mention. On p. 99 Mr Blinkenberg quotes, as an example of non-inversion of subject and predicate after a preceding attribute, the following extract from a private letter: *L'an dernier votre venue a été presque immatérielle, si courte elle fut et si mal j'étais.* It might have been pointed out that *si courte fut-elle* would have been too reminiscent of another construction, *si courte fût-elle*, to stand. On p. 103, with reference to the phrase *paraît-il*, the autonomy which this expression seems to be acquiring in spoken French might well have been insisted upon. Lastly, on the question of sentence-intonation, upon which Mr Blinkenberg occasionally touches, a certain criticism seems possible. Thus the sug-

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gestion made on p. 48, that 'le ton descendant' is normal at the end of an affirmative sentence, seems a little too sweeping when one considers the frequency of expressions like the following: *je viendrai seul, c'est trop tard, je vous l'ai dit, c'est à moi, il ne viendra pas*, which in ordinary speech all tend to have a rising intonation. Similarly, on p. 211, *Vous n'avez pas de table, par ici?* spoken with a pause after *table*, does not necessarily have a falling intonation on the last two words. It would be just as natural to raise the voice on *table*, lower it on the next two syllables, and raise it again on the last. But these are minutiæ. We look forward to Mr Blinkenberg's second volume which is to contain an index and, what will be particularly welcome, a bibliography.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV, or, French Literature 1687–1715. By ARTHUR TILLEY. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. xviii + 458 pp. 25*s*.

Mr Tilley has set himself a somewhat depressing task in undertaking to write the history of the decline of the age of Louis XIV, for it is essentially the story of the second-best, and a second at so great a distance from the first. Yet, with all the difference between the two, the characteristics of the second half of the reign are faintly foreshadowed in the first; for despite the brilliance, the extravagance, the orgies of festivities which marked the earlier period, there was a fundamental dulness attaching to it. Even in the golden days, when Molière and Racine were giving lustre to the court, the royal patronage was singularly indiscriminating; Louis had no love of knowledge, no real taste for literature; his mind was mediocre, and, when in later life religion became his hobby, it was of a type as hard and narrow as the life he lived and the life he imposed upon others. For the copious memoirs of the time leave us in no doubt of the deadly ennui of court life, which yet held all the great families in its grasp as in a vice, for they could not envisage the business of existence without it. They had lost initiative; they had no liberty, no political or intellectual life, everything was girdled and circumscribed by a dominant will from which they had neither the desire nor the power to break away, and so they preyed on each other and were caught in a network of endless jealousies and petty intrigues. We find Madame de Maintenon saying of herself in a letter to a favourite pupil: 'Je meurs de tristesse. Que ne puis-je vous faire voir l'ennui qui dévore les grands.' But the austere piety which increased the gloom of the court in the latter part of the reign gave birth to two greater evils—bigotry and hypocrisy. Bossuet, undoubtedly the greatest orator France ever produced, bade farewell to the Paris pulpit in 1687, but Bourdaloue preached for another ten years and did not hesitate to condemn the extravagance and gambling that were prevalent and to inveigh against hypocrisy, which he called one of the worst evils of the day. Fénelon, whose *Spiritual Letters* made and still make the most admirable reading,

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was never a popular preacher, having no gift of oratory; but the torch was handed on by Massillon whose Provençal temperament dowered him with a natural gift of eloquence, and who had the added charm of a musical voice and a prepossessing appearance. Some fault has been found with his style as lacking simplicity and abounding too much in vague rhetoric; still there is no doubt that he was in the great tradition.

In nothing did Louis XIV change more than in his attitude to the stage; after his conversion he regarded it with great disfavour, but, in spite of the discouragement of Court and Church, drama continued to flourish. Dancourt, Lesage, Regnard, Dufresny and others produced many 'comedies of manners,' being content with the surface of things and showing no inclination to probe deep. Mr Tilley points out that they were much influenced by La Bruyère, whose *Caractères* are far more studies of manners than of anything as fundamental as character. The phenomenal success of the book was due partly to the exquisite workmanship and partly to the interest always excited by portraits real or imaginary.

The period covered by the book before us was markedly deficient in poetry as we might expect: imagination was at a discount when, in the words of Saint-Evremond: 'rien ne nous contente aujourd'hui que la solidité et la raison.' As regards prose works, Memoirs—notably those of the life of the Comte de Gramont by Anthony Hamilton—may be called the classics of the age, but a curious feature of the time was the fashion for writing apocryphal Memoirs and imaginary Voyages, and a still more curious taste was the mania for fairy tales. The telling of these was a fashionable pastime, but it was Charles Perrault who raised them to the dignity of literature when he brought out his charming collection of tales, common indeed to all nations, but written by him with incomparable grace and simplicity. Following him, Madame d'Aulnoy achieved much success, but her stories are interminably long and full of wearisome details, and, as a host of inferior writers trod in her footsteps, we are not surprised to find Madame de Maintenon saying that she does not want fairy tales for her young ladies at Saint-Cyr. The chapter on the educational ideals of the foundress of Saint-Cyr compared with those of Fénelon is of exceptional interest.

When Mr Tilley proceeds to deal with the quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, which he calls 'the real starting-point of the eighteenth century,' he says:

> At first sight this famous quarrel appears as a futile and rather ridiculous controversy, in which the champions of the moderns matched a single nation and a single century against the whole of antiquity and were moreover singularly ill-equipped for their self-appointed task. But, looked at closer, the Quarrel is of considerable interest and great significance. Firstly, it throws considerable light on the attitude of critics and society and the general educated public towards the great literature of the age of Louis XIV; secondly, it had a marked influence, partly for good, and partly for evil, on the subsequent development of literature and criticism; thirdly and chiefly, it has behind it the difficult and much-debated question of human progress.

The culture of France was almost exclusively Latin; Greek had always been something of an exotic, but in the seventeenth century ordinarily

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educated men owed their knowledge of both Greek and Latin literature to translations, and these extraordinarily bad ones. Naturally enough, this did not foster any appreciation of the ancients on whom, and on Homer in particular, many attacks were made, and it was as a protest against this attitude that a literary alliance was formed between Molière, Boileau, Racine and La Fontaine who held meetings to discuss the principles and practice of their art, and La Fontaine has thus humorously outlined their point of view:

> Ils adoraient les ouvrages des anciens, ne refusaient point à ceux des modernes les louanges qui leur sont dues, parlaient des leurs avec modestie, et se donnaient des avis sincères lorsque quelqu'un d'eux tombait dans la maladie du siècle et faisait un livre, ce qui arrivait rarement.

It was in 1688 that Fontenelle, the author of the *Dialogues des Morts*, came into the controversy declaring that excessive admiration of the ancients hinders all progress, and contending that the moderns are really the ancients inasmuch as humanity is no longer in its youth but has reached virility. Pierre Bayle, that rather illusive personality, is dealt with at some length, and is rightly regarded as the connecting link between the scepticism of the seventeenth century and the far more definite rationalism of the eighteenth. Perhaps he was yet another instance of that living on the surface which we have noted as the characteristic of the age; and it might be said that the tendency of the author of this work is in the same direction. He has given us an admirable account of his period, but it would almost seem as though the motto of all this quarter of a century were: *N'approfondissez pas.*

MAUD F. JERROLD.

LONDON.

FERNAND DESONAY. *Le Rêve hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens.* Paris: H. Champion. 1928. xxii + 429 pp. 60 fr.

The subject of this work is, as the Avant propos explains, a narrow strip of a vast field: Greek influence in French poetry between 1850 and 1880, as represented by the poetry of Louis Ménard, Leconte de Lisle, Anatole France and Heredia. After prolonged analysis and comparison, it is concluded that a true reflection of Hellenism is found only in Ménard and France. In Leconte de Lisle and Heredia, what is 'Greek' is mainly 'tropical' in colour and inspiration; and the general conclusion is that: 'Le néo-hellénisme poétique dans la littérature parnassienne est faux.' Put positively: the Parnassians turned to Greece for an æsthetic ideal and for nothing else:

> ...objective et impersonnelle, la poésie néo-hellénique des fidèles de l'art pour l'art a cherché dans la Grèce antique, avant tout, un idéal esthétique, de beaux sujets pour de beaux vers; tout le reste,—influence de la science, action de la philosophie, souvenirs de la réaction classique de 1840, ou paganisme d'André Chénier,—n'est qu'accessoire (p. 56).

The attempt has been made to produce a synthetic work by placing

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each of the poets studied in the general movement of literary history and ideas. Much information is thus collected round the main theme, but at a risk to the precision desirable in this kind of research. The central study of Leconte de Lisle progresses for 28 pages to reach the conclusion: 'D'hellénisme toujours pas de trace.' After a hundred pages we read: 'J'en arrive à l'analyse des Poèmes.'

One result is to expose the Master's 'faux air historique.' His erudition is an illusion which he elaborates in his prefaces. Without doubting this verdict, we should perhaps point out that it is emphasised by a writer who confesses his incompetence to pursue a thorough inquiry into the question of indebtedness to original sources (Introd. p. xxxi). But while this might conceivably affect the validity of the negative conclusion, it leaves the positive argument untouched: that the Parnassians, enamoured of an impersonal and objective exotism, found their ideal in dreams of the plastic beauty of ancient Greece.

P. M. Jones.

Cardiff.

Katalanische Grammatik. Von Joseph Huber. (*Sammlung roman. Elementar- und Handbücher*, I, 7.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1929. xi + 266 pp. 7 M. 50.

The house of Winter, Heidelberg, has so long provided us with introductory historical grammars, that a departure from precedent is constituted by the issue of a descriptive-prescriptive work like Dr Joseph Huber's *Katalanische Grammatik*. It is the first grammar of Catalan in German, and is addressed to the community of business men resident in Catalonia, who are to use it to order and regularise what they have opportunities of learning by contact with Catalans. Catalan is spoken in Spain and the Argentine by some 4,500,000 people, almost all bi- or tri-lingual. Its use by foreigners is not a necessity, but can certainly constitute a strong claim on the sympathies of Catalans. Our nationals might profitably make some use of Catalan, and the question arises whether a Catalan grammar in English might not prove serviceable. The few of us who have acquired the tongue have possessed enough Spanish and French, together with general grammatical experience, to learn it by construing the grammars of Pompeu Fabra and other authors who form the basis of Dr Huber's study. At the same time a foreigner's grammar is often more akin to a foreign learner's point of view; and it can be admitted that Dr Huber's work represents (now that Foulché-Delbosc's is unobtainable) the most satisfactory line of approach known to us. This grammar is prescriptive, and omits alternative forms which we may find in Fabra (*temi*, *tema*; *temo*, *tem*, etc.). In accordance with the normalising tendencies of Barcelonese grammarians, little notice is taken of the dialects (the *mallorquí* article and possessive pronoun are described on pp. 24 and 114); but it is worth noticing (*a*) that Catalan owed much of its fullness in the last century to the dialects, though now stylists tend to rest their grammar on mediæval writers such as Metge,

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and (*b*) that one dialect, *valencià*, has a substantial degree of literary autonomy. The language described by Fabra or Rovira Virgili is in some part an ideal towards which actual practice approximates.

The least satisfactory part of Dr Huber's book is that devoted to Catalan phonetics. It seems he has not had in his hand Arteaga and Barnils' *Textes Catalans avec leur transcription phonétique*, and so lacks authoritative texts. In describing *b*, *d* and *g* 'Wortanlaut' is given as the cause of phenomena due to the phonetic group, and they are not occlusives before and after *all* consonants. (ɐ) and (ə) are not distinguished by Dr Huber, who has only (ə). It is as clumsy to describe *nf* as (*mf*) as it would be to accept the normal spelling, which is at least intelligible. The author knows that *ll* and *ny* are single sounds, but he adopts the awkward transcriptions (*lj*) and (*nj*), though he could have found (λ) and (ɲ) in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. We are told that *t* in the nexus *tll* is 'stumm,' the fact being that it is used as a sign of the reduplicated palatal (λλ), and there are similar inexactitudes. The most serious omission is that of the laws of liaison. In his 'Formenlehre,' which includes much syntactical matter, the author provides many well-chosen examples to illustrate his rules, but there is not always sufficient explanatory detail. For instance, *mes*, *però* and *sinó* are all adversatives, but used for quite different purposes, not specified by the author; *vostè* is not only a polite form of address (p. 104), but also a Castilianism to which many Catalans object; and the syntax of negation is really complex. It would have been worth the author's time to have admitted some of the systematisations of historical grammarians in some cases. For instance, there are in reality no irregular imperfect subjunctives, and the author's formidable list of irregular forms is due to his mistake in associating the imperfect subjunctive with the imperfect indicative instead of the preterite. The forms of past participles are simple enough when classified under their Latin types. Among his authorities for syntax Dr Huber does not cite Anfós Par's *Sintaxi Catalana* which, though it deals with a fourteenth-century author, claims to determine what should be Catalan practice now. He is aware, however, that the subjunctive constitutes a problem, as native grammarians are not. Identifying the indicative with the 'wirklich' and the subjunctive with the 'nichtwirklich aber möglich' (p. 167), he offers a fairly accurate distinction which could have been refined. The concept of reality is wholly alien to the subjunctive, seeing the subjunctive never affirms or denies, but only proposes ideas for discussion. The assertion on the same page, that the subjunctive is always subordinate, involves the graceless presumption of suppressed principal clauses to account for its presence in certain types of principal sentence.

In his preface Dr Huber refers students of historical grammar only to Meyer-Lübke's *Das Katalanische*. That, however, is a thesis on the classification of Catalan within the Romance group, and is contested by some writers, while others voice a reasonable complaint as to its methods. More serious is the objection that an eclectic collection of forms like those on which the Viennese professor rests his argument, is not true to any epoch of

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Catalan linguistic history. For this reason the historical student is on much safer ground if he begin with Saroïhandy's perspicuous article in Gröber's *Grundriss*.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Ramon Lull: a Biography. By E. ALLISON PEERS. London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. 1929. xviii + 454 pp. 18*s*.

One could not think of a scholar better equipped than Professor Peers, both by temperament and by learning, for the task represented by this volume of some 470 pages. By his *Spanish Mystics* and his English renderings of important works of the *beat Ramon* he proved his fitness to engage in the labours here involved, and the results invite the respectful consideration and the approval of competent critics. He has ransacked all available sources of information respecting the life of Ramon Lull, his sojourns and his wanderings, and with indefatigable zeal he has analysed all the important and a host of the minor writings of this remarkably fertile mediæval author. His sympathy with his subject is obviously great, but it has not deterred him from applying rigid critical methods in his treatment of the doings and sayings of a figure who, when all is said and done, remains to-day 'a patriarch of literature, an apostle of religion, and a herald among mystics.' Moreover, his account is written in a style that is clear, lively, and yet compact, as perforce it should be where so many pages must be devoted to summaries of the contents of a mass of documents.

'My primary object,' says Professor Peers, 'is to give those who read neither Catalan nor Latin with any fluency a comprehensive account of the life and principal works of a man who, though born close on seven centuries ago, makes still a potent appeal to-day, and that to persons differing widely in temperament, in race, and in creed.' To this we must object that the book has an appeal far wider than that so modestly indicated; the scholar proficient in Latin and in Catalan, the historian of philosophy, and the theologian will all find it profitable to make a careful survey of this latest of Peers's productions. As Hispanists know, no full-length biography of the Mallorcan genius has appeared since the eighteenth century; the time is ripe for the present publication, and it comes to fill a want. Not the least welcome of its features are a 'Chronical Table of the Life of Ramon Lull,' a select 'Bibliography' of about a dozen pages, and an 'Index' to both the genuine and the apocryphal works of the prolific writer. Let us add that the general reader will find it advantageous to supplement the knowledge derived from the analyses given here of Lull's works by resort to Peers's Lullian translations with their luminous prefaces; he should consult *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved* (London, 1923), the *Art of Contemplation* (London, 1925), *Blanquerna* (London, 1926), *The Tree of Love* (London, 1926), the *Book of the Beasts* (London, 1927), and *Thoughts from the Blessed Ramon Lull for every day* (London, 1925).

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Accepting Pasqual's and Avinyo's arguments in favour of 1232 as the date of Lull's birth, Peers traces his steps carefully through the long course of wanderings which took him from Mallorca to many fields of activity and notably to Montpellier, Toulouse, Genoa, Rome, Paris, the Spanish mainland, Tunis, Cyprus, Sicily, and finally to Bugia in Africa, where, according to report, he was stoned to death by Mohammedans in 1315. We see the 'Doctor Illuminatus' quitting the frivolous, aristocratic society in which his behaviour had not been too exemplary, adopting the ascetic ways of the hermit, identifying himself in so far as his married status permitted with the interests of first the Dominicans and then the Franciscans, and all the while proclaiming zealously his philosophical, theological, and mechanistic fads along with those truly sober principles and truly sane methods for which posterity honours him. A striking fact is that the missionary fervour which prompted him to work for the conversion of the Moslem world to Catholicism was, during the greater part of his career, purely that of the preacher and the teacher; only toward the end of his long life did he depart at all from his idea that the Moslems could be won over by philosophical and theological argumentation alone and advocate the use of crusading military forces.

One may wonder that Peers has not commented more fully on the latitudinarianism which comes to view in the various Lullian treatises in which Mohammedanism is compared with Christianity. Lull held clearly that the 'Saracens were nearer the Christians than any other unbelieving people,' and this led him, in the *Book of the Gentile*, in the *Book of the Holy Spirit*, and elsewhere, to adopt an attitude of indulgence for their doctrines that cannot but seem strange to the orthodox. Consideration of this fact is not amiss when anyone inquires why the beatification of Lull has never been succeeded by canonisation. At the same time, we must be careful not to misinterpret this air of tolerance on his part; Hispanic folk have not taken it ill, and so conscientious a Spanish critic as Menéndez y Pelayo has made suitable reserves in his remarks on the subject.

That Lull died the death of a martyr, that is, that the circumstances of his lapidation were such as to merit for him the martyr's crown has been gravely doubted; Peers does not pretend to remove the doubt.

The successive biographers of Lull have yielded overmuch to the temptation to find the autobiographical prevalent throughout his writings. In this connexion, Peers imposes restraint upon himself; he admits the autobiographical narrative or allusion where an assemblage of details or the author's own affirmation avouches its presence, but he refuses to regard one and all of Lull's works as embodying transcripts from the Mallorcan's own life. Lull's potent fancy functioned constantly; he invented, he romanced, he embroidered, and, above all, he showed skill in contriving characters, as is abundantly proved by the array of them which we find in his study of man in the third section of the *Book of Contemplation*. While it is true that he was not one to hide his light under a bushel, it is needlessly and wrongfully forcing the issue to conceive of him as always parading himself in the products of his pen.

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Many are the readers who still manifest interest in the philosophical and theological ideas of Lull; a goodly number now seek in him rather the poet and the romancer, and these latter undergo also the spell of his mysticism. Full justice is done by Professor Peers to the talent—it is hardly more than talent—exhibited in certain of his poetical compositions, and above all in the *Desconort*, which rises so superior to most of his effusions. Be it said parenthetically that, in his translation into English verse of passages from this and other examples of Lull's Catalan verse, Peers has achieved all the success that so difficult a task allows. Of course Lull the story-teller has engaged attention on the part of various historians and critics of Hispanic literature; the prominence given by Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Orígenes de la Novela*, to *Blanquerna*, the *Book of the Gentile*, the *Book of the Order of Chivalry*, and *Felix*, with its included *Book of the Beasts*, has made students of the origins of the mediæval novel familiar with the virtuosity of the Mallorcan narrator. Peers has analysed *con amore* these and other Lullian narratives, and the results of his study form not the least attractive and useful part of a valuable book. In conclusion it may be declared that once again an English scholar has added to his well merited laurels as a keen, sympathetic, and sane investigator of Hispanic life and thought.

J. D. M. Ford.

Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.

Our Forefathers. The Gothonic Nations. A Manual of the Ethnography of the Gothic, German, Dutch, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian and Scandinavian Peoples. Vol. I. By Gudmund Schütte. Translated from the Danish by Jean Young. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 8vo. xi + 228 pp. and illustrations. 21*s*.

We can indeed be grateful for a clear digest in English of the scattered data available for the study of our Germanic (or, as Dr Schütte prefers, Gothonic) ancestors. That interest is once more concentrated on the 'Frühgermanentum' is shown by such admirable works as W. Capelle's *Das alte Germanien* (Jena, 1929) which gathers translations of all the relevant passages of the Greek and Roman writers, and Heusler's compact treatment of *Altgermanische Dichtung* in the *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. Much of the current literature on the Germani is controversial in the extreme; Neckel has recently flung a new challenge in *Germanen und Kelten* and we have probably not heard the last of S. Feist. The spirit of the 'nordische Renaissance' is even influencing the German novel as we see from F. Blunck, and it seems a pity that the English should not at least take a sympathetic interest in this remarkable drift.

The work before us appeared in Danish in 1926 as *Vor Folkegruppe Gottjod*. It appeared too early to make use of any of the works cited and of Karsten's *Die Germanen* (1928) and it would not be quite fair to judge it by the standard of knowledge accumulated in the three years. However, it maintains its value as one might, indeed, expect in a work which

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took twenty-five years in the making and we can fully endorse the suggestion made by Dr Schütte himself in the preface that the strength of the work lies not in the subject-matter, but in the method and systematic frame-work. The treatment throughout is clear, concise and uncompromising. If the author does not always convince, at least we can see precisely where we differ from him or hesitate to follow him. He is especially venturesome in interpreting names and their forms and we may expect the experts on place and personal names to try a fall or two with him, especially in regard to his hypothetical succession: 'short simplex' followed by 'long derivative' followed by 'full compound' names. In particular we should have felt a little safer if the period of Dr Schönfeld's collaboration had been less 'temporary.' However, we can in any case rejoice that the problems have been brought to a clear focus.

So far only the first volume has appeared in English. It covers a wide field in ethnography with its organisation into the following sections: the Indo-Europeans, the Gothonic nations—their names, ethnic position, environment, e.g., in relation to Indo-European and non-Indo-European neighbours, early habitat, language development, civilisation (costumes, occupations, religion) and history. After the index there are some illustrations, the majority of which consist of maps.

From such a mass of topics it is hard to select, but we will indicate Dr Schütte's attitude to certain important questions and then venture to call his attention to certain points upon which a divergent view is permissible. On one question at least he, perhaps wisely, 'ca's canny.' He neither accepts nor rejects the widespread view that the Indo-Europeans belong 'racially' to the fair, long-skulled Nordic stock, for—as he rightly says—they may have been mixed before their dispersion (p. 2). However, he does admit that *an* old home for the 'European' nations is 'obviously Europe' (p. 5). In the meantime the Schrader-Hirt issue, viz., south-east steppe-lands or north-central Europe is not by any means closed, and on this, as on the racial question, it is well to consult Karsten, *op. cit.*, as he is abreast of the most recent anthropometrical research (also adducing the blood-group theories). Dr Schütte is more daring when he comes to utilise certain equations like Lat. *vāda*—Low Ger. *wadden*, *portus*, Celt *riton*—N. *fjorð*, *mālus*—*mast* etc. to locate a grouping of Italic-Celtic-Germanic speakers in proximity to each other on a shallow tidal coast which he thinks is the southern shore of the North Sea (p. 146). He is of opinion that they carried on fishing (cf. *piscis-iasg-*fiskaz* and I would add outside of Latin N. *þorskr* = Irish *trosg* and Russian *treská*) and knew the use of the sail (here he might have added the equation G. **seglam* = W. *hwyl*). Even though *vāda* may be related—by ablaut—with *wadden* (and *wade* incidentally) it is hazardous to tie down *vāda* precisely to mud flats on a tidal shore. Why should not the Germanic tribes have specialised a more general meaning like 'ford' or 'shallow place'? Also the Celtic equivalent of *portus*, e.g. W. *rhyd*, is used of rivers and in any case the exact ablaut-equivalent in Germanic is represented by E. *ford*, O.H.G. *vurt*,

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Norw. *ford* ('weg über einen sumpf,' cf. Falk-Torp, s.v. *Fjord*) if *portus* stands for **pr̥tu*, whereas *fjorð* < **pertu-* is on another grade. Many will still hold that if the Germanic tribes were in prehistoric times in the neighbourhood of the proto-Italics this would be before the latter entered Italy from the *Danubian* lands in the North East. Even the closer connexion of Celts and Italics appears by no means so certain after reading what the Celtist C. Marstrander says in his article *De l'unité italo-celtique* (*Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, Bd III, pp. 241 ff.). Perhaps there will be less disposition to cavil at the author's acceptance of the tripartite division of the Germanic languages into East, North and West with a subdivision of the latter into North-west Germanic (Anglo-Frisian) and South Germanic. Let us hope that vol. II will shed further light on the position of Low German and Low Franconian in relation to this grouping. The West Germanic tribes were neighbours of Celts and the Northern tribes were in contact with Finns and Lapps and the nature of their contact and linguistic influence on each other raise big issues, not all of which Dr Schütte envisages, e.g. the first sound-shift as comparable with or different from certain phonetic changes in Celtic and the Finno-Ugrian languages. Neither Feist nor Günlert (*Wörter und Sachen*, X) are discussed, and the substratum problem is still unsettled, though new facts are emerging, e.g. Karsten's proof of the existence of Germanic loans to Finnish before the first sound-shift. And how can we be sure that 'sporadic parallels in the "Tochar" (read "Tocharian") language, Armenian and the Paisācī dialects of India have no direct connexion with the Gothonic developments' (p. 57)? Were the Celts and Germani one people (G. Neckel, *Germanen und Kelten*, p. 61) and does the wide divergence of Celtic depend upon the disintegrating influence of the non-Indo-European (Iberian, perhaps ultimately Hamitic) peoples with whom they mingled (cf. Pokorny's articles in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vols. XVI and XVII). Again, we cannot gauge the extent to which 'Alarodian' languages were spread in Southern and Western Europe, though, if Pokorny is right in his article on 'Basken' in Ebert's *Reallexikon* we have in Basque a basic structure of a Caucasic character, to which has been added a superstructure of a Hamitic character. But on these important matters Dr Schütte is silent, though he mentions both Basques and Circassians.

The interesting chapter on civilisation, especially the remarks on Germanic religion, can now be supplemented by reference to a number of works mentioned by F. R. Schröder (not E. R. Schröder, cf. p. 223) in the *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* for last year.

It now remains to single out a few details for a running commentary: p. 4 *Fir Bolg*, cf. Pokorny's article on Eskimos in Ireland, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vol. XII, p. 195; p. 30 the American scheme for a Universal Language referred to should be *Tutonish*, the author of which, Molee, compounded it of English, Low German and Norse elements; p. 45 on the position of Anglo-Saxon as a bridge language, cf. Neckel's article in *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, vol. LI, pp. 1–17; p. 47 Gothic—*uh* usually equated with *-que* rather than *-unque*; p. 55, note 1 requires a good deal of

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qualification, for it is surely too much to speak of a H.G. tendency away from palatals in the direction of gutturals on the ground of O.H.G. *jerian* > *gären* or *jähe* > *gähe*, seeing that the change *j* > *g* occurs in a limited area (East Franconian—eastern portion, N. Bavarian, Moselle Franconian, Upper Saxon. cf. Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 8th ed., p. 387) and as for *gähe*, the original sound is *g*, e.g., in *gâch*, *gæhe* and it is the converse process *g* > *j*, which has taken place (cf. Kluge's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *jäh*); p. 58 *þw* > *dw* > *tw* > *zw*, e.g., *zwingen* is adduced to exhibit a fairly strong tendency to sound-shifting in High German and is even called 'a third sound-shift,' but it is at least arguable that the *z* is due either (*a*) to a combinatory process in which it is the collocation with a labial which is important (cf. Schröder, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, vol. XXIV, p. 20). or (*b*) to an 'over-compensation' on the part of speakers accustomed to use *t* where High German uses *z*—it is at least significant that some of the 'Highest' German dialects like that of Lucerne and part of the Valais do not make the change (cf. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, p. 417; p. 201); the equation of *skauda-raip* with *rift*, *reft* is surely fanciful, for *raip* agrees exactly with O.E. *ráp* and O.H.G. *reif*; p. 213, Finnish has for 'giant' the word *jättiläinen*; p. 235, *buoh-stab*, cf. C. Marstrander, *Om Runene og Runenavnenes Oprindelse* in the *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, Bd I, p. 172.

The translator, Miss Jean Young of Cambridge, has performed her task conscientiously and produced a readable text. She will perhaps have an opportunity to correct the following errors in some future edition: p. 31 read Ashkenaz, p. 33 das > des, p. 54 theoricians > theorists, p. 65 Walischen > people of Wallis, p. 86 Lausitz > Lusatia, p. 88 Herrenhuten > Herrenhuter, p. 194 vullareis > wullareis, p. 203 gender > generation (?), p. 228 Lüneberg > Lüneburg. There are a few phrases reminiscent of Danish, e.g., p. 103 'knit...connexions' and p. 252 'still preserved themselves for a long time.' It would, also, be very desirable to add dates to the publications mentioned.

Finally, we congratulate the Cambridge Press on the get-up of this work, the publication of which has been aided by grants from both the Carlsberg and Rask Ørsted funds.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

Von unsers Herren Liden. A Middle High German Poem. Edited from the British Museum MSS., Add. 24,946 by C. T. CARR. Manchester: University Press. 1929. viii + 51 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*

We are grateful to Mr Carr for undertaking the edition of this late and rather corrupt text. The path of the scholar who chooses to edit a poem preserved in one MS. only is strewn with obstacles. Under such conditions restoration becomes highly conjectural, and it would be difficult to agree with some of the suggestions which Mr Carr has embodied in his text. It is dangerous to set out with a theory, and Mr Carr's contention that 'the poet endeavours to begin each line with an ana-

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crusis of one syllable' (p. 13) has led him to improve lines which a less courageous editor would have left in their MS. condition (e.g. 106; 120; 213, where *gesiget* is probably a preterite not a past participle).

Mr Carr makes very bold alterations, alterations that may be correct; we should, however, accept them more readily if they were seen to rest on an exhaustive analysis of the metre. Here Mr Carr can hardly satisfy us. The page which he devotes to metre (Introduction, 13–14) shows not a few inaccuracies and omissions. Such lines as the following might surely stand:

302: *Ich han weder we noch hir.* Mr Carr prints *habe* although he points out on p. 4 that *han* is the poet's form.

345: *und hat uns allen berait.* Mr Carr: *und der uns allen hat berait.*

636: *zu uns in brüderschaft.* Mr Carr: *zuo uns in unser brüederschaft.*

When Mr Carr remarks that 'anacrusis of two syllables seems to be unavoidable in lines 261, 416, 600, 656' (p. 13) he might have added: 365; 373; 670; 724; 785; 786; 890; 927. In the discussion of 'einsilbiger Takt' (pp. 13–14) some examples are doubtful (e.g. 49; 385), others should have been mentioned (e.g. 8; 34; 524; 609).

On p. 14 the editor remarks that line 879 is isolated; but so is line 280 which is not cited. In the text line 280 is given as: *der eren kunig rüeft hinin* (MS.: *der ewrn konig rueft mer hinein*). The omission of *mer* is difficult to understand since the same line occurs 250, where the MS. again writes *mer* which is again omitted. The *mer* is quite proper and refers back to Christ's first speech, lines 204–7.

Mr Carr cites only two feminine couplets; yet there is a third (lines 299, 300: *frolocken* : *rucken*). The occurrence of three feminine couplets within twelve lines (299–310) and the entire absence of feminine couplets in the rest of the poem possibly indicate an older source for this section.

In the discussion of the sources the *Augsburger Passionsspiel* is singled out as similar but Mr Carr does not attribute undue significance to this similarity as the data are insufficient. In the enumeration of the prophets (p. 16) which is used as one of the arguments to connect the text with the various *Passionsspiele* Daniel is not mentioned though he is introduced as a speaker in lines 392–404. In a footnote, Mr Carr suggests that the source of this speech is *Matthew* xxi, 42–4. The source would seem to be rather the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel's interpretation of the dream (*Daniel*, ii).

The text remains full of difficulties and still requires long and patient investigation. It would have been better had Mr Carr printed the MS. as it stands and confined his observations on the text to the footnotes. Adequate restoration of such a difficult and corrupt poem as *Von unsers Herren Liden* is probably impossible and the fact that many problems remain is no reflection on the care which Mr Carr has bestowed on his work.

F. Norman.

London.

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Early German Romanticism. By WALTER SILZ. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 264 pp. 11*s.* 6*d.*

The thesis of this book is that 'Heinrich von Kleist seemed destined... to realise in dramatic form the dream which the early Romanticists so clearly visualised but which they lacked the creative power to embody in works of art.' The method of the author is to take successively the main points of Romantic doctrine, i.e. that of Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, and to compare with them similar statements from Kleist and an analogous doctrine culled from his poetical works. The book consists consequently of a set of disconnected notes the relative value of which it is hard to determine; while, more importantly, it is impossible to determine the value of these isolated thoughts and beliefs in the whole personality of Schlegel, Novalis, or Kleist. At the same time it allows certain aspects of these personalities, which are not applicable to the thesis, to escape consideration. More noticeable are errors due to a lack of adequate definition of superficial identities—as when he tries to lessen the distinction between Romanticists and Classicists by acclaiming their mutual ideal of an aesthetic culture. The difference between their theories of beauty is however extreme, and though too well-known to be entered into here implies a fundamentally different attitude to art and culture. The Kleist whose 'objectivity in drama and narrative was an ideal which Goethe cherished but did not attain' is assumed akin to the early Romanticists; but their objectivity demanded only that the author never be carried away completely by any enthusiasm, and on the other hand the work of art exists for them essentially to reveal the personality of the artist. Goethe's *Faust* is called the 'most romantic of characters,' a most misleading statement; for his laborious energy and his earthliness are the opposite of the effortless intuition and other-worldliness of the ideal romantic hero, of Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Again, when the author says that, like Goethe and Schiller, Kleist 'regarded the exposition of character as being the ultimate aim of the drama,' he is making a statement which not only is of dubious truth but also marks a great divergence between his and the romantic views of dramatic art.

There are many places in this book where annotations such as these are called for, while what is true is not striking, for the similarities between the doctrine of the romantics, of Kleist, and of Goethe and Schiller have been often noted in various connexions. The fundamental weakness of the book is that the author deals with the facets of these doctrines instead of with their centre. Romantic theory is so confusing and contradictory that it can only be treated organically, it must be considered from the point of view of the personality. The intention and implication is more important than the dictum. That all the writers of this time were obsessed by certain ideas and problems no one will deny; but the interpretations of Goethe, Schiller, Kleist and the early Romanticists prove a divergence of attitude and temperament which no fragmentary agreement of word or idea can reconcile.

R. PASCAL.

CAMBRIDGE.

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Die Schweiz im Spiegel englischer und amerikanischer Literatur bis 1848. Von GUSTAV SCHIRMER. Zürich: Orell Füssli. 1929. xvi + 460 pp. 25 fr.

Dr Schirmer's work is a monument of patient industry. For forty years he has been studying the literary relations of Britain and Switzerland. He brought to his task a sound knowledge of English literature from its earliest beginnings to the present day. He is also a Celtic scholar of no mean order, a fact which stood him in good stead in his investigations of the early period of missionary activity. Whether he is dealing with Irish monks at Reichenau, Rheinau or St Gall, with Protestant refugees at Geneva or Zürich, with Ludlow and his fellow regicides, with Romantic poets or Victorian tourists, Dr Schirmer always proves a reliable guide.The treatment of the Sonderbund is particularly thorough.

Such emendations and additions as suggest themselves concern matters of detail only. We are told that Thomas Coryate (1577–1617) uses 'lake' in the sense of 'river.' This was current Middle English usage, and still survives in the dialects of the south-west of England. One passage in Coryate's *Crudities* (p. 362 in the 1611 edition) has been misunderstood: 'From Splügen to another town of the same name Westward it is a mile, from that to a town called Sassam fiue miles.' Dr Schirmer paraphrases this: 'Unterwegs lernt er das ganze protestantische Splügen kennen, auch "Westward" und Sassam. Welchen Ort er mit "Westward" meint, ist nicht klar' (p. 63). It is clear that the other town was called 'Splügen.'

Another observation of Coryate's (pp. 380–1) relates to his visit to Zürich: 'Hortmannus (*sic*) Eslerus, who vsed me very graciously, discoursed with me in Latin, sent a Mandato vnder his hand to the keeper of the armory to shew me the same.' Dr Schirmer thinks that this is a mistake and adds: 'Hartmann Escher selbst war Zeugherr von Zürich' (p. 65, footnote). But the word 'keeper' might just as well mean 'caretaker' or 'janitor' as 'head custodian.'

As Dr Schirmer was not able to consult William Lithgow's *Totall Discourse* in the original, he consulted the Dutch translation (p. 69, footnote). Apparently the latter is responsible for a confusion of the Rhine and the Rhone ('Die Rhone verwechselt er mit dem Rhein'). Their is no trace of this in the 1614 edition of Lithgow's book which I have before me. On p. 346 the Scottish traveller remarks: 'Thence ascending the Rhyne, and coasting Heidelberg,' and on p. 348: 'The Lake of Geneva...through whose middle runneth the Riuer of Rhone.'

The anonymous 'Member of the University of Oxford,' whose *Alpine Sketches* appeared in 1814, was not necessarily a professor, as Dr Schirmer supposes (p. 343). He may have been a fellow of a college, or merely a graduate. The word 'member' does not imply more than this.

It is interesting to learn that Scott did not know the original version of the *Sempacherlied*. He used that of the *Wunderhorn*. Curiously enough he also confused Sursee with Zürich and attributed the poem to 'Albert Tschudi'; the author's real name was Hans Halbsuter, and

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Tschudi was the source from which the editors of the *Wunderhorn* obtained the ballad. The most important historical works used by Scott when writing *Anne of Geierstein* are enumerated (p. 309) and Dr Schirmer rightly points out that there must have been others besides. In this connexion it might be appropriate to mention that in the *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* (Edinburgh, 1838) the following works are to be found: *Swiss Scenery from Drawings* by Major Cockburn (London, 1820); *Moryson's Itinerary* (London, 1617); *Rambles Abroad* 1816, 1817, 1818 (London, 1823); *General Outlines of the Swiss Scenery* (London, 1812); *History of Switzerland, from the Conquest of Caesar to the Abdication of Buonaparte* (London, 1825); Charles Tennant, *Tour through the Netherlands, Holland, Germany, Switzerland in* 1821–2 (London, 1824). It might be worth while to investigate to what extent Scott was indebted to these works. There is a misprint on p. 270; ll. 7–8: *meinen Lieben* should be *meiner Lieben* (singular). In Korrodi's translation of the *Hymn written among the Alps* by Helen Maria Williams (1762–1827) the first line: 'Creation's God! with thought elate' is rendered 'Die Schöpfung selbst ist Gott.' 'Du Gott der Schöpfung' would be more accurate.

But these are trifles. Dr Schirmer has produced a work of real merit, which will be indispensable for all future students of Anglo-Swiss literary relations; it is also of considerable interest for the historian, as the political aspect of the subject is always kept in view.

J. M. Clark.

Glasgow.

English Influences in Dutch Literature and Justus van Effen as Intermediary, An Aspect of Eighteenth Century Achievement. By W. J. B. Pienaar. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. 260 pp. 25*s*.

In this interesting work the author sets out to give some account of English influences in Dutch literature up to the middle of the eighteenth century. That Justus van Effen should hold a central position in such a study is only right. Van Effen was a journalist, a critic, a translator and a moulder, if indeed not the founder, of modern Dutch prose. He introduced in Holland, and incidentally stimulated in other European countries, periodicals of the *Spectator* and *Tatler* type, and thereby exercised an enormous influence on the literature of his day. That Holland was ripe for such a movement cannot be gainsaid. Holland, like England, stood at the close of its French period, and Van Effen eventually succeeded in establishing this new form of literature among a people which, though for centuries more inclined to French culture, was then perhaps one of the most cosmopolitan in Europe. Their cosmopolitanism was indeed so extreme that it contained the danger of denationalisation, and is not altogether absent from the Dutch national character even to-day.

To Van Effen and his friend Johnson, a bookseller, belongs the credit of having published, at the Hague, the first periodical on the continent, the *Misanthrope*. While in England the ground had been prepared for the

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Spectator, by Defoe and others, Van Effen in Holland was on virgin soil, and many remarks in his earlier periodicals show the tremendous efforts he had to make to win over his readers to this new departure in literature. He was careful at first not to mention his English prototype, though later, as the fame of the *Spectator* and *Tatler* spread on the continent, he believed the surest way to success was an open avowal of imitation, he discussed questions which we find discussed by Addison, and his later Dutch periodical even bore the name of the *Hollandsche Spectator*. If, by borrowing from the English, he could add to the attractiveness of his periodicals, Van Effen considered he was justified in doing so; even Steele admits: 'My precautions are made up of all I can see, translate, borrow, paraphrase or contract from the persons with whom I mingle and converse and the authors whom I read,' and the knowledge of this practice among the English supplied Van Effen with 'an additional motive and excuse for borrowing.' But he was, Mr Pienaar points out, scrupulously honest in disclaiming what was not his own, always within the limits of his theory of what constituted plagiarism, which is very clearly set forth in a number of his *Hollandsche Spectator*: 'Does one perpetuate plagiarism,' he asks, 'as often as one passes off as original that which has been drawn from the writings of others? Not in the least; there is a certain manner of making profit out of what is read, which gives us an absolute right of proprietorship over such profit.' After the intelligent reader has carefully considered and analysed what he has read, 'it is transplanted into his mind, and there in all its purity, planted as if anew, shoots deep roots, enriches itself with new strength and brings forth fruit which, coming from the new soil, absorbs a new national flavour and which, like the tree that bears it, belongs in indisputable ownership to the new master.' These words, it seems to me, explain Van Effen's whole attitude to his English contemporaries; while he might receive inspiration and ideas from England, his periodicals must draw their nourishment and strength from their native soil, they must deal with the special customs, morals, codes, manners of behaviour, virtues and vices of the Dutch. 'Many teachings and admonitions strike the British,' he declares, 'and have no bearing on us. It is with this, as with the translation of foreign comedies, which we put on our Dutch stage.'

Few great continental writers of this period do not betray some influence of Swift, and Van Effen was no exception. The *Bagatelle*, a journal which appeared while he was writing his translation of *The Tale of a Tub*, shows this influence not only in its loud Swiftian style, but also in its aim to 'teach pleasantly' by enlivening 'morality with wit.' In his papers on religion, in which he shows himself a disciple of Locke, he propounds the philosophy of the reconciliation of reason with religion. In education he believed, with Locke, that every child should receive due 'consideration and scope to develop according to his bent.' He was more democratic than Locke, he believed children should be taught to ignore class distinctions, though in the matter of physical culture, *mens sana in corpore sano*, the two are one; and to the over-fond

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Dutch mothers he commends 'the physical education which is in vogue in a neighbouring kingdom.'

As a critic van Effen was undoubtedly ahead of his time and in some respects may be regarded as a forerunner of Lessing and Voltaire. In a discussion of Shakespeare in one of his French periodicals written as early as 1717, sixteen years before Voltaire's and almost half a century before Lessing's, in which he compares the English playwright with the French and the Greeks, he gives 'a restatement of the principles of dramatic construction, which are well known in England,' for 'les Savans de la Grande Bretagne estiment infiniment plus les Anciens que le font les François' and 'la Poëtique d'Aristote est fort respectée chez eux aussi bien que les Euripides & les Sophocles.' That Shakespeare, 'un Dieu du Théâtre,' was inclined to flout some of these rules Van Effen was thoroughly conscious, 'mais on le lui pardonne, comme à un génie au-dessus des règles, & qui n'en avoit que faire pour frapper & pour enlever le Spectateur,' ideas which only awaited a greater critic, Lessing, for their fuller development.

That Van Effen was shocked at some of Shakespeare's liberties need cause no surprise, and indeed the barrier which stood in his way to a more complete appreciation was, as Mr Pienaar might have pointed out, the general attitude towards, and conception of, Shakespeare's dramas on the continent in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The change from tragedy to comedy, 'the mixture of pathos and pleasantry,' was a characteristic which even Goethe in the end of the century found objectionable and which only late in life he appreciated as one of Shakespeare's outstanding qualities. Again *Othello* was an illustration of 'Shakespeare's horrible practice of making people's blood run cold,' and he fails to understand why 'the heroine is allowed to make such a long speech on her death-bed,' an objection which, as Mr Pienaar points out, was raised later by Voltaire and termed an 'incongruity.' In short, Shakespeare is, in Van Effen's opinion, the Vondel of English literature, both are 'modèles de toutes les espèces de beautez & de défauts.'

Van Effen stimulated the translation of English works by his articles in his periodicals and by his own translations, which included *The Tale of a Tub*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe* and Shaftesbury's *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*. As an inspirer of others he is no less important for the later development of Dutch literature than as an independent creative author. More important, however, is his influence on modern Dutch prose, which may be said to begin with his writings. What French did for German through Wieland, English did for Dutch through Van Effen, and though he had complete mastery of French—he claimed also to be the finest Oriental linguist in his day—there is little doubt that he deliberately moulded his prose on the English. To the Dutch vocabulary he added little; Mr Pienaar is able to give only one instance, the word *Honingmaand* from *honeymoon*, and even this has not been preserved. His principal task was to free Dutch of its excessive purism, he admires English for its lucidity, 'it has no equal,' he declares, 'for expressing all subjects concisely, succinctly, with energy,

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abundant variety and propriety according to the nature of the thing'; here, too, his ambition was to imitate the English, 'for they are a wise nation.'

It may appear complimentary to an author if a reader finds an introduction of fifty pages rather short, and this is the case with Mr Pienaar's work. The material, a summary of the relations of the two countries, literary and political, is so overwhelming that such a short account cannot but be sketchy. This is specially noticeable in the more important periods. One feels that Mr Pienaar, after his exhaustive study of the subject, could have added more to the Milton-Vondel relationship than the single page, which he devotes to it, permitted. Even if the question, or the extent, of Milton's indebtedness belongs, as Sir Edmund Gosse believed, rather to the realm of opinion than to the sphere of scientific research, even if Milton was too great an 'artist to have descended to mere verbatim plagiarism at any length,' the fact remains that Milton's epic, or part of it, is merely another form, perhaps a higher form, of Vondel's *Lucifer*. Added to this is the fact that Milton was a scholar of Dutch literature and theology, he knew Dutch and was acquainted with many notable Dutchmen, including Grotius, an admirer of Vondel, and Franciscus Junius, the editor of *Cædmon*, while his controversies with two Dutch professors gained for him a certain European reputation. Altogether Dutch culture, it seems to me, was a much more important factor in the intellectual life of England in the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, than we are inclined to admit to-day. The close connexion between the two countries is also apparent in the influence the English periodicals had on the German through the Dutch, a fact which Mr Pienaar emphasises, and while in the end of the eighteenth century German books were making their way to England through the medium of French versions, English books—Mr Pienaar specially mentions Steele's *Crisis*—were in the beginning of the century being translated into German from the Dutch. Mr Pienaar also provides an index, indispensable for a study of this sort, which is, however, unfortunately incomplete. Apart from this, the book is an excellent and thorough piece of work; it opens up a new field in the study of Anglo-Dutch literary relations and sets forth many new and interesting theories concerning the method by which the English periodicals reached the continent and won fame there.

JAMES BOYD.

BRISTOL.

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SHORT NOTICES

The *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* for 1928 (Vol. IX. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. 1929. vi + 228 pp. 6*s.* 6*d.*) is edited by Miss Ethel Seaton in conjunction with Miss Mary Serjeantson, Miss Dorothy Everett having resigned the position of chief editor which she filled so ably for the two preceding volumes. It is further announced that for the next volume Miss Serjeantson will assume entire responsibility.

The present volume maintains the high standard of excellence which we have come to expect. One change in arrangement has been made to facilitate reference: the sections on Word Study and Name Study have each been subdivided, one sub-section containing in alphabetical order the particular words or names discussed. Two other changes are due to the lengthening life of the Bibliography, and to its increasing size—this volume contains 3580 entries and cross-references as against 3020 in the volume for 1927. The date of the year under consideration is inserted at the top of each page and omitted from the separate entries of books published in that year; also, when reference has to be made to entries of a book in preceding volumes, only the first and last of such entries are given.

A prolonged test has resulted in the discovery of only two omissions (C. J. Sisson: *The Elizabethan Dramatists except Shakespeare*, and the review of *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell* (Bibl. 1926, 82) by A. W. Reed in *Rev. Engl. Studies*, Oct., IV, p. 479) and two minor errors: under 2282 a letter from R. W. Chapman has been ascribed to R. W. Chambers, and in the Index under R. W. Chambers the entry 1257 should be 1237. H. W. H.

The seventh volume of *Essays by Divers Hands*, ably edited by Margaret L. Woods for the Royal Society of Literature (London: H. Milford. 1927. xv + 153 pp. 7*s.*), is an interesting and varied collection, but the professed 'Janeite' will turn first of all to Professor Spurgeon's paper on Jane Austen—and will not be disappointed, though one or two minor points may be questioned. It is surely incorrect to say that the novel 'had sunk to its very lowest repute as a literary form' when Miss Austen was writing: it was at a much lower ebb, both as regards quantity and quality, between 1775 and 1785 than at any later date. Again, although Jane Austen and women in her position shrank from notoriety in any form, other women were publishing novels under their own names, and making money by them; in any case, the implication that Cadell refused *Pride and Prejudice* in 1797 because 'there was little market for a novel of manners "by a lady"' cannot hold, for Mr Austen in his letter does not mention the author's sex. Of the other five essays in the book, two deal with mediæval subjects: Professor

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Manly discusses the wide popularity of the Miracle play, and its influence on the later drama, while Dr Gaster gives an interesting survey of the Yiddish literature of the Middle Ages, religious and secular—including versions of Arthurian and other romances, many of which were so popular as to be literally 'thumbed out of existence.' Mr J. A. Gotch contributes a valuable paper on Inigo Jones, outlining the results of researches which he has since dealt with more fully in book form; Sir Henry Imbert-Terry shows, with much felicity of phrase, what light the diaries of Lord and Lady Cowper throw on the personalities and on the intrigues of statesmen and others at the courts of Anne and George I; Miss Sackville-West discusses ably and sympathetically some of the tendencies of modern English verse, though some of her conclusions would seem to be falsified by the appearance of *The Testament of Beauty*.

A hyphen is misplaced towards the bottom of p. vii, but the only serious misprint is on p. 84, where Gray's 'some minds' appears as 'sane minds,' making the rest of the quotation seem contradictory.

H. W. H.

In his *Anglo-Irish Literature*, 1200–1582 (Cambridge University Press. x + 170 pp. 12*s*. 6*d*.) Mr St John D. Seymour has limited himself to the task of printing representative extracts or fragments of 'the literature of the Anglo-Irish settlers from the Invasion to the close of the sixteenth century.' This, with the exception of such literature as is to be found in State Papers and Proclamations, he has done quite satisfactorily, and that is all except for a running commentary of no marked originality. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as an Anglo-Irish literature as distinguishable from the literature of the day, these are only Anglo-Irish subjects of literature—and not enough of them to justify a book. It is of course useless to complain that the author has chosen to write this book and not another, but a study by a competent scholar of the influence of Anglo-Norman and general literature on the development of mediæval Irish, if any, would be of considerable interest. Mr Seymour has given much space, for example, to versions of the *Secretum Secretorum*; did Ireland altogether escape its influence? It got into Welsh. The only Irish thing about Jofroi's version is the claim with which Mr Seymour credits him, of translating it from Greek to Arabic and Arabic to Latin. Dr Hamilton's preliminary study of Jofroi in the *Romanic Review* needs extension, especially in a study of the relationship of his text to other mediæval versions. Yonge's version of Jofroi is more Irish in feeling and language, at any rate the Rawlinson MS. of it which I printed—the Lambeth MS. is an extraordinary jumble of dialects: some Northern forms, some Southern, a copy made perhaps by a West Midland scribe. But questions such as these are outside the province of the book, which is to give the ordinary reader, ignorant of the fact that any English or French or Latin was ever written in Ireland, some idea of its scope and extent. If there is such a person, the book will be useful to him.

R. Steele.

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Mr Merritt Y. Hughes in his *Virgil and Spenser* (Univ. of California Publ. in English, II, 3, pp. 265–418. Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press. 1929. $2) seeks to measure the actual debt of Spenser to Vergil and to indicate how far Spenser, as pastoral and epic poet respectively, shared his discipleship between the Roman poet and Italian and French poets and critics of the Renaissance. For Spenser, says Mr Hughes, 'was almost indiscriminately hospitable to all literary influences' (p. 328). Mr Hughes is throughout somewhat inconclusive, and one feels in his work a certain mistrust of his own judgment. He prefers generally to seek authority, with a 'Draper says...and Koeppel, writing in 1889, held the same opinion' (p. 325); 'Miss Sawtell believes' (p. 367); 'Miss Rowe's testimony' (p. 393). Such an attitude is the negation of the spirit of the scholar under whose direction this book was written, and of all scholarship. Hence also an unexercised judgment can yield to such shallow thought as that which has misled Mr Hughes on pp. 399–400. Mr Hughes has a considerable knowledge of the history and literature of the Renaissance, and would not by himself have fallen into such a false perspective. He is, perhaps, too anxious to give credit to his predecessors for their expressed opinions. There are some minor errors and misprints, e.g. *t'as* for *t'es* (p. 273), *picutra* for *pictura* (p. 283), *Aphonsus* for *Alphonsus* (p. 319), *Fav* for *Fay* (p. 371). C. J. S.

Devout Spenserians will welcome this evidence that their poet is sympathetically and profitably studied in the East as in the West. Mr Mohinimohan Bhattacherje in his *Studies in Spenser* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press. xii + 92 pp.) limits himself strictly to the tracing of some sources of Spenser's philosophy, especially of those related to Platonism, and performs his task usefully and with lucidity. Strict limitation of interest, however, is apt to produce such suspicious passages as this: 'It was only to be expected...that Book v would allegorise the Platonic conceptions of perfect and imperfect forms of government. But this expectation is not realised except to a very slight extent. It has accordingly been said that Book v of the *Faerie Queene* has no moral significance, that it has only a historical meaning and that it is a colourless and mediocre performance.' I do not know who said that, but such a separation of the historical and the philosophical elements of the poem, of Spenser's experience and his reading, is both unhistorical and unphilosophical. Spenser the civil servant passing reports on police work, negotiations with shifty chiefs, Armada wrecks, land settlement, blockhouse organisation, and so on, and Spenser the student of Plato and Aristotle, were one and the same man. To emphasise the speculative element is even dangerous, since that is the least personal side of his work: an Englishman and an artist, Spenser is most concerned with the practical issues of life. Nor need the results of that concern be 'without moral significance.' Spenser would be among the first to deny the assumption that moral philosophy, any more than poetry, fell with Athens. The chapter on Spenser and Bruno, wherein Mr Bhattacherje joins issue with Dr Oliver Elton, exemplifies once more the complexity

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of the subject and the difficulty of ascertaining the provenance of ideas and phrases. In the end much must remain a matter of opinion: we are glad to have Mr Bhattacherje's, based on knowledge and thought. We would be even more glad to have a candid account of how Spenser's poetry strikes an Indian critic. W. L. R.

Miss Celeste Turner's book on Munday (*Anthony Mundy, an Elizabethan Man of Letters*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 1928. 234 pp. $2.75) is a useful piece of work within the limits of printed books available to its author. It gathers together most facts now in print concerning Munday, but also propagates certain errors in work already published. Dr Tannenbaum is responsible for those concerning Kyd's hand in *Sir Thomas More*, and doubtless also for the knighting of Edmund Tyllney (p. 110). Miss Byrne and Professor Rollins, on the other hand, are occasionally unacknowledged contributors of facts (e.g., pp. 64, 72). Miss Turner's bibliography of Munday's works is uncritical. All attributions of work to his pen are such as have already been made in print, and they are accepted with no serious discussion. The Huntington Library catalogue erroneously attributes to Munday, for no reason stated, *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard*, and Miss Turner also forbears to argue the point on literary or other grounds. In general, the promise of the title is unfulfilled, for there is little of literary criticism in the book, which might at any rate have given us a revaluation of Munday as a writer.

Errors of detail abound. *Il Pecarone* (p. 34) should be *Il Pecorone*. There is no copy of Munday's will traceable at Somerset House (p. 171, note 6). There are misquotations of documents (e.g. pp. 77, 89). The 'lost work' referred to on p. 55 is in fact extant, in the British Museum, and is not by Munday.

Miss Turner has, indeed, attempted the impossible. However brave the battle against circumstances, it was bound to be a losing one. For the biography of a London Elizabethan demands knowledge and examination of original sources and libraries in England. Miss Turner has done her best with the inadequate material at her disposition.

C. J. S.

Mr Willard Thorpe's *Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama* 1558–1612 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1928. 142 pp. $2) is an interesting essay of that useful kind that surveys afresh a mass of literature from one specific angle. His book is mainly a study of the morality of the Elizabethan drama in practice and theory, and his title finds its justification in his thesis that when the Puritan middle classes forsook the theatre, the drama abandoned didacticism and was freed for realism. The problem is of course more complex than this, as Mr Thorpe realises, but a discussion of the drama in this light was well worth doing. The opening chapter sorely needs consideration of political influences on the stage. On pp. 20–1 Mr Thorpe does not appear to be aware of the real nature of Seneca's rhetorical exercises in dramatic

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form, nor, on p. 10, of the risks of subscribing to the Warburton myth. His study of Daniel's *Cleopatra* (p. 35) might have led him into fruitful thought had he considered the development of that play in its various forms. And surely Mr Thorpe does not seriously believe that the English middle classes still eschew the theatre (p. 64). On p. 37 a line has dropped out and a line has been repeated. For 'born' read 'borne' (p. 112), and for 'Aeschuylean' read 'Aeschylean' (p. 125). Certain other slips are more difficult to explain, e.g., 'whom the author intends shall act morally' (p. 48) or 'wrankling' (p. 130). C. J. S.

The sequel to Mr Edgar I. Fripp's earlier work upon Stratford and its worthies is an interesting book on the Shakespeare country (*Shakespeare's Haunts near Stratford*. Oxford: University Press. 1929. 160 pp. 5*s*.). We are led from Stratford to Shottery, Henley, Rowington, Snitterfield, Charlecote and Clopton, with constant reference to Shakespeare's family and with sidelights upon his mind and his imagery. Mr Fripp has found his material in a wide variety of sources. Star Chamber Proceedings, for example, far too little used, furnish him with the story of that sturdy rioter, Thomas Shakespeare of Rowington. The reference to this suit given in the footnote on p. 78, by the way, is not clear to me. My own note on the case gives the reference 'Star Chamber Proceedings Elizabeth H. 53/22' for one part of the records of the suit. Incidentally, there are places where no authority is given for statements made, e.g. on p. 49, concerning the Badger-Shakespeare suit. Mr Fripp, again, suggests that Shakespeare was for a time a clerk to the Stratford lawyer Rogers. A note on p. 9 speaks of him confidently as 'an old attorney's clerk,' though later references tell us only that he 'may have been' in Rogers' office (p. 32), and that it 'is possible' that he was (p. 117). There is no evidence. There is surely a slip on p. 30, where 'nearly thirty' should read 'nearly twenty.' The numerous illustrations add delight to the book. And Mr Fripp's frequent references to Shakespeare's poetry, with apt quotations, show us that this is the work of a lover of the poet as well as of an accomplished antiquary.

C. J. S.

We are indebted to the Oxford University Press and to Professor Grierson for the latest addition to the Oxford Poets (*The Poems of John Donne*. Edited by H. J. C. Grierson. 1929. lvi + 404 pp. 6*s*.). A cheap modern edition of Donne was badly needed. To have it with such an authoritative editor is the consummation of our desires. The book, moreover, embodies both in its masterly Introduction and in its text a good deal of further consideration by Professor Grierson of the text and its problems, since his great edition of 1912, and of such helpful criticism as that of Professor Belden. It is certain that all future work upon Donne must be based upon this edition and that of 1912.

There is work still to be done. I doubt whether Professor Grierson has satisfied himself or his readers with the emendation 'Bearing-like Asses' (Satire II, 72, misprinted 71), and with the interpretation placed

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on this (pp. xxv, xlix), to mean 'patient Catholic gentry.' I cannot help thinking that 'Braying,' which is graphically possible as 'Braieing,' is a more likely reading. It is certainly possible to interpret 'wring' as 'squeeze through,' intransitively, and not 'drag.' So that ll. 71–2 mean that unscrupulous lawyers force their way through a packed mass up to the Bar, braying like asses, a sense that fits in precisely, without any abrupt interpolation, and without applying the opprobrious term of 'asses' to Catholics. The formation 'bearing-like' (= patient) is, I think, improbable. C. J. S.

Mr A. Warren's *Alexander Pope as Critic and Humanist* (*Princeton Studies in English*, No. I. Princeton, N.J.: Univ. Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. 281 pp. 11*s.* 6*d.*) attempts to supply a definite want—a complete study of Pope's criticisms. It deals in erudite fashion with his *Essay on Criticism*, his edition of Shakespeare, and his Homer; and devotes long chapters to discussing such aspects as his poetic theory and his classical knowledge. Pope's views are dealt with from almost every conceivable angle, with the result that the volume, although valuable as a compendium of literary criticism, becomes at times somewhat wearisome reading. Mr Warren gathers together an abundance of material; gives plentiful quotations from reputable authorities, but fails to discriminate between facts of primary and secondary importance. Undue space is given to a consideration of Pope's predecessors such as Vida, and the labouring of small details savours far too much of the doctoral thesis. Much condensation is needed, for the capable summaries appended to individual chapters show clearly how advantageous such compression would be. Yet the book fulfils its purpose; it calls attention to such little-known of Pope's works as his *Observations on the Iliad*; advances sound reasons for placing Pope in proximation to Dryden and Johnson as outstanding critics of the period; and adds a selected bibliography. A. J.

Keats and Mary Tighe, by E. V. Weller (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; New York; London: H. Milford. 1928. xxi + 333 pp. 16*s.*) is a contribution to that most fascinating and dangerous branch of research—literary parallelism. To trace the influences on any poet is always hazardous, to declare boldly that a book of poems was the 'spark that fired the train of Keats's poetic tendencies' is to court opposition. Coincidences of expression; similarity of thought; and employment of common sources have all to be considered, and each is a formidable foe. Mr Weller brings with him some 400 parallel words and phrases; arranges them in footnotes, and cross indexes them in the Appendix. Some, it is true, seem trivial; others controversial; but as a whole the editor has made an interesting if not convincing case. The volume, however, serves another purpose. It reintroduces to an inappreciative world the work of a sadly neglected poetess. Coming as she did, before the Wordsworthian age, Mary Tighe suffered the fate usually accorded to minor writers who precede a brilliant epoch. Her

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Psyche can claim a definite place among the many renderings of that theme. Mr Weller deserves commendation for his arrangement, industry and accuracy, an estimation which renders an important bibliographical error all the more regrettable. On p. xxiii it is stated that of the 1805 edition of *Psyche* none is extant, yet a signed copy of that edition (in 16mo) has been deposited, since 1857, in the British Museum.

A. J.

Wide reading and an intensive thoroughness are seen both in Dr Walter Eschenauer's doctor-dissertation on *Sir James Barrie als Dramatiker*, Halle (Würzburg: Werkbund-Verlag), and Dr Eberhard Voigt's *Die Music-Hall Songs und das öffentliche Leben Englands*, Greifswald (Greifswald: E. Hartmann). The first gives a concise account of Barrie's dramatic works in the order of their composition, their sources and their special features, and concludes with a general estimate of Barrie as contrasted with Shaw and Galsworthy, both better known in Germany than himself. The criticism is sane and well-informed and should make the book valuable to the English student. The second dissertation is on new ground. Its account of the political songs sung in the music halls of London between 1880 and 1910, when music halls were at the height of their popularity, is an interesting side-light on our history—hardly, however, on our literary history, as the songs, except in one or two cases, are miserable productions. Dr Voigt discusses the psychology of the audiences at somewhat undue length for the English reader who is bored by abstract philosophical discussions and wishes the author had found a more inspiring subject for the exercise of his abilities. He writes in a fair and objective spirit and shows an adequate knowledge of the England of his period.

G. C. M. S.

Verhaeren has been a favourite subject with biographers; already most of the great European languages possess at least one full-length portrait of the poet. Singularly, France has been the last to receive hers from a compatriot. It has come recently from the pen of the late Edmond Estève, the authority on Byronic influence (*Emile Verhaeren*. Paris: Boivin. 1928. ix + 226 pp. 12 fr.). His work, as is natural with that of a professor of the contemporary Sorbonne, is scrupulously careful and precise, but factual and descriptive rather than truly critical. Quotation and paraphrase, admirably selected, occupy much of the text, whose author had the advantage of being able to draw from sources, like the reprints of scattered *Impressions*, which were practically beyond the reach of previous writers. The method adopted makes for orderliness rather than originality: this work obviously aims at furnishing no new fact or personal *aperçu* of striking value. It is more impressive on the technical, than on the psychological, side, the best chapter being, perhaps, the one on *Les Mots et les Rythmes*, which is certainly a contribution. In dealing with the 'neurotic period,' which has so far baffled every writer on the subject, the author may have given too much space to personal influences which seem to us irrelevant as explanations of

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the mystery. While recognising that this is probably the most competent book on Verhaeren, we hope it will not appear disrespectful to the memory of a fine scholar to add that the really good treatment, the psychological study of the man, the critical estimate of the work, remains to be written. P. M. J.

In *Studien zum Bedeutungswandel im Deutschen*. III. Teil (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift: Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiska Vetenskaper, IV. 1928. xi + 247 pp. 8 kr.) Mr E. Wellander continues his detailed investigations into changes of meaning (cf. *Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. XX, pp. 101 ff.) by a study of ellipsis as a contributory factor. Ellipsis he defines as 'the partial or total omission of a common member in corresponding combinations' and from such familiar cases as the use of a Christian name by itself in referring back to a member of a group of brothers or sisters he proceeds to deal with the partial omission of the 'nucleus' common to a group of two compounds, e.g. *Korn- und Kümmelbranntwein*, which may lead eventually to the use of *Korn* alone to denote '*Kornbranntwein*.' To his German examples of nuclear ellipsis we could add many English parallels, e.g., thick or clear [soup], my eldest, the down main and up local, on the right, All Souls', St Mary's, The Goat and Compasses, the crêpe de chine [dress], put on mourning, a straw [hat], ermine, foolscap, a Fokker, a Gold Flake, the schottische, the Ninth [symphony—or day], Reynolds' as against The Mail < The Daily Mail, a St Bernard [dog], a piebald [horse], etc. Owing to the flexionless character of English we are not faced with the nice question whether to say *erste Klasse* or *erster Klasse* (*fahren*). The major part of the book is occupied with cases of ellipsis of the 'determinant,' an allocation justified in view of its great importance in German semantic development, e.g. intr. *sprengen* (scil. das Pferd), *behalten* (scil. im Gedächtnis), *aufschneiden* (scil. mit dem grossen Messer), *herausrücken* (scil. mit dem Gelde, cf. to 'fork out' absolutely). In some cases English seems less prone to omit the determinant, as we see by contrasting *ablegen* with 'to take off one's coat or things' and *finden* (intransitive) with 'to find one's way.' Usually the author confines himself to German, but occasionally refers to Dutch and Swedish. The value of the work lies in the well-selected material brought together. W. E. C.

The *Studien zur Geschichte der Sprachphilosophie* (*Neujahrsblätter der Literarischen Gesellschaft Bern*. Neue Folge, 6. Heft. 1927. 140 pp. 4.80 fr.), by Professor Funke, consist of two parts: (1) a full commentary on the work of a remarkable linguist of the eighteenth century, J. Harris, whose *Hermes* well deserved to be reconsidered to-day, and (2) a critical survey of recent trends in linguistic philosophy. After placing *Hermes* in its historical setting Professor Funke carefully examines the categories recognised by the logically minded Harris, who could often discriminate the thought structures which may (or may not) lie behind grammatical forms, and interested himself—like some contemporary writers, e.g. Brøndal in his *Ordklasserne* (Copenhagen, 1928)—in finding a more satis-

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factory classification of the 'parts of speech' as well as in discussing the symbolisation of 'general ideas.' After Harris several modern thinkers are reviewed in connexion with a discussion of three movements, viz. (1) that of the neo-romantics, ultimately deriving from Humboldt, but with affiliations to Steinthal and Wundt, the chief modern representatives being the neo-Kantian writer on symbolic forms, E. Cassirer, and a younger group of men influenced by Husserl, e.g., W. Porzig and L. Weissgerber; (2) that movement which turns away from the 'positivism' of the *Junggrammatiker* and tends to emphasise the æsthetic, individual and creative side of language, looking up to Croce and finding its leader in Vossler, who, with his disciples, is chiefly associated with Romance philology; (3) the empirico-psychological movement inaugurated by H. Paul and culminating in the work of the Austrian A. Marty—whose writings Professor Funke has done much to propagate—the chief contemporary representative being K. Bühler. These thinkers are appraised by the criteria supplied by Marty's writings and hence, indirectly, the criticisms are based to some extent on an acceptance of Brentano's psychology. It is not surprising that the author's spirited championship of Marty 'contra mundum' has already elicited many protests and it is but fair before passing a final judgment on the highly controversial issues to read Porzig's article on 'Sprachform und Bedeutung' in the *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, vol. XII and Gunther Ipsen's remarkable work, *Zur Theorie des Erkennens—Untersuchungen über Gestalt und Sinn sinnloser Wörter* (Munich, 1926), the latter especially in connexion with the long quotation on pp. 84–93 which Professor Funke has taken from O. Kraus's pronouncements on the 'Gestalt' or configurational theory in psychology. W. E. C.

In *Thomas Manns novellistische Kunst* (Drei Masken-Verlag, Munich. 1928. 98 pp. 4 M.) Dr Max Kapp endeavours to detach the ideas and problems on which the 'Novellen' are built up. He insists again and again on the dualism between the artistic and the bourgeois which Thomas Mann treats from various angles and on various planes. We doubt whether much is gained by Dr Kapp's use of the contrasting terms 'polare Dynamik' and 'dynamische Polarität,' but he has done considerable spade work by the almost mathematical way in which he has divided the stories into groups and analysed them with a view to a systematic mapping of the dominant ideas. W. R.

The preface to the first part of *An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland* (Copenhagen: V. Prior; London: D. Nutt. 1928. ccvii + 488 pp. 63*s*.) tells us that it was the earnest wish of the late Dr Jakob Jakobsen that the monumental work on the Shetland dialects which appeared posthumously in Danish in the year 1921, should also appear in an English edition. His near relatives have undertaken the task with the help, among others, of Professor Finnur Jónsson, who has rearranged the introductory matter, and of Professor Sir William Craigie, who has revised the work at the proof-reading stage. The result is the present

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translation which is in every way admirable. Except for an occasional minor change or emendation, the dictionary itself is reproduced word for word. The introduction has been a good deal expanded and runs to over one hundred pages. In it have been incorporated in the form of two chapters portions of Jakobsen's earlier work, *Det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, as well as much additional material drawn from his own manuscripts hitherto unpublished. In compiling the material for his dictionary Jakobsen made his notes in English while he was visiting the Shetlands. A certain number of these which did not find their way into the dictionary itself are also worked into the introduction. Of particular interest is a collection of fragments of sayings, stories and popular songs which the author gathered among the islanders and which he jotted down in phonetic notation. The further chapters on the history of the dialects, with detailed sections on phonology and vocabulary, make of the introductory matter an almost complete study in itself. The work is a fitting recognition in English of Jakobsen's scholarly contributions to the study of the Norse language in the British Isles. O. K. S.

Mr William A. Drake is a young journalist of New York whose work as the foreign editor of the *Herald Tribune's* literary supplement has led him to study contemporary literature on a broader scale than is possible for many writers. Therefore his book entitled *Contemporary European Writers* (London: Harrap. 1929. x + 408 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.) has a distinct and peculiar interest. None of his forty-one studies of modern continental authors is in the nature of the case very profound, for their average length is only a little over two thousand words and they are in the main concerned, not with one or two works but with many. On the other hand, few readers will not learn something from these surveys of Czech, Danish, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish authors, to say nothing of sketches like that of the modern Greek poet Kostes Palamas, and the Russian Jew Chaim Nachman Bialik, whose medium is Hebrew. Mr Drake shows a not unnatural tendency to quote the opinions of others, but his preface is so disarmingly modest that one is on the whole pleasantly surprised, in the studies themselves, by the maturity and restraint of his judgments. There are three bibliographies—of original works, translations into English and general references. It is a pity that it did not occur to the author to arrange these in alphabetical order.

E. A. P.

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BERNARD OF MORVAL (CLUNY), De Contemptu Mundi, re-edited by H. C. Hoskier. London, B. Quaritch. 12*s*. 6*d*.

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BOCCACCIO, G., The Filostrato. Transl. by N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick. Philadelphia, Pa., Univ. of Pennsylvania Press; London, H. Milford. 25*s*.

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THE RÔLES OF WILLIAM KEMP

MERE curiosity may be pardoned when it touches such a subject as the original casting of the plays of Shakespeare; and it becomes a matter of real consequence when the relation of the composition of the dramas to the special qualifications of the actors comes into consideration. Professor T. W. Baldwin has offered an interesting series of conjectures regarding the distribution of parts in the Shakespearean company, based chiefly on the Beaumont and Fletcher actor lists, and has furnished us at least with a convenient point of departure[1]. He acknowledges, of course, the conjectural nature of the subject, and asks that others add their conjectures to his until 'we may eventually arrive at a consensus of opinion.' Though I shall argue, as he does, from the known rôles of an actor to those that may most reasonably be assigned to him, I must bring forward at the start an objection that strikes at the premises which we both accept and from which we draw quite contrary conclusions.

It is true, as Mr Baldwin says, that a manager of to-day is not limited to a particular company in assigning the leading rôles of a new play; but with a travelling or stock company of to-day conditions would be similar to those in the Shakespearean company, and we should expect that each actor would follow a particular 'line.' Looking through my old theatre programmes, however, I find that the Fool in *Lear* acted Edgar at another performance though the personnel of the company was not changed, and that there is scarcely an instance of any actor keeping within the range of parts that Mr Baldwin or I would have picked out for him. The First Gravedigger in the Stratford company doubled with the serious Marcellus and played Shallow in 2 *Henry IV*, while Polonius was Bardolph, Laertes the Lord Chief Justice, and the Ghost was Falstaff! The man in Mr Hampden's company whose 'line' seemed to be clearly marked through Gratiano, Grumio, and the Porter in *Macbeth*, was King Claudius in *Hamlet*, while King Duncan was the First Gravedigger. In this case the First Gravedigger doubled with Polonius, which the leading comedian has done in other companies as well. In the old Daly company in New York, fat Falstaff was gaunt Malvolio, melancholy Jaques, whip-cracking Petruchio, and long-suffering Antonio; while Ancient Pistol was Sebastian, Touchstone, Hortensio, and Shylock. Could any conceivable casting have less regard for Mr Baldwin's feelings?

[1] *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, 1927.

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I can see no sufficient reason to believe that the members of the Shakespearean company were more narrow in their range than are actors in this later age of specialisation[1].

To contribute what I may to the 'consensus of opinion,' and to offer a suggestion regarding the 'bad' quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I wish to consider the known and the probable rôles of the principal comedian of the company. Mr Baldwin follows the usual opinion in giving William Kemp the low comedy parts, such as Costard in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The high comedy line, Armado in this play, he assigns to Thomas Pope. Yet he quotes from Samuel Rowland's *Letting of Humours Blood in the Headvaine* (1600):

> Are Ploughmen simple fellowes now adayes?
> Not so, my Maisters: What meanes *Singer* then?
> And *Pope* the Clowne, to speake so Boorish, when
> They counterfaite the Clownes vpon the Stage?

It would seem from this that it was Pope and not Kemp who was the country bumpkin type of clown, and who spoke 'so Boorish' when he appeared in parts like Costard. Kemp had begun with such 'merriments' as are featured on the title-page of *A Knack to Know a Knave*, a drama which contains very scanty opportunity for a comedian so far as the dialogue is concerned. Here, as in his famous jigs, Kemp must have depended largely, I suppose, on his ability to improvise and amuse the audience with by-play. We know that one of his tricks was to take off his slipper and throw it at some other actor. From such behaviour Kemp might win his reputation as a clown, but would scarcely come to be coupled with Burbadge as he is in *The Return from Parnassus*. Before he came to act Dogberry, which is certainly not a low comedy rôle, Kemp must have shown his ability to do other things than throw slippers about the stage. He was, in fact, the outstanding comedian as Burbadge was the outstanding tragedian of the Shakespearean company; or perhaps it would be closer to theatrical conventions to say that Kemp was the leading character actor and Burbadge the 'straight lead.' When Shakespeare was writing for a company which contained Burbadge and Kemp, it is natural to suppose that one or the other, and both if possible, would be given parts worthy of their genius, and that the latter would find ample opportunity within the play and not be compelled to 'score'

[1] Accepting Mr Baldwin's thesis, we have still room for much difference of opinion. A clear line is indicated in the sequence of Laertes, Edgar, and Macduff. Mr Baldwin in assigning this line to William Sly substitutes Edmund for Edgar. The kinship of Edmund to Iago has long been noticed; to be consistent, Mr Baldwin should have given these two parts to the same actor and put Sly down for Edgar.

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by introducing antics or cheap jests of his own. We know from *Hamlet* what Shakespeare thought about this matter.

Kemp's opportunity must have been extraneous to the dialogue, however, if he made much of the part of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*. It may be that the occurrence of the name of the actor instead of the character in the Second Quarto indicates the first attempt that was made to find a part for the man who was most in need of one, when the play was produced in its final form; for the tragedy contained in the Nurse's part about as much comedy as it could stand. Peter, so far as he is characterised at all, is something of a swaggerer; he is not a gull, nor boorish speaking. He clowned it in the scene with the musicians, and he had opportunity for mimicry and by-play when he attended the Nurse.

In the *Shrew* we are aware of Shakespeare's interest and pleasure throughout the Induction and the taming scenes; the rest he wrote, if he wrote it at all, most perfunctorily. If Burbadge was Petruchio—the natural supposition—then Christopher Sly would 'surely' be Kemp's part, as anyone may see by witnessing the play; and if he was taken out of the gallery after the first scene, it might have been to prevent Kemp's attempting to 'star' and distract the audience with his customary tricks. In revising this play Shakespeare arrived at a result which is curiously similar to that presented in *Much Ado About Nothing* the following year: in each there is a distinctive character comedy rôle, a high comedy subplot in which a pair of dissonant lovers become adjusted, and an enclosing plot centring about a milder and less interesting heroine. I see no need of avoiding the conclusion that Shakespeare put his best efforts upon the rôles he was providing for Kemp, Burbadge, and the talented boy who was taller than his young companion.

It seems to me beyond the realm of possibility that any prompter or stage director substituted the names of Kemp and Cowley for Dogberry and Verges throughout an entire scene, and especially when it is the third of the four scenes in which they appear. What this interesting peculiarity of the text does imply is that Shakespeare first conceived of these two characters as parts for the two actors who were to impersonate them, and that the crucial scene of the conduct of the trial was the first of their scenes which he composed. Especially the man who was to insist upon being written down an ass must have come vividly to his imagination, but not yet suited with a name. After a momentary hesitation with 'Keeper' and the unsatisfactory 'Andrew,' I take it that Shakespeare frankly contented himself with the names of the actors he

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had in mind for the parts, and that it was not until he was writing another scene which he planned as preparatory to this one, that he hit upon the names that satisfied him. If this is true, it shows that Shakespeare wrote his plays as plays are written—not straight along from the first 'Enter' to the final 'Exeunt,' but by the building up and amplification of his scenario[1].

If, as I now believe, *Much Ado* was the revised *Love's Labour's Won*[2], or a revised play at all, the composition of the Dogberry scenes would indicate Shakespeare's effort in 1598 to create suitable parts for Kemp and Cowley; and it would date for us a particular period in which Shakespeare invented a character part with Kemp so much in mind that he used his very name for the moment. The superiority of the Benedick-Beatrice scenes might indicate that in this revision, as in the *Shrew*, Shakespeare's interest centred also upon the parts which were to be played by Burbadge and the principal boy actor. This lends force to the contention that *Love's Labour's Lost* was also revised at this time, and that the purpose of the revision was again to supply these three actors with parts that were well suited to them. In a previous study of the play[3] I maintained that Holofernes and Nathaniel were added outright in the revision, while the part of Biron was expanded and enriched. I cannot here repeat my arguments, but I find now an added reason for my belief. Mr Baldwin thinks that the part of Biron was revised for Burbadge, and also that Shakespeare 'vamped in or much enlarged the part of Holofernes for the 1598 revival.' Mr Pollard has shown that the title-page of the First Quarto may refer not to an earlier version but to a lost 'bad' quarto; but even if so (and Mr Pollard does not contend that it is necessarily so), the evidence of revision in the play itself seems to me beyond question. If the reference is to a printed text, a good quarto of an earlier version is as possible as a bad quarto. (One wonders

[1] This uncorrected feature in the text shows how slavishly both the Quarto and the Folio printers followed copy, and it proves, I think, conclusively that the Quarto was set from the author's manuscript. It is customary to explain 'Keeper' as the printer's guess in filling out 'Ke' which Shakespeare had written for 'Kemp,' and the suggestion has been made that 'Andrew' was for 'Merry andrew' or perhaps a filling out of 'An' which Shakespeare intended for 'Another.' I find no evidence that the Quarto printer did or would draw upon his imagination in this fashion. My suggestion, which of course is also merely a conjecture, is built upon the idea I have expressed above and renders these explanations unnecessary. 'Another' is not another but the same character as 'Keeper.'

[2] I have long been very sure that *All's Well* was not the revision of a companion piece to *Love's Labour's Lost*. I once offered a tentative suggestion that *Twelfth Night* was a more likely guess, on account of its similarity in plot and incidents to the plays of Shakespeare's first period, together with some slight evidence of revision; but I now withdraw that suggestion.

[3] *The Original Version of Love's Labour's Lost, with a Conjecture as to Love's Labour's Won*, Stanford, 1918.

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why a court play, and one so lacking in popular appeal, should be pirated.) I agree with Mr Baldwin that Burbadge was Biron; and I cannot avoid a very positive belief that the pair of actors who took the rôles of Dogberry and Verges also performed Holofernes and Nathaniel[1].

It is amazing that ten of Shakespeare's plays should have been crowded into the three years 1597–9. The marvel is to be accounted for by the fact that nearly all (if not quite all) were revisions or afterwards revised[2]. The three revised comedies of 1597–8 (if I am right about it) had parts which were especially prepared for Kemp and Burbadge; the question naturally arises, Was the same thing true of *Henry IV*? I agree perfectly with Mr Baldwin that England's ideal monarch, both as the graceless Prince and as the gracious King, was to be represented by Burbadge; but it seems to me equally probable that the greatest comedy rôle in all drama was intended for the outstanding comedian of the company. The large proportion of space given to the Prince and Falstaff scenes may have been due to some extent to the essential fact that Burbadge and Kemp were there, and that the more the audience saw of these two prime actors, especially in scenes where they played into each other's hands, the greater would be the triumph of the play. With

[1] I do not see that the actors of Dogberry and Verges would be the two Gravediggers in *Hamlet*, as is also contended by Mr Austin K. Gray (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. America*, September, 1927). The two Gravediggers, he thinks, are the last of a long series of clowns in which one is always the leader. If we did not happen to know about Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*, Mr Gray would have put Kemp and Cowley down for Gregory and Sampson. The natural part in *Hamlet* to give the impersonator of Dogberry would be Polonius. (As I noted above, this part may be doubled with the First Gravedigger.) If Kemp was Corambus in Shakespeare's first version of *Hamlet*, the renaming of that character after Kemp left the company might be explained. Theatrical history contains many instances of the popular association of a stage character with the actor of the part. It might be a desirable thing to get away from in a new version of the drama. (The only other change of name, Reynaldo to the more familiar Montano, was due, I think, to the pirate-thief.) One of the indications that *Hamlet* was on the stage by 1599 is the direct echo from it in *Kemp's Nine Days Wonder*. A landlord who has put on his good clothes to welcome the famous dancer appears 'armed at all points from the cap to the foot.' When Horatio says, 'Armed at points exactly, cap-a-pe,' he would be likely to make an illustrative gesture; and it was thus, I suppose, that 'cap-a-pe' became 'from the *cap* to the foot.'

[2] I hope at some future time to offer reasons for believing that Shakespeare at the beginning of his career may have written the play in which Tarlton acted, and that *The Famous Victories of Henry Fifth* was the worst of all the 'bad' Shakespearean quartos. If *A Shrew* was also a 'bad' quarto, as Mr Alexander has given some reasons (though not wholly convincing ones) for believing, it might have been the work of the same pirate. Mr Dugdale Sykes has pointed out a number of interesting similarities between *A Shrew* and *The Famous Victories*. In his Introduction to Mr Alexander's *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III* (1929), Mr Pollard suggests that Shakespeare may have been first associated with the Queen's men, which would be in accord with his having written the original *Henry V* drama. It is with much satisfaction that I find Mr Pollard and Mr Alexander both of the belief that Shakespeare more probably began with original plays than by revising the work of the outstanding dramatists of the time. For suggesting this in connexion with *Titus Andronicus* I was once severely taken to task (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1919). Mr Pollard believes, as I do, that *Titus* should be placed as early as possible, and that it must have been fundamentally of Shakespeare's composition.

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two such actors, and Shakespeare to provide them with scene upon scene of glorious foolery, what less than *Henry IV* could we expect?

But there is more than this generalisation to justify my conjecture. In the Epilogue to 2 *Henry IV*, as it has often been remarked, the author promises to 'continue the story, with Sir John in it.' Shakespeare has been praised for changing his mind and leaving Falstaff out of *Henry V*, on the ground that he would be an inappropriate figure in that drama. But *Henry V* was composed in the autumn of 1599, after Kemp had gone. When Shakespeare wrote his *Henry V* there was no William Kemp in the company, and so there was no Falstaff in the play.

We are all agreed that the out-and-out clowns, Touchstone and Feste, mark the entrance into the company of Kemp's successor, Robert Armin. I have tried to show that while Kemp was long remembered for his clownery, he was acting a pure comedy part in 1598, and that we should think of him primarily as a comedy 'character actor.' We should realise also, I think, that we have taken Falstaff into our hearts and resent his 'rejection' by his former boon companion, the new king, but that the Elizabethan audience probably roared with joy at the dashing of his great expectations; that it is not only in the *Merry Wives* that Falstaff is laughed at and made for the moment ridiculous: witness the robbery scene with his 'exit roaring.' Surely neither Shakespeare's contemporaries nor Shakespeare himself can justly be supposed to have found any impropriety in Kemp's acting the part of Falstaff; and for the Chamberlain's men to have put some lesser actor in the part would at least have been bad business[1].

On February 21, 1599, Kemp with his fellow-sharers of the Chamberlain's company had signed the lease for the Globe theatre. Almost exactly a year later, February 11, 1600, he undertook his famous dance from London to Norwich which, with the aid of some literary friend, he recorded in *Kemp's Nine Days Wonder*. Within this year he had left the company, sold out his interests, and become the subject of widespread criticism. It seems probable that there was some quarrel which occasioned his departure; he was in excellent health, for his strenuous dance required tremendous vitality and vigour; he did not leave to join a rival company, and only after an extended trip abroad allied himself with Worcester's men; he had not grown affluent enough to retire, for he was much concerned with getting money out of his dance and after his

[1] I can see no warrant in the *Parnassus* passage for the assumption that Kemp was Shallow; and there is no foundation known for the improbable tradition that Heminges was the original Falstaff.

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return he was forced to borrow money from Henslowe. In *The Return from Parnassus* (1601) he is represented as associated with Burbadge and speaking well of Shakespeare. This is direct evidence against the hypothesis that I am now going to propose; and hence it must be carefully weighed, since what we want is the truth about Shakespeare and not anybody's arrangement of one set of the facts to establish his particular views. If the evidence on the other side is sufficient, we must suppose that the Cambridge author disregarded some facts in order to have Kemp and Burbadge come on together in his drama, or else that he was not so intimately familiar with theatrical affairs in London as he is usually accredited with being.

If Kemp was capable of the high comedy of *Henry IV* he was certainly capable of the low comedy of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In his admirable edition of the 'bad' Quarto of that play Dr W. W. Greg suggested that the actor who took the part of the Merry Host of the Garter might have been the 'pirate-thief,' since the part of the Host and the scenes in which he appears are well reported while some of the other scenes are the merest abstract of Shakespeare with some of his phrases sprinkled through them. But the part of Falstaff is also well reported, and Falstaff scenes in which the Host does not appear approach the text in the same way that the Host scenes do. It seems impossible really to account for the Quarto text except by the collusion of the actors of Falstaff and the Host. The star part of the piece would of course be taken by one of the leading members of the company. Obviously Falstaff, if the actor of the part was a traitor, could not have been played by any sharer in the company unless it was William Kemp.

It does not follow that Kemp, if he was indeed Falstaff and the principal thief, betrayed his fellows while still a member of the company. It might be, as some have thought, that he took umbrage at Shakespeare's allusion to the Fool's behaviour in Hamlet's advice to the Players; or it might have been from some other real or fancied insult, while the *Merry Wives* was in mid-rehearsal, that the temperamental actor threw down his part and raged out of the company altogether. A quarrel bitter enough to make him throw up his position, sell out his share, and turn himself loose upon the world with nothing else before him would doubtless fill his soul with spite. A man blind with rage and seeking revenge might easily be led to do his former comrades the greatest injury in his power.

While the *Merry Wives* was in mid-rehearsal, I said; for the evidence of the Quarto text is that while the play had been rehearsed throughout

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once or twice the cast had been coached only as far as Act III, Sc. ii, and the actor of Falstaff had only partially committed his part to memory. The Host, too, is inadequately reported in the latter part of the play. As Dr Greg suggests, the last Act might have been subsequently re-written. Or it might be that the Host actor, already at work on his theft, was discovered and discharged. Or he might have been Kemp's apprentice and gone with him, for I shall show that the part was taken by a youth. Or Kemp in his haste to get the patched-up version as quickly as possible into the hands of the rival company, may not have waited for the Shakespearean production, which would be delayed somewhat by his withdrawal. These guesses mean only that there are plenty of ways by which the collapse of the last Act in the Quarto text might be accounted for; but there is only one way among those yet suggested by which the disparity between the Host and Falstaff scenes and the rest of the play as given in the Quarto can be explained.

The argument for Falstaff in addition to the Host is not in my say-so but in the text itself. Anyone may see that the moment either Falstaff or the Host enters we have a text that approximates Shakespeare's, and the moment they have both disappeared we have only somebody's write-up of material with which he was not intimately familiar. Of course Dr Greg noticed that some of the Falstaff scenes are even better than some of the Host scenes. But the idea that the actor of the chief rôle could be a pirate-thief is preposterous—unless one happens to put together these facts about Kemp. So Dr Greg suggested that the pirate would naturally give especial attention to the star part. The *Hamlet* pirate did not do so; Hamlet himself is as badly reported as any other character when the Marcellus actor is not on the stage. But the Host was a different man, and all thieves are not alike. The real difficulty with Dr Greg's suggestion is that it is not only Falstaff but the Falstaff scenes that show the reporter at hand; and the Host could not have learned so long a rôle from merely hearing it recited, even if he had been on the stage in all these scenes, which of course he was not. A last straw to clutch at would be the possibility that the Host was Falstaff's understudy. But there are objections to this also. The understudy system is an outgrowth of the long-run system; the Chamberlain's men would simply advertise their other plays until matters could be adjusted. And if a part like Falstaff were to be given to another man, even for an emergency, it would certainly not be to the young hireling or apprentice whom I shall introduce later.

This, then, is my major premise: the *Merry Wives* Quarto can only

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be explained as based on copy provided by the actors of Falstaff and the Host. The detailed argument for the pirating of the Quarto has been given by Dr Greg; I merely add Falstaff to the Host as supplementing his discovery. Until some satisfactory alternative to his solution of the problem is proposed (and the two or three that have been suggested are too obviously inadequate to need rebuttal), the burden of proof rests with the opposition. No one will dispute my minor premise: that Kemp was the only member of the company who could have acted Falstaff if the actor of Falstaff turned against his fellows. And if these two premises are granted, of course the conclusion is inevitable.

I am aware that so disconcerting a theory as this will encounter an instinctive opposition. In working on the problem I have felt it myself. The cause of this reaction, so far as I can analyse it, lies in the unfamiliar adjustment of familiar facts. It is not as if some new evidence had been discovered in a buried manuscript. We had Kemp comfortably placed as a clown—Dekker and Heywood had referred to him as one of the great clowns of the past—and it is not easy to adjust our minds to the idea that if Kemp's contemporaries thought of Dogberry as a clown, it is as a super-clown that they would have thought of Falstaff. A second reason for retaining a doubt of the theory I have suggested is perhaps that there seems something specious in its very plausibility,—in the too perfect way in which it works out. Is it not after all merely theoretical? Would there not be some trace in the literature of the period of the commotion that Kemp's theft would surely have caused? It does not necessarily follow. It is only upon internal evidence that we depend regarding the other pirated quartos. But it may be that there is indeed a reference or two to support the contention I have made.

Kemp's dedication of his *Nine Days Wonder* is to Anne Fitton, whom he calls, mistakenly, 'Maid of Honour to the most sacred Maid, Royal Queen Elizabeth.' (She was the sister of Mary Fitton, the Maid of Honour, whom some suppose to be the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets.) From this dedication I now quote:

> Honorable Mistress, in the wain of my little wit I am forced to desire your protection, else every Ballad-singer will proclaim me bankrupt of honesty.... Some swear, in a trenchmore I have trod a good way to win the world; others that guess righter affirm I have without good help danced myself out of the world.

'To win the world.' Was this the reason for Kemp's spectacular gesture? He takes great satisfaction in the crowds that would gather at every town to watch him come in and to see him start out again, often following him for a long distance along the road. This pride in his 'gallery'

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(if I may borrow the golf term) is easily understood. The actor-author takes a very moral tone throughout, recording his refusals to drink and disclaiming his acquaintance with some sneak-thieves who followed him. Before starting he made bets, the odds being three to one against him, that he would successfully complete his dance to Norwich. In conclusion he says: 'Let no man believe, however, before by lying ballads and rumors they have been abused, that either ways were laid open for me, or that I delivered gifts to her Majesty.' Sir Edmund Chambers suggests that by 'danced myself out of the world' Kemp 'is not improbably jesting on his departure from the Globe.' Is there not here another possible reference to the difficulties in which he found himself involved? What gifts could an actor deliver to a queen for which he would be subjected to bitter raillery and censure?

That the Quarto of the *Merry Wives* is a pirated text is not in dispute; and there is some reason to suppose that it was acted by the Children of the Queen's Chapel. The play was an ideal one for a children's company, not so much from its popular appeal and rough-and-tumble action as because of the costuming of the fairies, their dancing and their songs. Those who have given attention to the plays written for the children have noticed that the songs are a conspicuous feature. The Quarto records two stage directions not in the Folio which arrange for singing—some indication, at least, that it was prepared for one of the children's companies. Friendly relations seem to have existed between the Chamberlain's company and Paul's boys; but we know that somewhat later the Chapel Children stole one of the Chamberlain's plays and that the latter acted Marston's *Malcontent* in reprisal. It is generally believed that Shakespeare was hitting at the Chapel children in the 'little eyases' passage in *Hamlet*[1]. The Queen's favouritism of the Chapel boys, whom she maintained and clothed at her own expense, leads Dr Wallace to say that 'the Blackfriars children were...Elizabeth's own company[2].' To deliver a valuable gift to the Children of the Queen's Chapel—considering the special relation that Elizabeth bore to them—was delivering it 'to her Majesty.' It was certainly an act which would subject him to bitter scorn if he committed it; and I can think of no

[1] *Ham.* Do the boys carry it away?
Ros. Ay, that they do, my lord; Hercules and his load too.
Shakespeare is supposed to mean that the boys had carried away the audiences that used to come to the Globe. The pun would have a tang to it indeed if what he referred to was the very property, the plays, which belonged to the Globe.

[2] *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, p. 96.

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other gift that Kemp could have made the Queen at all, or that would have brought him into obloquy if he had[1].

Kemp's account of his celebrated dance is on the face of it an answer to the ballads which ridiculed the dance and accused him of having cheated. The morris all the way from London to Norwich was so spectacular that it did indeed expose Kemp to laughter, and so much a wonder that it might well occasion incredulity. But a morris-dance could scarcely have caused the vicious criticism to which he was apparently subjected. Something he must have done to bring upon him the bitter enmity of his detractors. If my suggestion is true, the Chamberlain's men and their friends may have been hitting over Kemp's head at their powerful rivals, the Queen's Children.

Kemp was goaded nearly to distraction by the ballads which were written about him, and he added to the *Nine Days Wonder* a 'Humble Request' which, in contrast to the rest, seems to be his unaided composition. He addresses 'the impudent generation of ballad-makers and their coherents' as 'My notable Shakerags.' We remember how Greene had written 'Shake-scene' with an intent that, unfortunately for him, has never been mistaken. Kemp does not imply that Shakespeare himself was one of the ballad-writers, but his name for them does imply some association in his mind. This brief postscript tells of his search for the anonymous author who had 'thus terribly abused me.' In this search he encounters 'a proper upright youth, only for a little stooping in the shoulders, all heart to the heel, a penny poet, whose first making was the miserable stolen story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat.' Kemp does not even suspect this youth of attacking him, but he gives this description of him from a ballad-writer whom he does accuse:

> ...a hoddy-doddy, a hobble-de-hoy, a chicken, a squib, a squall, one that hath not wit enough to make a ballad, that, by Pol and Aedipol, would Pol his father, Derick his dad, do anything, how ill soever, to please his apeish humor. I hardly believed this youth that I took to be gracious had been so graceless; but I heard afterwards his mother-in-law was eye and ear witness of his father's abuse by this blessed child on a public stage, in a merry Host of an Inn's part.

The merry Host! There may have been other merry hosts in other plays, but no one can doubt that The Merry Host of an Inn, in a book published by Kemp in 1600, would definitely identify the young actor with his part in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Why should Kemp go out

[1] It might be suggested that 'delivered gifts to her Majesty' means 'gave bribes to the Queen's officers' (to back up Kemp's false pretence that he really danced the whole distance). But the overseer who went with him was in the employ of those who laid their wagers against him. Or it might be suggested that he caricatured the Queen or ridiculed her; but this would have brought him under the displeasure of the law and not of the anonymous ballad-writers.

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of his way to throw suspicion upon him? Perhaps because a man who is guilty of treason is usually ready to turn King's evidence. But Kemp in supplying us with another known rôle in a Shakespearean drama (though the name is not given) has included one item of information which is of considerable importance: the youth who enacted the Host in the *Merry Wives* was 'a penny poet.' A penny poet is exactly what we need to complete our knowledge of how the Quarto came into being. In the later acts an inferior poet has written the verse passages. Dr Greg is perfectly right in saying that some of this verse 'can only represent Shakespeare as re-written by some literary hack.' If he was poet enough to write this verse, the author of the ballad of Macdobeth was doubtless capable of supplying the dialogue throughout. It is possible that he might be identified by a careful comparison of his work with some of the later plays of the period.

Kemp's tone of injured innocence must have given point to one of the satirical ballads, 'The Knight of the Red Cross.' At the end of his 'Humble Request' Kemp refers to this ballad as written by a kinsman of 'Jansonius'—a kinsman of the same name. Dyce in his edition of *Kemp's Nine Days Wonder* suggests Richard Johnson, but that writer of historical ballads was not a satirist. I venture the hazardous guess that it might have been Ben Jonson. As in the contemporary plays that attacked Jonson, the red and ugly face is featured[1]; and, what is more to the point, the author is told to cease writing ballads and return to his old Muse, Melpomene. That Jonson had written tragedy before this time we know from Henslowe[2].

There are two plays written by Jonson in connexion with the War of the Theatres which may contain references to Kemp. In *Every Man out of His Humour* Carlo Buffone may perhaps be identified by his name, and by his saying 'Would I had one of Kemp's shoes to throw after you.' Puntarvolo in telling of a project to travel and put out money at odds

[1] 'He confesses himself guilty—let any man look on his face! If there be not so red a color that all the soap in the town will not wash white....'

[2] There is an obscure reference to 'blue Lady, and Prince of the Burning Crown,' which Collier (*Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays*) has confidently referred to Chettle's tragedy of *Hoffman*. But the *Nine Days Wonder* was entered on Stat. Register in April, 1600, and it was in December, 1602, that Henslowe paid Chettle 5*s*. on 'Howghman.' Before we allow this to settle the matter, however, we may ask if the 5*s*. was necessarily in earnest of a new play. Jonson had collaborated with Chettle on two plays for Henslowe, one of which was the tragedy of *Robert the Second, King of Scots*. In 1603 Jonson re-wrote *Sejanus*, and called attention to the fact that it was 'not the same with that which was acted on the public stage, wherein a second pen had good share.' It is at least thinkable that Chettle also reclaimed a tragedy which had been acted, and which was first written in collaboration with Jonson. A 'Prince of the Burning Crown' is certainly unusual. Whether *Hoffman* is referred to, or some play or ballad now lost or never written, it is only a 'Jansonius' that can claim the authorship.

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on his successful return says, 'Carlo, I am sure, has heard of it.' On Carlo's interjecting a foolish question he is greeted with, 'Away, you traitor, away![1]'

A Player in Jonson's *Poetaster* says, in connexion with a secret he is revealing: 'They directed a letter to me, and my fellow-sharers.' This directly identifies the Player with one of a very few men. Lupus tells him that 'the Emperor shall take knowledge of thy good service.' But Horace (Jonson himself) asks:

> Hadst thou no other project to increase
> Thy grace with Caesar but this wolfish train;
> To prey upon the life of innocent mirth
> And harmless pleasures bred of noble wit?

There is nothing in the drama which explains this innocent mirth bred of noble wit, so appropriate to the matter we have in mind. It need not be thought that Jonson would hesitate to repudiate the theft and to honour Shakespeare in a play given by the Chapel Children. The highly complimentary portrait of Virgil in this play must surely be meant for Shakespeare (as some critics have said), for Virgil's speeches are written in palpable imitation of Shakespeare's style. If the lines just quoted referred to Kemp, it is also in accordance with his delivering 'gifts to her Majesty' out of revenge on his former associates that Jonson continues:

> And under a disguised and cobweb mask
> Of love unto their sovereign, vomit forth
> Their own prodigious malice.

There is, then, some evidence that may be taken as testimony for the prosecution. I would not claim, however, that of itself it is at all sufficient to establish the case. Ambiguous references must always be capable of divergent explanations. My point is that if the bit of theatrical history I have chronicled would have occasioned other retorts than those in the now lost ballads, the appropriate references to it are not lacking.

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[1] Most critics have said that *E.M.O.* was probably written after Kemp left the company since his name is not in the actor list. The reference to 'one of Kemp's shoes' is proof of it. It is fairly clear that it must have followed the earlier version of *Hamlet*. 'My coat wants a cullisen' could not be taken from *E.M.O.*, since it is given as an instance of the Fools speaking 'more than is set down for them.'

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OBSERVATIONS ON POPE'S VERSIFICATION

[THE accompanying remarks on certain features of Pope's versification, in which the factor of varying speed is emphasised, were written nearly a year ago. I am now constrained to publish them because Miss Edith Sitwell's recent book on Pope, which all lovers of that poet must read with delight, also lays stress on *speed* in Pope's verse. I leave what I wrote unaltered, and I see no reason to depart from the view here expressed. Miss Sitwell and I approach the subject from rather different angles. I have, however, added some supplementary remarks on the functions of consonants in assisting, or retarding, the speed of a line.]

To suppose that the couplet of ten syllables, without enjambement, is necessarily monotonous, and that its rhythm is unvarying, is to mistake the character of this metre and to be deaf to its possibilities. Pope brought this kind of verse to a perfection which it had never attained before him, even at the master hand of Dryden, and which has never since been equalled except for a moment, occasionally, by those who have mastered and imitated Pope's technique. From this line he contrived to extract not only a marvellous fullness and richness of music, but one which he could vary from verse to verse, or from passage to passage, so that it could fitly express every emotion, and every mood.

Pope's craftsmanship would demand a special study, with copious illustration, and the most careful analysis. It may be possible, however, to indicate here without undue length the chief means by which the almost infinite variety of movement is obtained, the most salient characteristic of his peculiar harmonies.

In a letter to Walsh, on October 22, 1706 (*Letters*, I, pp. 56, etc., Elwin and Courthope), and again in a letter to Cromwell, November 25, 1710 (*Letters*, I, pp. 112, etc.), Pope sets forth 'certain niceties, which though not much observed, even by correct versifiers, I cannot but think deserve to be better regarded.'

I summarise those principles which affect the structure of verse.

(1) The poet should adapt the very sounds, as well as the words, to the things he treats of. That is, for instance, 'in describing a gliding stream, the numbers should run easy and flowing; in describing a rough torrent or deluge, sonorous and swelling, and so of the rest.'

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(2) In every smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at (i.e., after) the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable. Variety of versification depends upon the judicious change and management of this.

Pope's examples of the various pauses are:

At the fifth: *Where'er thy navy | spreads her canvas wings.*
At the fourth: *Homage to thee | and peace to all she brings.*
At the sixth: *Like tracks of leverets | in morning snow.*

(3) To preserve variety, and prevent monotony, the pause at the fourth or sixth syllable should not be continued for more than three consecutive lines; the pause at the fourth 'runs quicker, and carries not quite so dead a weight, so tires not so much though it be continued longer.'

But the position of the pause in the line is by no means the whole story. A ten-syllable line consists normally of five syllables with strong stress, and five with weak stress. The character of the line depends no less upon the arrangement of strong and weak syllables, than upon the position of the pause.

I. Here are some isolated lines, all of which have the pause after the fourth syllable, but which have quite different arrangements of stressed and unstressed or weak syllables.

Ánd snátch à gráce | beyònd the réach of Árt.
Próphet of plágues | for éver bòding íll,
Wóuld'st then the Gréeks | their láwful préy should yíeld.
Húrl'd héadlong dówn | from the ethéreal héight,
Thóu mùst nòt sléep | in dárkness and in déath.
My príváte lóss | let gráteful Gréece repáir.
Lóve, hópe, and jóy, | fàir pléasure's smìling tráin.
Béauty fràil flówer | that évery séason féars.
Blúshing in brìght | divérsities of dáy.
The gáze of fóols | and págeant of à dáy.

We must note that Pope so arranges his verse that the normal stress of common uttered speech is that required by the line.

It will be observed that in the above lines some of the syllables are marked with the grave accent ` which implies 'half-strong,' or 'half-weak,' a degree of stress which tells as strong when juxtaposed to a weak syllable, but as weak when juxtaposed to a strong one.

Thus, in *Lóve, hópe and jóy, fàir pléasure's smìling tráin*, the adjective *fair* is flanked by two strong syllables, and therefore tells as weak. It would alter the character of the line, as well as offend against English

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speech-habit, to pronounce this adjective as an absolutely weak syllable like *and* or the second syllables of *pleasure* and *smiling* in the same line. But the half-strong of *smìling* in the same line, being flanked by two weak syllables, functions as a strong. An adjective preceding a noun has normally less stress than the latter in a sentence. The adjective *frail* in *Beaúty fràil flówer* is distinctly stronger than the second syllable of *Beauty*, but also distinctly weaker than *flower*. This use of 'half-strongs' has an important bearing on the speed of a phrase or line. Supposing that for the phrase just quoted we substitute *Beáuty the flówer*, we at once get a more rapid movement, comparable to that in *Próphet of plágues*, or *Blúshing in brìght*. Variety in pace or speed is, as we shall see, a vital feature of Pope's versification. The two half-lines just quoted are more rapid than *Beáuty fràil flówer* because they each have two perfectly weak syllables coming together, while this has the sequence weak, half-strong. On the other hand, this half-line is more rapid than *Lóve, hópe, and jóy*, or *Húrl'd héadlong dówn*, because these each have two consecutive strong syllables, only one weak, and then another strong.

II. Let us now take a few separate lines where the pause comes after the fifth syllable.

To Tróy's pròud mónarch | and the fríends of Tróy.
Do yóu yòung wárriors | héar my áge advíse.
Ó'er the wìld márgin | of the déep he húng.
Jóve to his stárry | mánsion in the skíes.
Róll thròugh a thóusand | chánnels to the máin.
Where géntle Xánthus | rólls her éasy tíde
Nor Phóenix dáughter | beáutiful and yóung.
Práis'd, wépt, and hónoured | by the Múse he lóved.

The reader will observe that in several of the above lines, in both groups, three weak stresses come together, in II, either all in the second half of the line, as *beaútiful and yóung*, or with the first of the series occurring as the last syllable before the pause, and the two others immediately after it, as in *márgin of the déep*, in the third of the lines quoted in II. The effect of this arrangement is to give great rapidity, lightness and grace to the line, and often to introduce variety of movement into the single line itself. Thus, in the first half of the line *Ó'er the wìld márgin of the déep he húng*, we get a slow, weighty opening—strong, weak, half-strong, strong, followed by a scurry of three weak syllables which begins just before, or, here, may be considered as almost doing away with, the

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pause. Contrast with this line *Where géntle Xánthus rólls her éasy tide*, where the regular alternation of weak and strong produces a slow, unhurried movement. Slower still is the first half of the line *Práis'd, wépt and hónoured | by the Múse he lóved.* Here we have two strong stresses in consecutive syllables, followed by a weak, and then another strong. The line has next three weak syllables in succession which gives a moment's speed, and then a slowing down produced by two strong, weighty stresses separated by one weak. In lines of type I we often get the great lightness and rapidity due to three consecutive weak stresses in the second half-verse, after a weighty opening of the line, as in:

Blúshing in brìght | divérsities of dáy.
Thóu mùst nòt sléep | in dárkness and in déath.
The gáze of fóols | and págeant of a dáy.

III. Verses where the pause comes after the sixth syllable are more sparingly used by Pope than either of the other types, though a fairly large number can be found scattered through the thousands of lines which he wrote. Lines of this class, when slow in movement, serve as an impressive opening for a solemn passage, as *Státesman, yet friend to trúth | of sóul sincére*, the first line of the *Epitaph on Craggs*; or this from the *Iliad*, Bk. VIII: *Ò dáughter of thàt gód | whòse árm can wield*; or this from the invocation of Bolingbroke at the end of the *Essay on Man*: *When státesmen, héroes, kings | in dust repóse.* A rather more rapid line of this type occurs in the preceding couplet of the same passage: *Sáy, shall mỳ lìttle bárk | atténdant sáil*, where the greater lightness is obtained by juxtaposing weak, half-strong, *Sáy shall mỳ*, where some might prefer to make *my* wholly weak, though not, I believe, rightly. This line begins a rhetorical question following, and arising out of, a passage which sets forth the varying offices of 'the Muse' and enumerates the benefits derived by the poet from the 'converse' of Bolingbroke. This comes immediately before the slow, solemn couplet, the first line of which (*When Statesmen*, etc.) was quoted above.

This type of line seems often to have the specific function of introducing a sudden change of key, or a different mood or subject. Otherwise it merely serves to vary the movement in a series of lines. It is used with wonderful effect in the matchless couplet from *Eloisa*, in which the first line has the pause at the fourth syllable:

If éver chánce | twò wànd'ring lóvers bríngs
To Páraclete's whìte wálls | and sílver sprìngs.

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The first half of the second line opens with slightly increased speed after the slow deliberation of the first line, but the pace slows down again with a half-strong followed by a strong, *white wálls*, and the reduced speed is maintained in the second half of the line.

Lines of the kind we are considering, in contrast to those just quoted, often have the rapidity imparted by a series of consecutive weak or only half-strong syllables:

> And léft him sórrowing òn the lónely cóast,

where three such, followed by a half-strong, occur:

> Or whére fàir Íthaca | o'erlóoks the flóods.
> O dáughter of thàt gód | whòse árm can wield.
> Celéstial pánoply | to gráce a gód.
> Incéssant cátaracts | the Thúnd'rer póurs.

It will be obvious from the above illustrations that the place of the pause is merely one of the factors determining the character of a verse, and that, within each of Pope's three types distinguished in this way, a vast amount of further variety exists, produced by differences in the grouping of strong and weak stresses within the framework of the line. I have also pointed out the further variety of metrical effect secured by the use of half-strong stress in place either of full strong, or full weak.

I take the great characteristic of Pope's verse to be its variations in speed, from the slowest, most emphatic, up to the highest degree of rapidity and lightness. These contrasts often appear within the compass of a single line.

Lastly, many lines have not got the full complement of five strong, or even half-strong, stresses at all, one or more of these being made up for, in a rapid line, by the heaping up of a series of consecutive weak syllables.

There are many points which I have not space to deal with here, such as the difficulty of assigning the place of the pause (within the limits stated by Pope himself) in some lines, e.g., *Suppliant the venerable father stands; Disconsolate not daring to complain*, and many others.

Neither is there room to dilate on Pope's mastery in the placing of vowel sounds. Only one couplet can be quoted to illustrate this:

> If ever chance two wand'ring lovers brings
> To Paraclete's white walls and silver springs.

Let the reader isolate the vowel sounds here, and he will find no less than eleven distinct simple vowel sounds and a diphthong. He should note the effect of the clear sound of water suggested by the vowel in *brings*, repeated in *silver*, and echoed in the rhyming word *springs*.

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No, whatever else may be said of Pope's couplets, not monotony, but infinite variety and movement, is their shining quality. There was a longish line of considerable poets who practised the 'stopped' couplet before Pope, and he easily transcends them all. Cowley's verses of this kind are frankly intolerable—clumsy, uneasy, ill-moving and monotonous, disfigured by unnatural word-order, and by flatness of diction, and often requiring the expletives *does*, *did*, etc., to fill up the line. 'If Cowley had sometimes a finished line,' says Johnson, 'he had it by chance.' Waller, by far the greatest practitioner before Dryden, often achieves a really splendid line, but he cannot escape the charge of sameness in the movement of his couplets. Nor has he always avoided a choppy effect, never found in Pope, by which a couplet is felt as an isolated ejaculation, and not as part of a flowing sequence of thought, whose meaning and music develop together to a climax. Denham, in spite of his spirit and vigour, has little grace or variety. I cannot find that he wrote any other lines as good as those—the only ones—commonly quoted, from *Cooper's Hill*. Dryden is so virile and various a genius, so all-accomplished an artist in verse, that one must be wary and diffident in withholding from him the acknowledgment of perfection in every form of metrical composition which he undertook. He wrote thousands of couplets, and his translation of Virgil in this metre remains the noblest in the language. His verses in this work are easy, majestic, splendid; the movement is more varied than in the work of any of his predecessors. The diction is rich and lofty. In what then are the couplets of Dryden surpassed by those of Pope? The answer, I think, is: in lightness, grace, swiftness, flexibility and elasticity. No poet before him had obtained so varied a music from the stopped couplet, but his was not the last word.

And now we come to the altogether slighter figure of Addison. To him the more massive structures, and deeper notes, of Dryden were perhaps impossible, but his contribution to the perfecting of the couplet cannot be overlooked. He gave it just that touch of grace and swiftness which Dryden lacked. Pope, whose chief master was unquestionably Dryden, owed to his older contemporary and rival the model for his lighter movements. In his *Account of the Greatest English Poets*, written in 1694, Addison has some very silly and ignorant remarks upon Chaucer and Spenser. His account of the latter is superficial and entirely preposterous, but he strikes, I believe, a new note in metrical effect in the second line of this couplet:

> But whèn we lóok tòo néar, the shádes decáy,
> And áll the plèasing lándskip fádes awáy.

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Here the pause seems to be altogether eliminated. Pope seized on this, and reproduced its music, with variations, more than once, as for instance in the line in the *Essay on Criticism*: *And all the bright creation fades away.* This line is nobler and more weighty than Addison's in the opening notes, and the combination *bright creation* may be thought superior in the verse to *pleasing landskip*, but there is no mistaking the model.

Pope was master of all the harmonies found in all his predecessors. He could adapt his diction and his music to every mood, and to every thought and emotion. The melody and movement of his verse changed from line to line, from couplet to couplet. His management of vowel sounds is such that these are now richly various, now repeated in suggestive echo, while he so uses his consonants as to avoid those harsh combinations that hold up the easy flow of the phrase, and at times employs just that degree of alliteration which gives force and stability to a line or phrase.

Supplementary remarks: Consonants and the Speed of a Line

The question how far certain consonants when they occur in a line tend to increase or retard its general speed is raised by Miss Sitwell. This is a matter of general importance and deserves investigation. Owing to a certain vagueness and lack of definiteness in her phonetic terminology, I am by no means clear which consonants or classes of consonants Miss Sitwell claims as tending to slow a line down, or on what grounds the claim is made.

Phonetics has an ugly sound in connexion with poetry, yet some of the problems of versification, including that which I am now considering, would seem to be very closely related to the movements and positions of the vocal organs in the utterance of speech sounds. It is no doubt from a fear lest a knowledge of such a soulless subject as phonetics should dull those finer sensibilities demanded in judging the niceties of verse, that so many of those deeply concerned with this have thought it wiser to remain quite innocent of any knowledge how speech sounds are formed, of what constitutes a long, and what a double consonant, and so on.

In the following brief enquiry I have ventured to apply practical phonetics where I judged it to be necessary. By practical phonetics I mean that body of linguistic facts of sound and muscular sensation which can be perceived and tested by a well trained ear and vocal organs. Such an equipment should suffice for our purpose. The elaborate machinery of the experimental, and the mathematical calculations of the physical

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phonetician are not, I believe, usually at the service either of the poet or his readers.

While the absolute duration of each consonant, normally uttered, can be ascertained only by means of nicely graduated instruments of measurement, it should be possible without these means to arrive at some conclusions on the matter sufficiently accurate for those of us who are not mathematicians, or physicists, but readers of poetry, 'contented if we may enjoy the things which others understand.'

So far as muscular sensation and the ear can detect, it appears very doubtful whether there is a necessary and inherent difference between different classes of consonants in point of duration—eliminating, of course, a deliberate dwelling on this or that sound—whereby, when they occur, a perceptible effect is caused on the speed of utterance in words or lines. Is there, for instance, any such difference between the voiced *b*, *d*, *g*, '*th*' (in *this*), *z*, etc., and the corresponding voiceless *p*, *t*, *k*, '*th*' (in *think*), *s*, and so on? It were further desirable to be informed whether such distinction exists between the *open* consonants (or *spirants*) such as *s*, *z*, *v*, *f*, '*sh*', etc., and the *stops* such as *d*, *t*, *k*, *g*, *b*, etc., or again between nasal consonants like *n*, *m*, '*ng*,' and the non-nasals *d*, *b*, *g*.

Theoretically, we might expect that '*sh*' would take slightly longer than *s* to articulate, because in the former a larger area of the tongue is involved than in the latter, and one might suppose that it would take slightly longer to 'disengage,' and move on to the following sound. In practice, I find I can articulate one sound as rapidly as the other.

As regards the other consonants cited, I know of no theoretical reason even for believing such necessary and inherent distinctions to exist between them, nor can I detect any either by ear, or by muscular sensation. We may at any rate assert with confidence that even if these differences in duration really did exist, they could not affect the speed of a line in which the consonants occur initially before strongly stressed syllables, since the speed depends not at all on such syllables, but on the 'lighter,' unstressed syllables which are contrasted with them. Thus in *The gáze of fóols, and págeant of a dáy* the speed of the latter half of the line cannot be affected by the *p* of *pageant* which occurs before the rush begins, nor by the *d* of *day* which does not occur till it is over. Nor again in *Róse from the flóod the dáughter of the séa* can the *d* or the *s* in the last half of the line affect its swiftness.

The nature of the consonants which intervene between unstressed syllables, or between an unstressed syllable and one bearing strong stress,

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is another matter. We may, I think, even without apparatus, arrive at the principles that one *single, simple, short* consonant is the same as another in its effect on speed, but that a lengthened consonant, and certain combinations of disparate consonants (though not all), coming in the positions just specified, *do* retard the movement.

In *Fròm thĕ fàir héad fŏrévĕr ănd fŏrévĕr* the swiftness of the second half of the line is certainly not impaired by the consonants, especially if, as in natural, rapid pronunciation, we do not pronounce the *d* in *and*. If we do, the combination *-nd f-* will hold up the movement slightly.

In *Thĕ sóbĕr fólliĕs ŏf thĕ wise ănd gréat* the combination *-f th-* (two voiced open consonants) delay the rush of the three weak syllables more than if we pronounce *o'the* as Pope may well have done. There is no such slight hold-up in *Mў nátivĕ sóil ĭs Íthăcă thĕ fáir*, where the intervening consonants are single, '*th*,' *c* (=*k*), and voiced '*th*.' In *Ănd gáve thĕ gáles tŏ wáft mĕ ŏn thĕ wáy* we have as a very solid jumping-off ground, *waft*, with a long and sonorous vowel, followed by *ft*, and further retarded by the *m* of the next word. But when once the scurry begins, with *me*, the only hold up, and a very slight one at that, is the combination *n* and '*th*.' Here the glide from *n* to '*th*' is almost negligible, since both sounds are formed with the point of the tongue, and '*th*' requires only the slightest shift forward of this organ from the *n*-position.

An absolutely unchecked rush of three weak syllables is seen, or rather heard, in the ending of *Lìke dĭstănt clóuds thĕ mărĭnĕr dĕscríes*, where I confess that I cannot discover any difference in rapidity between the second vowel of *mariner* flanked by *r* and *n*, the third syllable of this word flanked by *n* and *d*, and the first vowel of *descries* flanked here by the murmur vowel '*er*' and *d*. The weak syllables are (*már*)*ĭnĕr dĕ-*, *sc-* belonging to the final syllable of the line. Is there any discernible difference in the speed of the unstressed syllables in the three last words of the line *Nòr féars tŏ téll thăt Mórtĭmĕr ĭs hé*? I think not. Take the end of *Thóu mùst nŏt sléep ĭn dárknĕss ănd ĭn déath*. Here the intervening consonants between the weak syllables *s*, *nd*, *n* + *d* do not appear to me to affect the relative rapidity. In the line *Hosts raised by fear, and phantoms of a day* the verse down to the pause at *fear* is remarkably slow and deliberate, the stressing, I think, being strong, half-strong, weak, strong, the strongs and the half-strong all having diphthongs (in pronunciation), and further there are the consonant combinations *sts* + *r-*, *-d* + *b*. The only thing that may perhaps slightly delay the speed of the

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three weak syllables in the second half is *-ms*, but since *m* is a nasal formed with the lips its articulation is quite independent of that of *s* (*z*), which is made with the blade of the tongue. The tongue can take up the *s*-position before the *m* is dissolved, so that in passing from one to the other all that happens is the opening of the lips and the cessation of nasality. Considering this, and bearing in mind the extreme slowness and weight of the first half of the line which by contrast enhance the swiftness of the second half, the importance of the combination *-ms* in delaying the line is more apparent on paper than in actual utterance. The same argument applies to the combination *-s* + *b* in *by flátterers besieged*. The pure lip consonant *b* can be formed before the tongue is removed from the *s*-position. Again in *I lísped in númbers for the númbers cáme* the combination *-s* + *f*—*númbers for*—*f* being formed by the lower lip against the upper teeth—does not interfere with the articulation of *s* and can be formed while the tongue is still in the *s*-position. The conditions are different in such a line as *And stártled Náture trémbled with the blást*, where, unless we pronounce *wi'the*, we get what is sometimes loosely called a double, but is in reality a long, consonant—'*th*.' Similarly in *Thère cónscience sléeps* we have a weak syllable lengthened by *n* followed by a long *s* (*-ce* + *s*). In such cases there is an unmistakable slowing-down. In *Stónes leàped to fórm and rócks begàn to live* we have a whole slow line. The first half has only one weak syllable; the first word in the line is not only strongly stressed, but the vowel is long (really a diphthong) and is followed by two consonants of its own, + a third at the beginning of the next word; *leaped* (= leapt) has half-strong stress and the vowel is followed by *p* + *t* which, together with *t* of *to*, forms a long consonant; *form* has a long vowel and strong stress. The second half of the line owes its lack of rapidity to the combination of consonants in *rocks began*, and to the fact that *begàn to* has a half-strong stress between the two weak. Thus the movement of the line is held up in every possible way. I conclude this group of examples with two lines each of which has three consecutive weak syllables with nothing to hinder the speed: *Thére, pàinted válliès of étérnal gréen*; and *Gó, and preténd your fámily is yóung.*

The conclusion from this brief enquiry seems to be that no single, short consonant, whether voiced or voiceless, stop, open, or nasal, occurring between weak syllables, has more than any other the property of either helping or impairing the speed of a verse, or part of a verse. Further, there are even combinations of two consonants which do not perceptibly

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retard the movement of the verse because the movement of the speech organs in passing from one to the other is of such a character as to involve no interruption, break, or pause in the utterance.

What does hold up the rapid flow of a line is the occurrence (*a*) of long consonants; (*b*) of combinations of two consonants which involve a considerable shift of the tongue position in passing from one to the other (e.g., *t* or *s* to *g* or *k*); (*c*) any combinations of more than two consonants as *And wings of seraphs shed divine perfumes*, where we get the sounds *f*, *s* + '*sh*' juxtaposed.

I may insert here a curious example where the repetition of the same consonant in two consecutive unstressed syllables appears slightly to diminish the rapidity, though this may be a mere subjective impression.

The line is *How young Lutetia softer than the down*. The repetition in such a position of '*th*' gives a rather odd effect. Alliteration in unstressed syllables must be very rare, and I cannot put my hand on another instance for the moment.

I must deny myself here the pleasure of discussing several other very interesting points raised by Miss Sitwell, such as the effect of alliteration and rhyme on speed, and the secret of Pope's use of vowels, and pass in conclusion to touch briefly upon the doctrine of monosyllabic words.

Miss Sitwell asks, 'Is it really to be supposed that two words of one syllable each equal in speed one word of two syllables? The two-syllabled words, if unweighted by heavy consonants, move far more quickly.'

I am afraid this is an old fallacy putting its nose up. It is one that dies very hard. The fallacy is based on the belief that, just as on the printed or written page, words are separated one from the other by blank spaces, so also in living, spoken language the sentence is broken up into separate acoustic units corresponding to the intellectual conception of 'words.' How this separation is supposed to be accomplished, whether by a pause between each 'word,' or by some other means, it is not for me to suggest. This must be left to supporters of the fallacy to explain. Phoneticians tell us, and it is their business to know such things, that in uttered speech the acoustic unit is not the word at all, but what they call the 'breath-group,' that is, all the syllables uttered with a single impulse of the breath. Such units may contain several words, but there is nothing in the mode of utterance to show where one 'word' ends and another begins. Such an analysis is a logical one, made by the mind, but no clue is given to the ear in uttered speech, and unless we are familiar with a language we have no means of knowing the limits of words when we hear them pronounced in a sentence. If this is true, then the answer to the question whether two

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separate monosyllabic words are necessarily less rapid than one word of two syllables is *certainly not*. It all depends upon the nature of the monosyllabic words. In Pope's deliberately leisurely and heavy line *And tén lòw wórds ôft créep in óne dùll líne* we have only two wholly weak stresses; there are, as I read it, five strong, and three half-strong syllables, since apart from *and* and *in* the words are four adjectives, one adverb, one verb, and two nouns. Milton's *Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death*, apart from the weak *and* and *of*, consists entirely of nouns, which have more or less alternating strong and half-strong stress. More rapid is Pope's *Stìll síts at squát, nor péeps not from its hóle*, where *at, nor, not, from, its* are all weak, and where we get three consecutive weak syllables. Whatever delay there is here is due as much to intervening combinations of consonants as to the system of stressing. In any case monosyllabicness in itself has nothing to do with it. If we look back on the numerous examples given above to illustrate speed derived from a series of weak syllables, it appears that a very large, if not the larger, number of these consists of words of one syllable—*is, was, of, his, her, and, to, for*, and so on, that is, of auxiliary verbs, pronouns, prepositions. It is therefore evident that a monosyllabic word is not necessarily an impediment to speed. No human ear can distinguish between *a way* and *away* if both be normally uttered, nor between *honour* and *on her*, nor can the mind distinguish them apart from the context. It is easy to make nonsense lines consisting entirely of monosyllables which are as rapid as those in which polysyllabic words enter. *Jóy fìlled her héart for in her sóul was lóve; If hópe be lóst then lóve will find a wáy.* Does the speed of the last line with its 'ten low words' differ in the slightest degree from that of *Outrágeous háte shall vánish qúite away*? If it does, it is not monosyllabicness or the reverse which causes the difference.

All this is by no means to deny that, as a rule, a line consisting entirely of monosyllabic words will be slower than one in which occur several words of more than one syllable each. The plain reason for this is that in the former there will usually be a larger proportion of syllables, standing for nouns, verbs, or adjectives, which necessarily take either strong or half-strong stress.

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BAUDELAIRE AND CATHERINE CROWE

In the opening chapter of *Les Paradis Artificiels*, after likening moments of clear-seeing, of ecstasy to 'une véritable *grâce*—un miroir magique où l'homme est invité à se voir en beau, c'est à dire tel qu'il devrait et pourrait être,' Baudelaire continues: 'De même une certaine école spiritualiste, qui a ses représentants en Angleterre et en Amérique, considère les phénomènes surnaturels, tels que les apparitions de fantômes, les revenants, etc., comme des manifestations de la volonté divine, attentive à réveiller dans l'esprit de l'homme le souvenir des réalités invisibles.' It is, perhaps, doubtful whether Baudelaire had read any of the American representatives of this spiritualism[1]. But with the work of one English exponent he was, on his own confession, familiar. In the passage from the *Salon de* 1859, which we shall discuss later, he mentions Mrs Crowe by name and quotes some lines from her most important book.

Catherine Stevens was born about 1800—some notices give a precise date, 1803—at Borough Green in Kent. In 1822 she married Lieutenant-Colonel Crowe and spent the greater part of her after-life in Edinburgh. It was there no doubt that she came in contact with the Scottish phrenologist, George Combe (1788–1858), the disciple of Spurzheim, author of the *System of Phrenology* (translated into French by J. Fossati, 1836) and *The Constitution of Man* (1828). She confesses, in her *Spiritualism and the Age we live in*, that she was a disciple of 'that excellent and wise man, who saw further into truth, I believe, than most men that have

[1] Edmonds and Dexter, *Spiritualism*, New York, 1853; Capron, *Modern Spiritualism*, Boston, 1855; Hare, *Experimental Investigations of the Spirit Manifestations*, New York, 1856, etc. We may recall that the 'Rochester Knockings' which inaugurated the epoch of modern spiritualism were first heard at Hydesville, U.S.A., towards the close of 1848. Victor Hennequin's *Sauvons le genre humain*, which seems to have prompted the spiritualistic craze in France, was published in 1853. Among other English books of the period on topics akin to those of Mrs Crowe, some of which Baudelaire might conceivably have read, we may mention: Colquhoun, *Isis Revelata*, 1836; Esdaile, *Mesmerism in India*, 1842; Elliotson, *The Zoist*, 1842–56; Braid, *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*, 1842, *Neurypnology*, 1843, *Magic, Witchcraft, Animal Magnetism, etc.*, 1852; Lee, *Report on the Phenomena of Clairvoyance*, 1843; Townsend, *Facts in Mesmerism*, 1844; Atwood, *Early Magnetism*, 1846, *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery*, 1850; Davis (The Poughkeepsie Seer), *Nature's Divine Revelations*, 1847; Gregory, *Letters on Animal Magnetism*, 1851. Of French works on these subjects apart from the books of Mesmer, de Puységur and Deleuze, we may cite: Bertrand, *Du Magnétisme Animal en France*, 1828; Gautier, *Introduction au Magnétisme*, 1840, *Histoire du Somnambulisme*, 1842; the books of du Potet, particularly *La Magie Dévoilée*, 1852; the works of Brière de Boismont, particularly *Hallucinations ou Histoire Raisonnée des Apparitions, etc.*, 1845; Ricard, *Traité Théorique et Physique du Magnétisme*, 1841. The work of Eliphas Lévi dates only from 1855. Among other instances in Baudelaire's work the specific reference to Brière de Boismont in *Fusées*, XIV, is indicative of his interest in these topics.

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lived upon this earth.' Mrs Crowe wrote two tragedies, *Aristodemus* (1838) and *The Cruel Kindness* (1853), which do not appear to have been successful, several novels, *Susan Hopley* (1841), *Lilly Dawson* (1847), *The Adventures of a Beauty, Light and Darkness* (a volume of *contes fantastiques*, 1852), *Linny Lockwood* (1854), and a number of tales contributed to periodicals. Her novels, in the opinion of Richard Garnett, were by no means devoid of merit. 'They are a curious and not unpleasing mixture of imagination and matter of fact. The ingenuity of the plot and the romantic nature of the incidents contrast forcibly with the prosaic character of the personages and the impassioned homeliness of the diction. Curiosity and sympathy are deeply excited and much skill is shown in maintaining the interest to the last.' It is to be suspected that, in the ascription to her by the writers of some biographical notices of a 'morbid and despondent turn of mind,' there lurks merely a personal prejudice against some of her activities. But of the other characteristic attributed to her, the literary vanity which induced her to lend countenance to the attribution to her of the authorship of *The Vestiges of Creation* (1844), some evidence is to be found in the posturing sciolism and the apocalyptic airs visible in her work. After a 'violent but brief' attack of insanity she wrote little, but several of her works continued to be reprinted. She died in 1876.

It appears likely, although her attraction to George Combe already betrays her turn of mind, that she was really drawn to the study of the supernatural by Kerner, whose *Seherin von Prevorst* (1829) she translated in 1845. This work seems, to judge by her frequent references to it, to have exercised a powerful influence upon her. The title of her most important work was probably suggested by a book of Kerner's published in 1836[1]. This work, upon which rests her chief claim to remembrance, *The Night Side of Nature, or Ghosts and Ghost-Seers* (1st ed., 1848; 2nd, same year; 3rd, 1852), is declared by Garnett to be 'one of the best collections of supernatural stories in our language, the energy of the authoress's own belief lending animation to her narrative'—a judgment with which, as we shall see, Baudelaire was inclined to agree. The avowed aim of this work is the exploration of 'all that class of phenomena which appears to throw some light on our psychical nature, and on the probable state of the soul after death.' Mrs Crowe makes no great claim to originality, frankly indicating her indebtedness to her predecessors, more

[1] 'The term "Night Side of Nature" I borrowed from the Germans, who derive it from the astronomers, the latter denominating that side of a planet which is turned from the sun, its *night side*.'

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particularly to German authorities like Kerner, Stilling, Werner, Eschenmayer, Ennemoser, Passavant, Schubert, Von Mayer and Von Reichenbach. Among the French sources of her stories and instances may be cited Saint Martin, Cagliostro, Cazotte, de Puységur, Balzac (*Louis Lambert*) and du Potet. The 'science' to which she has recourse for her explanations is naturally that of her day, electricity, magnetism, ether, somnambulism, hypnotism, and their kin.

Before entering on her theme she attempts to dispose of what she regards as the two enemies of her faith, scepticism of the eighteenth-century type and the tyrannical dogmatism of orthodox establishments. It is not difficult to find similar attitudes in Baudelaire[1]. 'Because in the seventeenth century credulity outran reason and discretion, the eighteenth, by a natural reaction, flung itself into an opposite extreme.' She attacks the materialism of the eighteenth century, inveighing against its use of purely *a priori* arguments: 'It has become a custom to look at all the phenomena regarding man in a purely physiological point of view; for although it is admitted that he has a mind, and although there is such a science as metaphysics, the existence of what we call mind is never considered but as connected with the body.' She evinces a Baudelairean detestation of the mystery-hating Voltairean mind: 'It is easy to laugh at what we do not understand.' Ridicule has delayed the births of many truths, but never stifled one: 'The pharisaical scepticism which denies without investigation is quite as perilous, and much more contemptible, than (*sic*) the blind credulity which accepts all that it is taught without enquiry; it is indeed but another form of ignorance assuming to be knowledge.' The lively hope that this attitude has given place to a humbler toleration is her avowed motive for undertaking her task: 'It was ever the tendency of the last age to reject and *deny* everything that they did not understand; I hope it is the growing tendency of the present one to *examine* what we do not understand[2].'

Her scorn of orthodox religion is even greater. It has debased both the word and the thing spiritualism, to which it is obvious Mrs Crowe ascribes

[1] For Baudelaire's attitude to church and priests, see *Lettres* (*Mercure de France*), pp. 368, 369, 370, 380, 461, 487, *Art Romantique* (Lévy ed.), p. 420; for his attitude to Voltaire and *libres penseurs*, see *Lettres* (*M.F.*), pp. 376, 417, 482, 535; *Art Romantique*, p. 360; *Curiosités Esthétiques*, pp. 427, 434–5; *Petits Poèmes en Prose*, *Les Dons des Fées*, *La Solitude*; *Journaux Intimes* (Crès ed.), pp. 51, 52, 61, 64, 65, 66; *Carnet de Belgique*, p. 32; *Œuvres Posthumes*, p. 387, etc.

[2] Cf. Baudelaire, *Curiosités Esthétiques*, ed. Lévy, p. 434: 'Les derniers travaux de quelques médecins, qui ont enfin entrevu la nécessité d'expliquer une foule de faits historiques et miraculeux autrement que par les moyens commodes de l'école voltairienne, laquelle ne voyait partout que l'habileté dans l'imposture, n'ont pas encore débrouillé tous les arcanes psychiques.'

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a similarly theosophical meaning to that given to it by Baudelaire. Priestcraft of all denominations has overshadowed and obscured by various sectarian heresies the pure teaching of Jesus Christ as she presumes it to have been understood by the early Church. 'Under dogmatic theology, religion seems to have withered away to the mere husk of spiritualism.' In the spiritual world, however, there does not prevail the dogmatic theology 'which makes so much of the misery of this,' but rather the 'pure worship of God, and the inexorable moral law.' How akin her own attitude was to the priestcraft she denounces she might have realised, had she recalled Spinoza's reply to a correspondent: 'If you are disposed to put faith in these (ghosts), what reason have you for denying the miracles of the Holy Virgin and all the Saints, which have been recorded by so many famous philosophers, theologians and historians, that I could produce a hundred of these against barely one of those?'

It is this attempt to find the truth outside the bounds of orthodox dogma that leads Mrs Crowe to justify superstition in terms similar to those of Baudelaire following Joseph de Maistre[1]. There exists a fundamental truth in all religions, since God has not circumscribed His revelation: 'There can be no doubt that the heathen forms of worship and systems of religion were but the external symbols of some deep meanings and not the idle fables that they have been too frequently considered; and it is absurd to suppose that the theology which satisfied so many great minds, had no better foundation than a child's fairy tale.' Faith is the one great requisite: 'He who cannot believe cannot will, and the scepticism of the intellect disables the magician.' Such mysteries as she reports were 'believed in because they existed; and they existed because they were believed in,' a vicious circle which ought to have reminded the credulous lady of Cicero's *aut videt aut vidisse putat.* 'The word of God,' she fervently continues, 'is creative, and man is the child of God, made in His image; who never outgrows his childhood, and is most often a child when he thinks himself the wisest...and being a child his faculties are feeble in proportion; but, though limited in amount, they are divine in kind, and are latent in all of us; still shooting up here and there, to amaze and perplex the wise, and make merry the foolish, who have nearly all alike forgotten their origin and disowned their birthright.'

'We are encompassed on all sides by wonders, and we can scarcely set foot upon the ground without trampling upon some marvellous production that our whole life and all our faculties would not suffice to comprehend...

[1] See *Art Romantique*, pp. 239, 320; *Journaux Intimes*, pp. 50, 52; *Carnet de Belgique*, p. 19.

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the world is a miracle and life a dream of which we know neither the beginning nor the end[1].' Mrs Crowe's contribution to the unravelling of this mystery is a series of chapters upon dreams, presentiments, trances, wraiths, doppelgängers, apparitions, troubled spirits, haunted houses, spectral lights, poltergeists, palingenesia, corpse-candles, second sight, stigmata, signatures, divining, amulets and kindred phenomena[2], crammed with quotations from her various authorities and bolstered up by many tales of hearsay from her own store. The chapters are very loosely constructed, the instances not rigorously classed or criticised, the repetitions frequent, and the whole is written in a deplorable style, packed with solecisms and even faults of spelling. Her narrative runs on interminably with a careless inconsequence betraying the worst aspects of feminine laxity and vagueness, a plausible fondness for arguments *ad ignorantiam*, an unbounded *naïveté* rendered more amusing by an occasional simper and a Victorian sense of propriety best seen, perhaps, in the passage in which she sets aside possible pleasantry at the expense of ghosts appearing in coats and waistcoats: 'Now as a spirit, provided there be no special law to the contrary... must be where its thoughts and wishes are, just as we should be at the place we intently think of or desire, if our solid bodies did not impede us, so must our spirit appear as it is, or as it conceives of itself; morally it can only conceive of itself as it is, good or bad, light or dark; but it may conceive of itself clothed as well as unclothed.... If it appears at all, in a recognisable form, it must come naked or clothed; the former, to say the least of it, would be much more frightful and shocking; and if it be clothed, I do not see what right we have to expect it shall be in a fancy costume, conformable to our ideas, which are no ideas at all, of the other world.'

In spite of these faults, it is possible to find in Mrs Crowe's work a body of ideas which either corresponded to, or were capable of prompting, certain notions held by Baudelaire or at least employed by him. Since Baudelaire's 'mysticism' derives from similar theosophical origins rather than from strictly orthodox sources, it is worth while to examine the possible points of contact with Mrs Crowe. And since Baudelaire's concern is less with specific details than with such general occult notions as were capable of nourishing his adopted attitudes and corroborating his experience, we shall confine ourselves to the broad outlines.

Mrs Crowe begins by accepting a tripartite division of man's ego—

[1] Cf. *Fleurs du Mal, Le Couvercle, Le Gouffre*, etc.

[2] For Baudelaire's remarks on some of these phenomena, see *Journaux Intimes*, pp. 14, 21, 24, 76, 98; *Curiosités Esthétiques*, pp. 434–5; *Paradis Artificiels*, ch. v.

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spirit, soul, and body—since, according to St Paul, we possess both a natural body and a spiritual body[1]. The spirit that dwells within us is the spirit of God, incorporated in us for a period for certain ends of His own, to be there wrought out. Further into the philosophical controversies involved she refuses to go, merely mentioning Hegel by the way. In this spirit so imparted dwells the conscience which 'keeps watch over the body, saying, "Thus shalt thou do."' When the soul is degraded and debased, the voice of conscience is scarcely heard and the soul can no longer perform its function of discerning the true, the beautiful, the good. On the other hand, 'since we are placed by the spirit in immediate relation with God,' some faint gleams of the Divine attributes 'may, at times, shoot up through the clay in which the spirit has its temporary abode,' and, 'through the connexion which exists betwixt us and the spiritual world,' we may occasionally and under certain conditions become cognisant of and enter into more immediate relation with it. It is by the hypothesis of this universal sense, latent within us, that she seeks to explain 'those perceptions which are not comprised within the functions of our bodily organs.'

To 'facilitate this conception' she expounds a theory of reverberation that recalls Poe's *Eureka*: 'Action, once begun, never ceases—an impulse given is transmitted on for ever, a sound breathed reverberates in eternity, and thus the past is always present, although, for the purpose of fitting us for this mortal life, our ordinary senses are so constituted as to be unperceptive of these phenomena.' Similarly later, presenting Ennemoser's explanation of dreams, she states 'the great and universal law of polarity, which extends not only beyond the limits of this earth, but beyond the limits of this system, which must necessarily be in connexion with all others; so that there is thus an eternal and never-ceasing interaction of which, from the multiplicity and contrariety of the influences, we are insensible, just as we are insensible of the pressure of the atmosphere, from its impinging on us equally on all sides.' It is by means of the 'ether or force,' which she postulates as the instrument of this polarity, that 'a never-ceasing motion and intercommunication is sustained betwixt all created things and their Creator, who sustains them and creates them ever anew, by the constant exertion of His divine will, of which this is the messenger and the agent, as it is betwixt our will and our bodies; and without this sustaining will, so exerted, the whole

[1] 'The connexion of the soul and the body is probably a much more intimate one than that of the latter with the spirit; though the soul, as well as the spirit, is immortal and survives when the body dies.'

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world would fall away, dissolve and die, for it is the life of the universe. That all inanimate objects emit an influence, greater or less, extending beyond their own peripheries, is established by their effects on various susceptible individuals, as well as on somnambules; and thus there exists a universal polarity and rapport, which is, however, stronger betwixt certain organisms; and every being stands in a varying relation of positive and negative to every other[1].'

Passing in review the various theories of dream-states given by her German authorities, she gives her preference to Ennemoser: 'Dreaming also arises from the secret activity of the spirit in the innermost sensitive organs of the brain, busying the fancy with subjective images, the objective conscious day-life giving place to the creative dominion of the poetical genius, to which night becomes day, and universal nature its theatre of action; and thus the supersensuous or transcendent nature of the spirit becomes more manifest in dreaming than in the waking state.' Or in her own words: 'the more it (the spirit) is disentangled from the obstructions of the body, the more clear will be its perceptions...in the profound natural sleep of the sensuous organs we may be in a state of clear-seeing.' Being then 'released from the trammels—the dark chamber of the flesh,' the soul enjoys a temporary equality (with disembodied spirits); in sleep 'it is free to see and know, and to communicate with spirit.' Among the instances which she cites to be explained by this theory are cases of artistic composition, which recall the statement made by Coleridge of the origin of *Kubla Khan*[2].

This question of dreams leads her to that of the Fall, which she interprets, as did Baudelaire, in a more esoteric sense than orthodox theology. 'It has been the opinion of many philosophers, that, in the original state of man, as he came forth from the hands of his Creator, that knowledge which is now acquired by pains and labour was intuitive...his soul was a mirror of the universe, in which everything was reflected, and, probably, is so still, but that the spirit is no longer in a condition to perceive it.' Man has lost the faculty of spiritual seeing, at least in his waking hours. But, though a dweller in the earth and fallen, some traces of his divine descent and of his unbroken connexion with a higher order of being still remain to comfort and encourage him. In sleep the spirit may enjoy somewhat of its original privilege, and 'the soul, which is designed as the

[1] She proceeds to give an instance from her own experience of that sense of previous existence expressed by Baudelaire in *La Vie Antérieure*.

[2] For Baudelaire on sleep and dreams, see *Lettres* (*M.F.*), pp. 86, 374; *Art Romantique*, pp. 423–4; *Paradis Artificiels*, ch. III, and dedication; *Petits Poèmes en Prose*, *L'Invitation au Voyage*, and Nadar's account in *Baudelaire Intime*.

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mirror of a superior spiritual order, still receives in dreams some rays from above, and enjoys a foretaste of its future condition.'

Such a conception naturally involves a philosophy of correspondences which Mrs Crowe does not fail to state explicitly: 'The whole of nature is one large book of symbols, which, because we have lost the key to it, we cannot decipher.' Oberlin, the good pastor of Ban de la Roche, 'who fancied he had acquired the art of interpreting these symbols,' asserted that everything earthly had its counterpart, or antitype, in the other world, not only organised but unorganised matter. If so, do we sometimes see these antitypes? If we believe, Mrs Crowe continues, that this symbolical language of dreams 'prevailed in the early ages of the world, before the external and intellectual life had predominated over the instinctive and emotional,' we must conclude it to be 'the natural language of man, who must, therefore, have been gifted with a conformable faculty of comprehending these hieroglyphics.' There can be no doubt, she thinks, that some occasional gleams of this original endowment may still be found. The passage which she quotes from Schubert will easily be seen to foreshadow the theory of poetry which Baudelaire enunciated with the help of Poe. 'This symbolical language, which the Deity appears to have used (witness Peter's dream, *Acts* xi and others) in all His revelations to man, is in the highest degree what poetry is in a lower, and the language of dreams in the lowest, namely, the original natural language of man, and we may fairly ask whether this language, which here plays an inferior part, be not possibly the proper language of a higher sphere, whilst we who vainly think ourselves awake, are in reality buried in a deep, deep sleep, in which, like dreamers who imperfectly hear the voices of those around them, we occasionally apprehend, though obscurely, a few words of this Divine tongue.' 'How slow and ineffective,' echoes Mrs Crowe, 'is human speech, compared to this spiritual picture language, where a whole history is understood at a glance and scenes, that seem to occupy days and weeks, are acted out in ten minutes.' We shall have more to say of this important theme later[1].

Mrs Crowe adds her authority to that of Swedenborg for the belief Baudelaire occasionally expresses[2] in a rising and descending hierarchy of existences: 'There is a continued series from the lowest to the highest; and what right have we to conclude that we are the last link of the chain?

[1] See Baudelaire, *Fleurs du Mal, Elévation, Correspondances, Tout Entière, L'Irrémédiable*, etc.; *Petits Poèmes en Prose, L'Invitation au Voyage; Paradis Artificiels*, ch. IV; *Lettres* (*M.F.*), p. 83.

[2] *Curiosités Esthétiques* (ed. Lévy), p. 211; *Petits Poèmes en Prose, Chambre Double*; *Lettres* (*M.F.*), p. 286.

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Why may there not be a gamut of beings?' The number of instances recorded of events foreseen, 'corroborated by the universal agreement of all somnambulists of a higher order,' induces her to adopt 'with a considerable section of the German psychologists' the more 'spiritual' theory of the doctrine of guardian spirits. We may recall that Baudelaire adopts the same belief, or at least employs it as a poetical convention (particularly in *Fleurs du Mal, Le Rebelle* and *Petits Poèmes en Prose, Assommons les Pauvres*).

Like Baudelaire Mrs Crowe finds an explanation of certain impulses in this unseen prompting, whether angelic or diabolic. 'They (German physicians) look upon possession as a demono-magnetic state, in which the patient is in rapport with mischievous or evil spirits, as in the Agatho (or good) magnetic state, which is the opposite pole, he is in rapport with good ones.' Nobody, she affirms in words suggestive of Baudelaire[1], 'can honestly look back upon his past life without feeling perplexed by the question, of how far he was, or was not able, at the moment, to resist certain impulsions, which caused him to commit wrong or imprudent actions.' She acknowledges that such spiritual prompting may be destructive of freewill. If these communications were the rule and not the exception, 'the whole economy of this earthly life would be overturned, and its affairs must necessarily be conducted in a totally different manner than that which prevails at present. What the effects of such an arrangement of nature would be, had it pleased God to make it, He alone knows; but certain it is that man's freedom, as a moral agent, would be in a great degree abrogated, were the barriers that impede our intercourse with the spiritual world removed.' But she attempts no solution of this dilemma, any more than the Baudelaire who flaunted a more than Manichean sense of damnation and a diabolical explanation of perversity contemporaneously with the most stoical assertion of moral *dandysme*. So she reverts to her belief in the possibility of 'there existing conditions which, by diminishing the obstructions, render this communication practicable within certain limits,' a possibility confirmed in her mind by 'authentic instances of presentiments and warnings that with difficulty admit of any other explanation.' Among these instances she cites the story of Dante's missing cantos and his son Pietro's dream: 'If it be true that the dead do sometimes return to solve our perplexities, here was not an unworthy occasion for the exercise of such a power. We can imagine the spirit of the great poet still clinging to the memory of his august work, immortal as himself—the record of those high thoughts which can never die,' and

[1] More particularly in the letter to Flaubert, June 26th, 1860.

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the case of a certain visitor of Wordsworth's who, having been saved from poisoning himself by a presentiment, quoted the following lines from *Laodamia* as significant of his experience:

> The invisible world with thee has sympathised;
> Be thy affections raised and solemnised.

As we have already hinted, Mrs Crowe explains apparitions by the existence of a spiritual body, 'the *astral spirit* of the mystics, the *nerve spirit* of the clear-seers'; in this body, which we are to retain throughout eternity, 'consists our fundamental life.' 'While persons are in trance, or deep sleep, or comatose, this ethereal body can be detached and appear elsewhere... this ethereal body must be indestructible and survive the death of the material one... it may... not only become visible to us under given circumstances, but may also produce effects bearing some similarity to those it was formerly capable of.... It is to be observed that this idea of a spiritual body is one that pervaded all Christendom in the earlier and purer ages of Christianity.' This *nerve-spirit* 'which seems to be an embodiment of, or, rather, a body constructed out of the nervous fluid or ether—in short, the spiritual body of St Paul—is the bond of union betwixt the body and the soul or spirit; and has a plastic force to raise up an aerial form. Being the highest organic power, it cannot by any other, physical or chemical, be destroyed; and when the body is cast off, it follows the soul; and as, during life, it is the means by which the soul acts upon the body, and is thus enabled to communicate with the external world, so, when the spirit is disembodied, it is through this nerve-spirit, that it can make itself visible, and even exercise mechanical powers.' Whether he believed it or not, Baudelaire, in poems like *Le Revenant*, employs this belief in apparitions.

Similarly Mrs Crowe's remarks upon the persistence of form or essence after death, even in plants, are similar to the conceptions underlying poems like *La Charogne* and *Le Flacon*: 'Gaffarillus, in a book entitled *Curiosités Inouies*, published in 1650, observes that, since in many instances the plants used for these purposes (talismans and signatures) were reduced to ashes, and no longer retained their form, their efficacy which depended on their figure should inevitably be destroyed; but this, he says, is not the case, since, by an admirable potency existing in nature, the form, though invisible, is still retained in the ashes.' From this we are to deduce 'that when a body dies its figure still resides in its ashes,' that, in the words of Oetinger, 'the earthly husk remains in the retort, while the volatile essence ascends like a spirit, perfect in form, but void

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of substance.' Mrs Crowe gives an amusing instance of the parallelism of this process in man whereby the essence of things may retain the form of the substance: 'As the form of plants can be preserved after the substance is destroyed, so can that of man be either preserved or reproduced from the elements of his body. In the reign of Louis XIV, three alchemists having distilled some earth taken from the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris, were forced to desist by seeing the forms of men appearing in their vials[1].'

But there is a second hypothesis invented to explain apparitions which she does not entirely discountenance: 'that there is no outstanding shape at all, but that the will of the spirit, acting on the constructive imagination of the seer, enables him to conceive the form, as the spirit itself conceives of it.' This term 'constructive imagination' she frequently employs in this context, and it was upon it and her explanation of it that Baudelaire seized. It is unlikely that he was reading the book for the first time at that date. It is much more likely that his thought was a more or less unconscious reminiscence of Mrs Crowe's words. Baudelaire opens the fourth chapter of his *Salon de* 1859 (Le Gouvernement de l'Imagination) thus: 'Hier soir, après vous avoir envoyé les dernières pages de ma lettre, où j'avais écrit, mais non sans une certaine timidité: Comme l'imagination a crée le monde, elle le gouverne, je feuilletais la *Face Nocturne de la Nature* et je tombai sur ces lignes, que je cite uniquement parce qu'elles sont la paraphrase justificative de la ligne qui m'inquiétait.' The passage Baudelaire quotes occurs in the ninth chapter, entitled *Apparitions*, p. 199. It follows upon the narration of the famous case of Lord Littleton which Dr Johnson (who had it from Lord Westcote) said was the most extraordinary thing that had happened in his day. The authoress thinks it desirable to ascertain whether such wraiths are seen before death occurs or after it, since 'the argument advanced by those who believe that the dead are never seen, is that it is the strong will and desire of the expiring person which enable him so to act on the nervous system of his distant friend, that the imagination of the latter projects the form, and sees it as if objectively.' Then, in explanation, comes Baudelaire's passage: 'By imagination, I do not simply mean to convey the common notion implied by that much abused word, which is only fancy (Baudelaire translates *fantaisie*), but the constructive imagination, which is a much higher function and which, inasmuch as man is made in the likeness of God, bears a distant relation to that sublime power by

[1] See also *Fleurs du Mal, Un Fantôme, L'Irrémédiable, Une Martyre,* and *Journaux Intimes,* p. 3.

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which the Creator projects, creates and upholds the universe[1].' 'Je ne suis pas du tout honteux,' avows Baudelaire, 'mais au contraire très heureux de m'être rencontré avec cette excellente Mme Crowe, de qui j'ai toujours admiré et envié la faculté de croire, aussi développé en elle que chez les autres la défiance.' In spite of Baudelaire's air of complete detachment and the notable discrepancy between his caution and her credulity, it is difficult to believe that, considering the fund of ideas held by them in common, this quotation is merely the result of a fortuitous encounter. Baudelaire's whole conception of the rôle of the imagination and the nature and origin of pure poetry is bound up with notions similar to those we have illustrated from *The Night Side of Nature*, and which he had no doubt ample time and opportunity to absorb between 1848, the date of Mrs Crowe's book, and 1859. It is true, of course, that the roots of these ideas are to be found much earlier than 1848, but it must be remembered also that the influence of Poe is barely, if at all, in the main anterior to this date of 1848.

Mrs Crowe's belief in the purely moral connotations of heaven and hell[2] manages, as does Baudelaire's, to live peaceably with her faith in materialisation. It is, she says, 'a vulgar notion to affirm that Heaven and Hell are *places*; they are states; and it is in ourselves that we must look for both.' God does not punish us, we punish ourselves: 'we have built up a heaven or a hell to our own liking, and we carry it about with us. The fire that for ever burns without consuming is the fiery evil in which we have chosen our part; and the heaven in which we shall dwell will be the heavenly peace which will dwell in us. We are our own judges and our own chastisers.' The true nature of the soul, whether good or evil, whether of darkness or of light, may be hidden in life; with death it is surely and fatally revealed. 'This earthly body we inhabit is more or less a mask, by means of which we conceal from each other those thoughts which, if constantly exposed, would unfit us for living in community; but

[1] Cf. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ch. 13: 'The primary Imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM.' Coleridge makes the same distinction between Imagination and Fancy. Are we to conclude that Baudelaire had not read Coleridge's account?

[2] In Mrs Crowe's opinion the purifying besom that rid the Protestant church of the idea of purgatory took 'too discursive a sweep.' In order to explain the appearances of wandering spirits that cling to the earth where their affections are, she has need of a middle state, Hades, a more populated region mid-way between Tartarus and Elysium. She endorses the words of Saint-Martin: 'Je ne crois pas aux revenants, mais je crois aux restants.' Death-bed repentance she considers a 'pernicious error,' and repudiates the notion that 'a few parting prayers can purify a soul sullied by years of wickedness.' In this middle state on which all souls enter, a state in which there are 'many mansions,' souls who have died in a negative condition, neither thoroughly black nor thoroughly white, may receive more light and make a 'progressive advance.'

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when we die, this mask falls away and the truth shows nakedly. There is no more disguise; we appear as we are, spirits of light or spirits of darkness.' The instant the soul is freed from the body, it sees its whole earthly career in a single sign; 'it knows that it is good or evil, and pronounces its own sentence.' The moral law which thus operated, if in secret, in life and which has thus been clearly manifested in death persists in the spiritual world. 'There is one thing of which we may rest perfectly assured, namely, that let the fault of an impure, or vicious, or merely sensuous life, lie where it will—whether it be the wicked spirit within, or the ill-organised body without, or a *tertium quid* of both combined—still, the soul that has been a party to this earthly career must be soiled and deteriorated by this familiarity with evil; and there seems much reason to believe that the dissolution of the connexion between the soul and the body produces far less change in the former than has commonly been supposed.' I have indicated the development of these ideas at some length, because they lead to or support the formulation of a belief in Pythagorean transmigration such as Baudelaire once or twice proclaimed[1]. Speaking of such appearances of animal forms as occur in Kerner's *Seeress of Prevorst*, Mrs Crowe declares: 'Spirits of darkness...cannot appear as spirits of light. On one occasion, when Frederica Hauffe asked a spirit if he could appear in what form he pleased, he answered, No; that if he had lived as a brute, he should appear as a brute; "as our dispositions are, so we appear to you."' And elsewhere, of a certain German case quoted by her: 'The apparitions of the dog and the lambs also...are by no means isolated cases. These appearances seem to be symbolical; the father had been evil, and had led the son to do evil and he appeared in the degraded form of a dog; and the innocence of the children, who had been, probably, in some way wronged, was symbolised by their appearing as lambs.' In her championship of such seemingly recondite notions, she has no difficulty in getting inside the orthodox guard: 'These symbolical transfigurations cannot appear very extravagant to those who accept the belief of many theologians, that the serpent of the Garden of Eden was an evil spirit incarnated in that degraded form.'

The aspects of Mrs Crowe's work which we have indicated up to the present have concerned manifestations after death. But her remarks upon the spiritual activities of the living are equally, if not more interesting from the point of view of Baudelaire. In the first place she puts the usual stress of her kind upon a certain dangerous conception of the nature of will. Will is regarded by such theosophical writers as a force, an entity

[1] See particularly *Journaux Intimes*, p. 25.

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that appears to have an absolute, an almost magical existence, the substantial fluid of Raphael's *Théorie de la Volonté* in Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin*. Spirit, says Mrs Crowe, can work magically, that is, 'by the mere act of will, for by the mere act of will all things were created, and by its consistent exertion all things are sustained—why should we be astonished that we, who partake of the divine nature, and were created after God's own image, should also, within certain limits, partake of this magical power?... What are the limits of these powers possessed by us whilst in the flesh, how far they may be developed, and whether, at the extreme verge of what we can effect, we begin to be aided by God or by spirits of other spheres of existence bordering on ours we know not.' Although he does not state such a position explicitly and was apparently unconscious of the implications of his own attitudes, Baudelaire's references to will have some esoteric connotation which reveals the subtle effects of this type of reading. When these references, more particularly in the letters, are closely examined it is seen that in the earlier part of his life, at least, Baudelaire suffers from a reliance upon the direct and unconditioned expression of will, a misconception of its absolute nature, by virtue of which will is almost personified into a force without close dependence upon the everyday details of moral life. It is only in the last years that he begins to realise that will is but the sum of certain moral habits and directions which imply a stricter supervision of activities, the importance of which he had deliberately misconstrued or neglected[1].

Mrs Crowe's remarks upon temporary *ekstasis*, the freedom of the spirit under certain bodily conditions, coincide with Baudelaire's experiences as given in such instances as *Chambre Double*[2]. 'In certain conditions of the body, the spirit, in a manner unknown to us, resumes a portion of its freedom, and is enabled to exercise more or less of its inherent properties. It is somewhat released from those inexorable conditions of time and space, which bound and limit its powers whilst in close connexion with matter, and it communes with other spirits who are also liberated.' One of her passages in this context reveals the relationship, visible in Balzac and Baudelaire, of this conception of ecstasy to the magnetism of the day rather than to the writings and experience of the mystics proper: 'Dr Ennemoser says, that as in natural somnambulism

[1] See particularly a dispute with Poulet-Malassis on this topic, *Lettres* (*M.F.*), p. 244. Compare also several passages of Poe who seems to have drawn the idea from Robert Fludd: 'When man was made in the Divine likeness he was able to effect all things by his mere beck or will, but his magical power now sleeps in him because of the Fall' (*Mosaicall Philosophy*).

[2] Cf. also *Paradis Artificiels*, ch. I; *Petits Poèmes en Prose*, *Le Gâteau* and *Fleurs du Mal*, *Rêve Parisien*, etc.

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there is a partial internal vigilance, so does the seer fall, whilst awake, into a dream-state. He suddenly becomes stiff: his eyes are open and his senses are, whilst the vision lasts, imperceptive of all external objects.' The German psychologists whom Mrs Crowe follows believe, 'as did Socrates and Plato, and others of the ancients, that in certain conditions of the body, which conditions may arise naturally, or be produced artificially, the links which unite it with the spirit may be more or less loosened; and that the latter may thus be temporarily disjoined from the former, and so enjoy a foretaste of its future destiny. In the lowest or first degree of this disunion, we are awake, though scarcely conscious, whilst the imagination is vivified to an extraordinary amount, and our fancy supplies images almost as lively as the realities. This, probably, is the temporary condition of inspired poets and eminent discoverers.'

We have already mentioned Mrs Crowe's contribution to, or presentation of, the theory of correspondences, and the kinship of her comparison of the operations of artistic genius to spiritual revelation with the conception of the artist held by Poe and Baudelaire. In connexion with the spiritual ecstasy which we have discussed, Mrs Crowe affirms more explicitly this idea of genius: 'All genius is a degree of ecstasy or clear-seeing.' It is only necessary, she adds, to read Mozart's account of his own moments of inspiration 'to comprehend, not only the similarity but the positive identity of the ecstatic state with the state of genius in activity.' The words of Mozart which she quotes run thus: 'When all goes well with me, when I am in a carriage or walking, or when I cannot sleep at night, the thoughts come streaming in upon me most fluently. Whence or how is more than I can tell. What comes I hum to myself, as it proceeds... then follows the counterpoint and the clang of the different instruments, and if I am not disturbed, my soul is fixed, and the thing grows greater and broader and clearer; and I have it all in my head, even when the piece is a long one, and I see it like a beautiful picture, not hearing the different parts in succession as they must be played, but the whole at once. That is the delight! The composing and the making is like a beautiful and vivid dream, but this hearing of it is best of all.' What is this, she asks, but clear-seeing, backwards and forwards, the past and the future[1]? She passes on from this to express an idea developed also by Baudelaire in *Le Vin du Chiffonnier*: 'These coruscations belong not to genius exclusively; they are latent in all men. In the highly gifted, this

[1] Compare, along with the references given in connexion with the idea of correspondences: *Curiosités Esthétiques*, pp. 10, 93, 243, 265, 266, 270, 289; *Art Romantique*, pp. 167, 173, 211, 215, 219, 222–4, 315.

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divine spark becomes a flame to light the world withal; but, even in the coarsest and least developed organisations, it may and does momentarily break forth. The germ of the highest spiritual life is in the rudest, according to its degree, as well as in the highest form of man we have yet seen; he is but a more imperfect type of the race, in whom this spiritual germ has not unfolded itself[1].'

Mrs Crowe's contribution to Baudelaire's *Paradis Artificiels* is obvious. This central sense of ecstasy is a condition 'which may be produced by various causes, as excess of excitement, great elevation of the spirit, as we see in the ecstatics[2] and the martyrs, or over-irritation, producing consequent exhaustion; and also artificially, by certain narcotics and other influences.' The Dervishes, by an intense contemplation, 'produce a state of ecstasy, in which they pretend to be transported to other spheres.' The magicians and soothsayers of the northern countries, she reports, 'by narcotics and other means, produce a cataleptic state of the body resembling death, when their prophetic faculty is to be exercised;...it is past a doubt that a state of clear-seeing is thus produced.' She describes the Laplanders, the African magicians and the Schaamans of Siberia who, by taking narcotics and turning round until they fall down in a state of insensibility, become 'clear-seers, and besides vaticinating, describe scenes, places and persons they have never beheld,' and Druidical priestesses 'who gave forth oracles and prophecies, much after the manner of the Pythonesses of the Grecian Temples, and, no doubt, drawing their inspiration from the same sources, namely, from the influences of magnetism, and from narcotics.' The excitement of the brain, she declares, giving an instance that had lately come to her hearing, 'caused by intoxication, has occasionally produced a very remarkable exaltation of certain faculties. It is by means of either intoxicating draughts or vapours that the soothsayers...place themselves in a condition to vaticinate: and we have every reason to believe that drugs, producing similar effects, were resorted to by the thaumaturgists of old and by the witches of later days.' Relating the experience of a doctor who, in 1545, anointed a patient with an unguent found in the house of a sorcerer, she states: 'The patient slept for thirty-six hours consecutively,

[1] See also *Paradis Artificiels*, ch. I; *Du Vin et du Haschisch*, ch. II.

[2] Mrs Crowe expresses some reserves in her identification of mysticism and clairvoyance: 'I am far from using the term *mystics* in the opprobrious, or at least contemptuous tone in which it has of late years been uttered in this country, for although abounding in errors, as regarded the concrete, and although their want of an inductive methodology led them constantly astray in the region of the real, they were sublime teachers in that of the ideal; and they seem to have been endowed with a wonderful insight into this veiled department of our nature.'

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and when, with difficulty, she was awakened, she complained that he had torn her from the most ravishing delights; delights which seem to have rivalled the heaven of the Mahometan. According to the Llorente, the women who were dedicated to the service of the Mother of the Gods, heard continually the sounds of flutes and tambourines, beheld the joyous dances of the fauns and satyrs, and tasted of intoxicating pleasures, doubtless from a similar cause.'

But like Baudelaire in that, for him, unctuous peroration of the fifth chapter of *Paradis Artificiels*, she feels the need to utter a warning. In her conclusion, after a long paragraph on the Kabbalah, she throws her stress upon virtue: 'If a man therefore sets his desires on what is godly, in proportion as his efforts are not selfish, but purely a seeking of holiness, he will be endowed by the free grace of God with supernatural faculties, and it is the highest aim of existence, that man should regain his connexion with his inward, original source and exalt the material and earthly into the spiritual.' She ends by carefully repudiating the cultivation of artificial paradises: 'I am very far from meaning to imply, that it is our duty, or in any way desirable, that we should seek to bring ourselves into this state of holy ecstasy; which seems to involve some derangement of the normal relations betwixt the soul and body; but it is at least unwise in us to laugh at or deny it or its proximate conditions, where they really exist. It appears perfectly clear, that, as by giving ourselves wholly to our external and sensuous life, we dim and obscure the spirit of God that is in us, so by annihilating, as far as in us lies, the necessities of the body, we may so far subdue the flesh as to loosen the bonds of the spirit, and enable it to manifest some of its inherent endowments. Ascetics and saints have frequently done this voluntarily, and disease, or a peculiar constitution, sometimes does it for us involuntarily. It is far from desirable that we should seek to produce such a state by either means, but it *is* extremely desirable that we should avail ourselves of the instruction to be gained by the simple knowledge that such phenomena have existed and been observed in all ages; and that thereby our connexion with the spiritual world may become a demonstrated fact to all who choose to open their eyes to it.'

Eleven years later Mrs Crowe attempted what she no doubt regarded, although Richard Garnett considered it to have 'slight reference to the nominal subject,' as a more philosophical defence of the outlook suggested by the various phenomena she had marshalled in *The Night Side of Nature*. In *Spiritualism and the Age we live in* (1859), she attempts to reconcile a somewhat doubtful orthodoxy with the promptings of her spiritualistic

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faith. She begins by parrying the possible suggestion that Scripture offers enough indication for our attitude towards the spiritual world: 'We have no reason to think that on any subject whatever God's revelations have, or will ever cease (*sic*) as long as the human race inhabits the earth, or that revelations supplementary to the Scriptures, and tending to their true interpretation, in regard to which men are still at issue, may not be vouchsafed.' Without enquiring very closely into the meaning of materialism, she denies the power of mere flesh to accomplish the act of thought, urges our ignorance of causes, and defends heterodoxy on the plea that 'not to think freely is to abjure God's chiefest gift.' Truth, she argues with a disarming *naïveté*, is of God and its discovery consequently harmless. Although at times inclined to an idea of progress, she here asserts boldly that we have not advanced one step in spiritual knowledge. Organised religion is rather a stumbling-block than a help: 'Religion is, in fact, rather an engine of government and a reinforcement to the police than a saving health to men's souls.'

Orthodoxy she deserts with an airy belief in her powers of discrimination: 'Whatever appears to us credible, we cannot help believing to a certain extent; and what appears to us incredible, we cannot help disbelieving or doubting.' Religion being a geographical accident exercising little moral influence on mankind in general, she must look to 'more knowledge' for really helpful truth. Truth there must be somewhere, truth that will both help us to 'overcome the great moral evils that beset us' and indicate our origin and destiny, 'whereby we shall be forced, not only *verbally* to admit, but *scientifically* to know that we are the offspring of the Divine.' It is obvious that such truth has not, so she thinks, been found in Scripture, 'since religious differences, if less bitter, are as rife as ever.' Instead of appealing to the churches, we must let God himself tell it to us 'after his own manner.' It is only the interest of the church that is responsible for our presumption that God's revelations have ceased. Authority she thus repudiates: 'Every man is a temple to himself... the salvation of his soul is an affair between him and God alone.'

She proceeds in the sequel to assert the continued existence of miracles by which we are daily surrounded and to discuss their nature in general. She defines a miracle as being an effect without a discernible cause. Examining spirit-rapping and table-turning, more particularly with regard to the exploits of the American Mrs Hayden, she explains these phenomena in the manner of her day by a possible 'electricity' latent in the body, and proceeds, with a genuinely British concern, to urge that this force 'be applied to pulling trains and understood by England before

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other countries take it out of our hands.' Undisturbed by any thought that, unless something more serious than table-rapping and kindred phenomena is in question, her specious argument for the safeguarding of God's truth is ludicrously disproportionate to its subject, she goes on to urge that the manifestations of spirits—she refuses to think them wicked—are God's device for reclaiming a sceptical generation: 'If we do not choose to give ear, we may either suffer a great evil or escape a great good.' She inclines to think it will be the latter. An instance chosen among the phenomena witnessed by herself will indicate the extent of her faith, that faith which, as we have seen, even Baudelaire could not completely imitate: 'I have also held a guitar in my hand which was made to produce sound; chords were struck; and being desired by the invisible Intelligence to sing, I was regularly accompanied through several songs.'

Undeterred she plunges into the theology of the Fall imposed upon her by her conception of our spiritual nature. 'If we are spirits, we must be suffering some degradation, because our intelligence, which is limited by the periphery of these bodies, is far short of what spirit incarnated must enjoy.' This limitation is the source and origin of all evil. The story of Eve and the apple she regards as not only foolish but blasphemous: 'the belief that mankind have ever since been suffering untold evils in consequence of this peccadillo of Eve's, is too childish for any rational creature to entertain.' The whole story is an allegory with Eve—and here her notion is to be compared with the general theory of *Paradis Artificiels*[1]—as the type of 'an unholy desire for things unattainable in this life,' and Adam as that of 'honest and persevering industry, that is content to work for what he wishes to enjoy.' For this presumption men have been punished, but now, 'the period having arrived when not only the memory but the desire for spiritual communication is wholly extinguished, we may look for a gradual restoration or reinstatement.'

In conclusion she turns to the scientists. Table-rapping is akin to gravitation. If Sir Isaac Newton be among those departed who 'overlook our doings here,' 'I really think he must be amazed at our obtuseness and incapacity for observation.' In spite of the apparent resolution of men of science not to believe in the operations of spirits, we have the right to ask them to investigate: 'If it should be, as I believe, namely, that God is offering us an open door to the recovery of our birthright, what weight of

[1] Cf. Baudelaire, *Paradis Artificiels*, ch. v: 'Ces infortunés...qui ont refusé la rédemption par le travail, demandent à la noire magie les moyens de s'élever, d'un seul coup, à l'existence surnaturelle.'

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responsibility must be theirs who not only refuse to enter themselves, but forbid the souls committed to their charge to do likewise?' What indeed! If her soul now keeps its company with Sir Isaac, may we not imagine it casting a smile of triumphant approval on the words and works of Sir Oliver?

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THE 'ROMANCERO DEL REY DON PEDRO' IN AYALA AND THE 'CUARTA CRÓNICA GENERAL'

THE *Romancero del Rey Don Pedro*, as preserved in the late Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, consists of nine ballads. Eight of these can be assigned to events ranging in date from 1358 to 1369, that is to say, the period of the struggle between Enrique de Trastamara and the ill-fated king for the possession of the Castilian crown. Another ballad relates an adventure of one of Pedro's unworthy favourites which, being unhistorical and rejected by Ayala, is not capable of receiving a date. The series consists of the following pieces:

1. 1358. *Romance de la Rreyna Doña Blanca.*
   (*a*) Entre la gente se dice y no por cosa sabida.
   Primavera, 67; *Antología*, VIII, p. 129.
   (*b*) Entre las gentes se suena y no por cosa sabida.
   Primavera, 67a; *Antología*, VIII, p. 131.
   (*c*) Entre las gentes se dize mas no por cosa sabida.
   Antología, XII, p. 544.
   (*d*) Fragments preserved in *Antología*, VIII, p. 133, n. 1.
2. 1358. *Romance de Don Fadrique, Maestre de Santiago.*
   (*a*) Mañanita de los Reyes la primer fiesta del año.
   Antología, X, p. 53.
   (*b*) Yo me estaba allá en Coimbra que yo me la hube ganado.
   Primavera, 65; *Antología*, VIII, p. 124.
   (*c*) Yo, estando en Guadalupe, en silla de oro sentado.
   Menéndez Pidal, *El Romancero*, p. 129.
3. 1358. *Romance de la Muerte del Señor de Vizcaya.*
   Yo me fuí para Vizcaya donde estaban los hidalgos.
   Antología, IX, pp. 190, 305.
4. 1360. *El Clérigo Profeta.*
   Teniendo el rey don Pedro su real fortalescido.
   Antología, IX, p. 191, 317.
5. 1361. *El Pastorcico Profeta.*
   (*a*) Por los campos de Jerez a caza va el rey don Pedro.
   Primavera, 66; *Antología*, VIII, p. 126.
   (*b*) Por los campos de Jerez a caza va el rey don Pedro.
   Primavera, 66a; *Antología*, VIII, p. 128.
   (*c*) Por los campos de Jerez a caza va el rey don Pedro.
   Antología, XII, p. 543.
6. 1361. *Romance de la Muerte de la Rreyna doña Blanca.*
   (*a*) Doña María de Padilla, no os mostredes triste, no.
   Primavera, 68; *Antología*, VIII, p. 134.
   (*b*) Doña María de Padilla, no os me mostráis triste vos.
   Primavera, 68a; *Antología*, VIII, p. 135.
   (*c*) Doña María de Padilla, no os mostredes triste vos.
   Antología, VIII, p. 543.
7. 1368. *Del Cerco de Baeza.*
   Cercado tiene a Baeza ese arráez Andalla Mir.
   Antología, IX, p. 196.

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8. 1369. *Romance de la Muerte del Rey don Pedro.*
   (*a*) Encima del duro suelo tendido de largo a largo.
   Antología, IX, pp. 193, 317.
   (*b*) Muerto yace el rey don Pedro en su sangre revolcado.
   Antología, IX, p. 269 (from Lope de Vega, *Los Ramirez de Arellano*).
9. Undatable. *Romance del Prior de Sant Juan.*
   (*a*) Don García de Padilla ese que Dios perdonase.
   Primavera, 69; *Antología*, VIII, p. 136.
   (*b*) Don Rodrigo de Padilla aquel que Dios perdonase.
   Primavera, 69a; *Antología*, VIII, p. 138.

'Romance del Cerco de Baeza.'

The *Romance del Cerco de Baeza* celebrates the heroism of a certain Ruy Fernández who repelled from the Bedmar Gate of Baeza a force under Abdalla Mir of Granada and 'that traitor Pero Gil.' The first of the *romances fronterizos*, its subject is one of personal and local significance rather than of national consequence; and Ayala's chronicle[1] records no skirmish at Baeza among the events of the year 1368. Even the *Cuarta Crónica General*[2], which pretends to consult two records of Pedro's reign and is, much more than Ayala, under the influence of the ballads, does not go beyond mentioning Baeza in the itinerary of the royal forces from Jaén to Úbeda, without specifying the date. The fact of an attack on Baeza in the year 1368 thus remains without corroboration, and was held to be doubtful until Menéndez y Pelayo noted in 1906 the name 'Pero Gil' in letters by Enrique de Trastamara of the year 1369 in contexts that referred to Pedro the Cruel. Still, in 1912, M. Foulché-Delbosc cast doubt upon the historicity of the ballad; to which D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal[3] replied in 1914 by restating Menéndez y Pelayo's proof and affirming that the ballad itself has the value of an historical document. Since that declaration even the most conservative critics[4] have been prepared to accept Menéndez y Pelayo's inference: 'No hay duda que este romance se compuso en 1368.' Caution does not compel us to do more than remark that the Spanish scholar's investigations determine a *terminus a quo* but not *ad quem* for the composition of this piece. We know the slander on King Pedro's birth was current coin in the Trastamaran camps and court

[1] Ayala, *Crónica del Rey Don Pedro*, 1368, cap. v.

[2] *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (*C.I.E.*), CVI, p. 96: 'E de allí se partieron e se fueron para Jaén, e dende para *Baeza* e a Úbeda.' The reference to the chronicler's two sources is in *C.I.E.* CVI, p. 79: 'escrito en la Corónica verdadera deste rey don Pedro; porque hay dos Corónicas, la una fengida.'

[3] R. Menéndez Pidal, *El Romancero*, pp. 71–2, discusses this controversy and states: 'La mención de Pero Gil por el romance vale casi tanto como un documento, que podrá descubrirse mañana, sobre el cerco de Baeza...la poesía popular puede llegar a ser fuente histórica.'

[4] For instance, Professor S. G. Morley, in his invaluable essay on *Spanish Ballad Problems*, 1925.

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in the year 1369, but we do not know when it ceased to have a vogue, and the ballad may have been composed at any date during its circulation. The allusion to 'Pero Gil' must have been understood during the life of Ruy Fernández de Fuenmayor and those of his associates, but we can determine the period more easily by discovering the limits of its political usefulness. To cast a slur on the birth of Pedro the Cruel was a necessity during the reign of the Bastard of Trastamara, but became doubtful policy on the accession of a legitimately begotten king in 1379; in 1389, when the marriage of Catherine of Lancaster to the future Enrique III united the claims of Trastamara to those of Pedro's eldest daughter, aspersions upon the legality of the latter also affected the former. The *terminus ad quem*, therefore, for the composition of this ballad is represented by the accession of Juan I in 1379, with a maximum extension to the year 1389; but the most probable date is that suggested by Menéndez y Pelayo. Any of the dates we have mentioned antecedes the composition of Pero López de Ayala's *Crónica*. We know that there was one ballad in the cycle inspired by the event it narrates and of almost contemporary composition. It is natural to ask whether the same may be true of any other ballads in the cycle.

'Romances del Pastorcico Profeta y de la Muerte de doña Blanca de Borbón.'

The place and manner of the death of the unfortunate Queen Blanche of Bourbon are the subjects of studied ambiguity among historians from the days of Mariana, and perhaps of Ayala, down to the most recent treatises. Professor Altamira says she is believed ('según se cree') to have perished under her husband's orders; Professor Ballesteros merely opposes the testimony of Ayala to that of Sr Sitges, without making an affirmation. Mariana records the conflict of testimony and attributes the accepted version to the malice of the Trastamaran faction. An anonymous biographer of Pope Innocent VI, supported by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo and Polydore Virgil, informs us that she died of grief: 'dolore et tristitia obiit.' Sr Sitges concludes, according to Professor Ballesteros, that her death was natural, and Prosper Mérimée pointed to the Black Death as an efficient cause[1]. Among those who are convinced of the

[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, XII, pp. 131 seqq.; P. Mérimée, *The History of Peter the Cruel* (English translation, 1849), II, pp. 78 seqq. and translator's note on p. 80; Ayala, *Crónica del Rey Don Pedro*, 1361, cap. III (*B.A.E.* LVI, p. 512, and note 5: 'e matóla por su mandado un su Ballestero de maza que decían Juan Ballestero'); Altamira, *Historia de España*, I, p. 602; Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, III, p. 66; *Cuarta Crónica General* (*C.I.E.* CVI, p. 77); and the ballads *De la Muerte de la Reina Doña Blanca* as cited above.

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King's bloodguiltiness there is discrepancy of detail. Ayala affirms in the *Crónica Abreviada* or early draft of his work that she was murdered at the King's command by a certain Juan Ballestero; in the *Crónica Vulgar* he records the order and leaves the reader to infer its execution—but we have no means of knowing whether this ambiguity was intended by the author. The ballads declare that her head was crushed in by a mace; the *Cuarta Crónica General* that she was garrotted; and the voice of tradition, criticised by Voltaire, speaks of poison; while the place of execution is given sometimes as Jerez, sometimes as Medina de la Frontera. Amid these doubts as to the fact itself we cannot but note the surprising agreement in detail between Ayala and the ballads. The *Crónica Vulgar* and the *Romancero de Don Pedro* regard the death as a murder; they both *know* that, a certain Ortiz having refused to carry out the royal order, it was entrusted to an individual of uncertain station; they *know* that the Queen was kneeling at prayer when she learned her doom; they *know* that this doom was hastened by an encounter between the King and a shepherd endowed with the rare gift of prophecy, and they *know* the terms of that prophecy. This conformity of the ballads and chronicle in so doubtful a matter compels us to the conclusion that they represent the same source or sources: that either the chronicle has given rise to the ballads, or the ballads to the chronicle, or that both rest on the same source.

To Menéndez y Pelayo we owe the proof that the *Romance del Cerco de Baeza*, which corresponds to nothing in Ayala's work, must be regarded as virtually contemporary with the event it records; but, whenever he discovers a community of matter between the ballads and royal chronicles, he is still so influenced by the teaching of his master Milá that he assumes, without proof, the priority of the latter. In the present case, therefore, he discovers in Ayala the 'germ' of Queen Blanche's pathetic laments, and finds that the text has been altered in view of the chronicler's statements. The prominent position which Ayala held at the Spanish courts, his proved veracity, and his positive assertion that his narrative is based on his own observations or those of reliable acquaintances[1], reinforce the presumption that in this case too he speaks from the abundance of his superior knowledge.

There are three considerations which seem to me to forbid our regarding Ayala as the originator of these ballads:

[1] *Proemio* (*B.A.E.* LVI, p. 400): 'E por ende de aquí adelante yo Pero López de Ayala, con el ayuda de Dios, lo entiendo continuar así lo más verdaderamente que pudiere de lo que vi, lo qual non entiendo decir sinon verdad: otrosí de lo que acaesce en mi edad e en mi tiempo en algunas partidas donde yo non he estado, e lo supiere por verdadera relación de Señores e Caballeros, e otros dignos de fe e de creer, de quienes lo oí, e me dieron dende testimonio, tomándolo con la mayor diligencia que yo pude.'

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1. There is a certain forthrightness in the technique of ballad-composition which is imperfectly satisfied by Menéndez y Pelayo's hypothesis. Everyone is familiar with the process of carving chronicles into ballads by merely rhyming the prose, which characterises the *romances eruditos*. It is not so easy to compare older and more worthy ballads with their originals, seeing that these texts have either disappeared or have survived in shapes rather different from those accessible to the ballad-poet. In these cases we are denied the satisfaction of making a direct confrontation, but we have sufficient information to show that through all the modifications appropriate to the style of traditional poetry there persists the order of narrative used in the original epic or novel. The principle is as evident in the Danish *Folkeviser* as among the ballads of the Peninsular *Romanceros*. The Spanish *Tristán*, for instance, despite its laconic brevity, shows its dependence on each of the three corresponding chapters of *Don Tristán de Leonís* in the same order as they occur in the prose original, and the older of the *Lanzarote* pieces preserves the order of narration that we find in the Dutch *Lancelot* and the *Lai de Tyolet*. In the Danish *Tord af Hafsgaard* we have an opportunity of verifying this process by comparison with an immediate original of the same length; in *Alf i Odderskær* and *Ungen Svejdal* we perceive the lines of ancient narratives which have been altered in the course of their dramatisation by the Eddic poets. *Holger Danske* and *El Marqués de Mantua* follow at a distance, but quite consecutively, the *Enfances* and *Chevalerie* of the French Ogier de Dinamarche. Ballads are frequently very different from their sources of inspiration; but these differences are due to the traditional resources of contraction and expansion, the use of set formulae or popular ideas, contamination with other pieces and lines of simple comment on the theme. They respect the letter of their texts, however, and preserve invariable the original order of narration; if they plunge 'in medias res,' they are not wont to return later to explain what has been taken for granted before. The story which Ayala tells in the *Crónica Vulgar* can be separated into two different accounts corresponding to the extant ballads: the first, which alone is found in the *Abreviada*, tells of the order given to Íñigo Ortiz, his refusal, and the Queen's execution by the 'ballestero de maza' Juan Ballestero or Juan Pérez de Rebolledo; the second relates King Pedro's encounter with the prophetic shepherd in the vicinity of Jerez de la Frontera, the commission of enquiry sent to interrogate the Queen, and her death at the hand of an unnamed 'caballero' (the conclusion is omitted by Ayala, but is found in the corresponding page of the *Cuarta Crónica General*). Now in Ayala's prose it is the

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royal commission which discovers the hapless lady on her knees at prayer —an attitude which, though natural, is not of special significance at that moment. This commission belongs to the episode of the *Pastorcico*; but it is the *Muerte de Doña Blanca* which reveals her in the act of prayer at the intensely significant moment of her murderer's entry. Having regard to the forthright manner of the ballad art, it would be very strange that this transposition should take place; even the technique of the 'eruditos' would suffice to prevent an author of such a piece as *El Pastorcico Profeta* from neglecting so pathetic a touch. The difficulties disappear if we regard the chronicler's text as dependent on two accounts similar to the two preserved in the *Romancero de Don Pedro*, of which one was known to the historian at the time of his early sketch of the chronicle (the *Abreviada*) and the other brought into apparent conformity with it in the standard edition. For, as an author of independent personality and classically inspired style, Ayala was exempt from the restrictions of literary initiative which mark the ballad manner of composition.

2. When we look more attentively at the story of the prophetic shepherd, we find Ayala's rationalism unconvincing. His account tallies with that offered by the more sober of the versions printed in the *Primavera* (no. 66), both in the words of the prophecy and in its consequences. These consequences were, according to the poet:

El rey fué mucho turbado, mandó el pastor fuese preso;
mandó hacer gran pesquisa si la reina fuera en esto.
El pastor se les soltara, nadie sabe que se ha hecho.
Mandó matar a la reina ese día a un caballero,
pareciéndole acababa con su muerte el mal agüero.

Prophecy is a rare gift, even among 'pastorcicos'; it is found in ordinary circumstances on the lips of supernatural beings, or on those of ordinary men only under the influence of the superhuman. When two such prophetic rustics encounter Duke Silfverdal in the Swedish version of *Ungen Svejdal*, they are not slow to accredit their speech by reference to their divine origin:

Vi äro ej vallgossar, fast eder tyckes så.
Vi äro små Guds englar under himmelen blå.

(No shepherd lads are we, though such we may seem to you.
God's little angels are we come down from heaven so blue.)

In the ballad cited the supernatural is implied, as it is implied in the Danish *Ungen Svejdal*. No. 66*a* of the *Primavera*, like the Swedish text above, expressly qualifies the prophet as more or less than human:

Todo esto recontado, desapareció el bulto negro.

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Ayala himself says that to many this affair seemed to be a work of God; but he is unconvincingly rational when he declares the prophet to be capable of arrest and temporary imprisonment, and claims to give details of the committee of enquiry. With masterly ambiguity the primitive ballad did not affirm the fact of an arrest, but only of an attempt, and alluded to the royal enquiry only in terms of imposing generality. Ayala, then, we have detected in the act of rationalising for historical purposes a tale similar to that contained in *El Pastorcico Profeta*, the conclusion of which (namely the Queen's death to avert an evil omen) he has seen fit to alter as being discordant from his first narrative. That conclusion has its echo, however, in the *Cuarta Crónica General.*

3. For these two reasons I consider that the ballads are not indebted to Ayala's prose for their origin, though they may have suffered later modifications through his influence. On the contrary, Ayala has sought for facts in two documents similar in contents to the two poems under discussion. The precise nature of these documents is revealed in the one expansive moment in the chronicler's narrative, his description of the Queen's attitude at the moment of crisis. His statement is as follows:

> E llegaron sin sospecha a la villa e fueron luego a do la reyna yacía en pri*sión* en una torre, e fallaronla que estaba las rodillas en tierra, e faciendo ora*ción*; e cui*dó* que la iban a matar, e lloraba, e acomen*dióse* a *Dios.*

It will be seen that the prose offers three or four assonances in the series Ó or Ó–E. The occurrence of assonances in a Spanish text is not itself significant; but it acquires importance when we have reason to suspect a poetical original, and still more when they belong to the series we expect to find. This, in fact, is the series employed by the author of *La Muerte de la Reina Doña Blanca*, and at least two of the lines offered to us by the sixteenth-century texts might have served to form Ayala's clauses, viz.:

> Estos fueron a la reyna, halláronla en ora*ción*...
> Confesión no se me niegue, sino pido a Dios perd*ón*...[1].

I conclude that Ayala's authorities for the events leading up to the death of Queen Blanche of Bourbon are not merely similar to, but identical with, the two ballads under discussion; that is to say, Ayala had before him the original compositions of which *El Pastorcico* and *La Muerte de Doña Blanca* are the sixteenth-century derivatives.

[1] For the purpose of comparison, I construct the following lines from Ayala's prose:

> Estos fueron a la reyna do yacía en la prisión;
> de rodillas la fallaron, faciendo la su oración.
> La reyna como los viera en la su muerte cuidó.
> ...lloró.
> ...ella a Dios se acomendió.

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In asserting that Ayala drew upon poetical sources, we merely bring his work into line with the rest of Peninsular historiography. The father of Spanish chroniclers, the anonymous Monk of Silos, made use of poetical material (whatever the form may have been) to eke out his account of the defeat of Rodrigo; and his successor, the author of the *Crónica Najerense*, based part of his work on a Latin poem in hexameters. By Archbishop Rodrigo and Alfonso the Sage the practice was carried over to vernacular history; by Ayala's predecessor it was adapted to the chronicles of contemporary or recently deceased monarchs, when use was made of the ballad-like *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* in the construction of the *Crónica de Alfonso Onceno*. His successors, and especially the biographer of Juan II, transcribed *romances fronterizos*. Beyond the borders of Castile Fernão Lopes and the author of the *Crónica do Condestabre* cite a popular song, and Zurara a courtly lyric; while in Catalonia we find, as a result of Sr Montolíu's investigations, a decasyllabic *chanson de geste* embedded in the *Libre dels Feyts del Rey En Jacme*, a chronicle which, on the other hand, is at least in part attributable to that king himself.

Ayala's preface declares that he has followed only trustworthy authorities, namely, either the evidence of his own eyes or the reports of men of repute; and to a modern historian, no doubt, ballads would not seem to be covered by his statement. But it is a mistake to suppose that ballads or epic narratives lack either authority or veracity. On the side of authority we know that ballads were written down in Denmark by ladies of quality, were collected in book form to please a queen, and dealt almost exclusively with the interests of the knightly class. Of the Swedish heroes of Gotland (1444) we are told:

> Man skal them prijsa
> med hoffwitzsko wijsor
> bland riddara och frwr
> (They shall have praise
> of courtly lays
> among knights and dames);

and in England Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* is directed to the 'lordings.' The Spanish *Romancero* is more impersonal, but we are informed that Fray Ambrosio Montesinos wrote '¡Ay, ay, ay! qué fuertes penas' at Queen Isabel's request; and one of the most popular ballads is no more than a grandee's obituary notice (*Romance del Duque de Gandía*). The word 'popular' as attached to ballad poetry must be construed so as not to exclude the aristocracy, and during the best epochs to envisage primarily the landed gentry and their country dependents. As historical evidence

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a ballad states that which is most widely held to be true concerning any event, and where supported by intrinsic probability, as in *Del Cerco de Baeza*, *Chevy Chase*, *Gotlandsvisan*, can be provisionally accepted by the most rigorous historian as testimony to a fact. No doubt, in many cases there are other sources of information which do not corroborate, or which contradict, the statements of ballad poetry, and in those instances the historian, be he mediaeval or modern, consults his own conscience. When Ayala, for instance, recounts the death of Don Fadrique in a manner quite different from the corresponding ballad, we are not entitled to infer the non-existence of the latter, but only that the historian has had access to more reliable information. In the absence of more credible sources, however, the ballads are the statement of the opinion generally received among men of authority, and Ayala does not go beyond his rights in relying on them for the fact of the Queen's murder in 1361 any more than Sr Menéndez Pidal does for the fact of a siege of Baeza in 1368.

In his *Crónica Abreviada* Ayala makes use only of the *Muerte de Doña Blanca*, in the *Crónica Vulgar* of both pieces. The *Abreviada* was presumably the first draft of the *Vulgar*, but both were composed during the reign of Enrique III (1390–1407), and probably, as Mr E. W. Lloyd informs me, between 1394 and 1398. We can draw no useful inference from Ayala as to the relative chronology of the ballads; and we find his early neglect of the *Pastorcico Profeta* repeated by the author of the *Cuarta Crónica General* (1454 +). As the author of this piece can 'prophesy' King Pedro's death without heirs, it is clearly to be dated after that monarch's death. In the later version (*Primavera*, no. 66*a*), the prophet adds:

serán malas las tus hijas por tu culpa y mal gobierno.

The line can hardly have been composed after the marriage of one of these daughters' daughter to the heir of Castile in 1389. Nor was it called for until John of Gaunt claimed the Castilian crown in 1374 for Doña Costanza, or perhaps until he landed in Galicia to enforce that claim in 1386. In its earlier form the ballad contains a widely believed account of the Queen's death. The place is given as Jerez de la Frontera; Ayala follows the rival account, but the *Cuarta Crónica General* and her tombstone prefer Jerez. According to *El Pastorcico* and the *Cuarta Crónica General*, the murderer was a 'caballero.' It is worth noting that the *Muerte de Doña Blanca* is designed to excuse a 'caballero,' and to throw blame on a 'ballestero.' It would seem that, if we could know under what circumstances suspicion came to be attached to Don Íñigo Ortiz de

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Estúñiga, at a time when it was no longer possible to deny the fact of the murder (i.e., presumably after Pedro's death in 1369), we should be present at the moment of the ballad's composition. We note also that Ayala does not inculpate Doña María de Padilla, therein following his own estimate of her character or the dictates of prudence in her granddaughter's court. The accusation made by the ballad is echoed by her epitaph at Jerez: 'diva Blanca...*praevalente pellice* occubuit iussu Petri mariti crudelis.' It has its place in the polemics of 1374–88.

'Romance del Clérigo Profeta.'

Shortly before the skirmish with the Bastard of Trastamara at Nájera in 1360, Don Pedro encountered a cleric who 'prophesied' that, unless the King was on his guard, he would die under Enrique's hands. So we are informed by Ayala, *Crónica del Rey Don Pedro*, 1360, cap. IX and the *Romance del Clérigo Profeta.* Ayala is very brief, and the prophetic message is given thus:

> E el clérigo le dixo así: 'Señor: Sancto Domingo de la Calzada me vino en sueños, e me dixe que viniese a vos, y que vos dixiese que fuesedes cierto que si non vos guardasedes, que el conde don Enrique vuestro her*mano* vos avia de matar por sus *manos*.' E el Rey desque esto oyó, fué muy espan*tado*.

The corresponding lines of the ballad are:

> 'Sabe que por revelación del Señor Santo Domingo
> he sabido que estás tú en grandísimo peligro,
> porque ese conde tu hermano gran traición te ha urdido,
> y si no te vengas dél no puedes escapar vivo,
> porque él mesmo con sus manos te dará cruel martirio.'...
> Don Pedro desque lo oyó algo se hobo estremecido.

The full text of the clerk's message fills 38 octosyllables of the ballad, which states in 88 octosyllables what Ayala narrates in 19 lines. The ballad cannot have been carved out of Ayala's prose, but it may be an expansion of the text, as Menéndez y Pelayo observed. Assonance is discoverable in Ayala; but it is the banal and often delusory assonance in A–O, which is almost more difficult to avoid than to make. At the same time we are bound to remember that ballad-variants are found sometimes to vary in assonance also. So

> Paseábase el rey moro por la ciudad de Granada

is the same ballad as

> Por la ciudad de Granada el rey moro se pasea,

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despite the assonances. In the series A–O the ballad would read, perhaps:

Vínome en sueños, Señor, Domingo ese señor santo;
bien sabrás lo que yo sé y lo que me ha revelado.
He sabido que estás tú en peligro muy granado,
porque ese conde tu hermano gran traición te ha trabado;
que si no te vengas dél no puedes vivir en salvo;
porque el mesmo te dará cruel muerte con sus manos.'
Don Pedro desque esto oyó fuérase muy espantado.

Proof that the ballad is older than Ayala is therefore incomplete, but we should note that this prophecy is but one item in a literature of controversial prophecies, corresponding broadly to our election addresses. Merlin was the source of many of these declarations; in the *Baladro del Sabio Merlín* he shows great rancour against Pedro, and in Ayala's *Crónica* he supplies the text of the Moor Benihatin's two abusive diatribes before the battle of Montiel. Merlin is known to have been active in the political affairs of Alfonso XI and Enrique III, as well as in the court of Juan I of Aragon. But there were other prophets in the land, and we have seen that one of them, the prophetic shepherd, was welcomed by Ayala into his chronicle. The prophetic clerk, despite the dullness and prosiness of his revelations as we now read them, seems to be of the same kidney as the prophetic shepherd. Further, we note that this ballad accuses the triumphant pretender of treason, an accusation the King is too upright to tolerate or too headstrong to consider. The sentiment of the ballad supposes the existence of a party hostile to the pretender's interests after the death of Don Pedro, and we have noted that this party passed out of existence when Enrique III married Catherine of Lancaster in 1389. On a balance of probability the original form of this ballad should be attributed, along with others in the *Romancero de Don Pedro*, to the years 1374–88.

'De la Muerte del Señor de Vizcaya.'

Three tragedies and one comedy are used by the *Romancero* to damn the memory of Pedro the Cruel. The comedy is that of his ride in pursuit of the Prior of St John; the tragedies are the murders of his brother, his wife, and his cousin, the Lord of Biscay. The latter was a history admirably fitted to deprive him of the sympathies of the Basque provinces, so important to the loyalists during the campaign of 1367 and John of Gaunt's residence in Guyenne; and its effect was increased by the ballad-poet's dramatic impersonation of the victim. In Ayala's prose the first personal pronoun is not found (1358, cap. vi), but there are verbal parallels

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sufficient to show that we have before us but one account of the event. We cite:

Yo me fuí para Vizcaya donde estaban los hidalgos...
...fué fecha la Junta de Vizcaya...
y el rey me invió a llamar que viniese a su palacio...
...envió por el Infante Don Juan que viniese a palacio...
un buen puñal que traía quitáronmelo burlando...
...cataron manera como en burla le tirasen el cuchillo...
y el ballestero Juan Diente con la su maza le ha dado...
...un ballestero del rey, que decían Juan Diente, dió al infante con la maza en la cabeza...

Of the assonances of the ballad we find only 'Bil*bao*' and 'pa*lacio*' in Ayala's prose, and these obligatory words signify nothing. In favour of the ballad's priority we can only bring forward indirect arguments. The somewhat unusual liveliness of the historian's style in this episode resembles *longo intervallo* the dramatic intensity of the ballad. The ballad-poet does not claim that the King would in due course pay a heavy penalty for his crime; he betrays no knowledge of the tragedy of Montiel. Lastly, his narrative seems to have influenced the author or one of the early redactors of the ballad on Don Fadrique's death. That also is told in the first person, though not in all versions. There is the same summons to attend the King's pleasure, the same or similar omens, the same deprivation of defensive weapons, a similar altercation and death. But we know from Ayala that Don Fadrique's death, a notorious and public event, did not take place in this fashion; while he is willing to reproduce this account of Don Juan's secret murder as substantially historical. We seem bound to conclude that the Biscayan poem is of earlier date than certain widely accepted versions of the other history, and there is nothing to show that it was composed very long after the event it celebrates.

'Romance de Don Fadrique, Maestre de Santiago.'

With the slaughter of Don Fadrique at Sevilla in the year 1358, the enmity between the King and his surviving half-brothers became irreconcilable; for it showed that the King would stop at nothing in order to repress the insubordination which had been for a long time characteristic of family relations in the Castilian royal house. From that date the Trastamaran faction could only look forward to the prospect of unending exile or successful treason. So significant a date in the calendar of party strife could not have been omitted from among the *romances*, if these are to be regarded, as critics do regard them, in the light of partisan passions. The event, however, was public and notorious; no trivial skirmish like that of Baeza, no privy assassination like that of Don Juan, no fact

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disputable in itself like the decease of Queen Blanche, no fiction like the ballads of the two prophets. Ayala's narrative (1358, cap. iii) is based on his own knowledge and is quite different from that of the ballads, which present the simple novelistic tableau of an innocent victim advancing inevitably upon his doom. The tale is, as we have seen, even in the details of its presentation, the same as that which accounted for the Lord of Biscay's death only fifteen days later. Ayala's silence is no evidence that the ballad did not exist in his day; it shows only that he had access to more satisfactory information. He tells us, for instance, that Doña María de Padilla attempted to warn the unlucky prince; in the ballads she is the instigatrix of the murder. Despite Ayala, however, this latter account imposed itself on historians, and the lady's guilt is asserted in the *Cuarta Crónica General* (*C.I.E.* CVI, p. 82), where we read:

> E después a poco tiempo, *por afinco de doña María de Padilla*, el rey don Pedro mandó matar a don Fadrique su hermano, maestre de Santiago, en la cibdat de Sevilla, en el alcáçar della.

When studying the *cantares de gesta* we find their influence more fully exerted on the *Crónica de* 1344 and *Veinte Reyes* than on the earlier *Primera Crónica General* (c. 1289); and so in the *Romancero* we witness a victory of fiction over fact. As with *cantares* so with *romances* the argument *ex silentio* must be used with extreme caution.

There are two main versions of the Master's death. In one (*A*), which I judge primitive, the poet's object is to concentrate our horror on the figure of Doña María de Padilla. According to all the versions Doña María combines the wickedness of Salome and Herodias by requesting and receiving the Master's head; but it is only in this primitive account that her character is fittingly introduced:

> Mañanita de los Reyes, la primer fiesta del año,
> cuando damas y doncellas al Rey piden aguinaldo...
> Doña María, entre todas, viene a pedirle llorando,
> la cabeza del Maestre— del Maestre de Santiago.
> El Rey se la concediera; y al buen Maestre ha llamado.

In the true spirit of biblical irony we are informed that the King loved the Master:

> ca el Rey amaba al Maestre, y era muy grande el regalo.

At a later date this bitter narrative yielded to the superior effectiveness of drama, and the version (*B*), handed down to us by the *Cancionero de Amberes*, and printed in Wolf's *Primavera* (No. 65), has the same pattern as the *Muerte del Señor de Vizcaya*. This version appears to date from the Galician campaign of John of Gaunt in 1386–8, seeing that the substitution of Coimbra for Jumilla is, perhaps, due to the prominence of Coimbra

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in the Portuguese war of 1384–5[1]. Jumilla seems to have been a name devoted to destruction in popular poetry, as it has given way to Guadalupe in the Sephardi *romance*. The second redaction of the poem seems to be anterior to Ayala's chronicle, and nothing prevents our concluding that the primitive piece was of service in the fratricidal wars of 1366–9.

'Entre la gente se dice.'

This ballad is, with the possible exception of *El Clérigo Profeta*, the only service rendered by the *Romancero* to the memory of King Pedro. It is composed as a counterblast to the popularity of the two principal affirmations of the Trastamaran faction, namely, that the tyrant had treacherously murdered his brother Fadrique and his wife Blanche. The statements were, at the time this ballad came into existence, accepted as facts; and it was no longer open to the poet to allege that the Queen may have died of heartbreak or of the plague, though such may well have been the truth. As we read the ballad the poet does not even contest the Master's imaginary conquest of Coimbra, he merely assumes that the facts are as stated and suggests an explanation discreditable to the Master and Queen. Granted that they were done to death; it was not a treacherous murder, but the exercise of the right every husband possesses of defending the purity of his home. The ballad can hardly have been composed during the King's lifetime or after the disappearance of his party in the wedding of 1389; it belongs rather, with the revised version of Don Fadrique's tragedy, to the polemical literature of the Galician war (1386–8).

'El Prior de San Juan' and 'Muerte del Rey don Pedro.'

There remain two ballads in the cycle of Pedro the Cruel. *La Muerte del Rey don Pedro* is a brief poem of 22 octosyllables voicing relief at the death of a cruel tyrant. It is too brief to admit of examination, and might equally well be a contemporary piece or a literary exercise. More instructive is the *Romance del Prior de San Juan*. The *Cuarta Crónica General* (*C.I.E.* cvi, p. 91) says:

> E después desto fecho, por volturas de un pariente de doña María de Padilla, que se decía Juan García de Padilla, el rey don Pedro corrió desde Sevilla fasta Consuegra al prior de Sant Juan, e en dos noches e dos días le corrió fasta el castillo de Consuegra e no lo alcanzó, e tornóse a Sevilla.

'He aquí el germen del romance,' exclaims Menéndez y Pelayo. But from the very jejune paragraph cited it requires little short of genius to deduce

[1] The suggestion was first made by Prosper Mérimée.

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a sketch of King Pedro as the comic traitor of the ballad. The chronicle gives no hint of the King's invitation and plan to murder the Prior, or of the Prior's visit to the kitchen, his quick-witted resolves and excellent horsemanship. Not the chronicle but the ballad is the original; and it was probably a similar ballad, now lost, which caused the author of the *Cuarta Crónica General* to tell a similar story of 'Juan' García de Padilla and the Master of Santiago (p. 93). Neither tale is recorded by Ayala, and such attachment to history as they possessed was perhaps a distant recollection of Don Diego García de Padilla's intrigue for the Mastership of Calatrava in 1354; but the ballad is brilliant in style and, while blackening the reputation of Doña Costanza's uncle, contrives to kill her father by ridicule. One line of this piece alludes to another lost narrative which has imposed itself on the author of the *Cuarta Crónica General*, despite Ayala's authority. Ayala (1359, cap. xxiii) tells us that the King's half-brother Don Juan was executed in prison at Carmona. Our ballad has an obscure allusion:

> La comida que le diéredes, como dió el Toro a don Juan,
> que le cortéis la cabeza sin ninguna piedad.

The *Cuarta Crónica General* (p. 82) therefore informs us:

> E asímismo fué muerto el infante don Juan en Toro a yerbas.

Conclusions.

The ballads concerning King Pedro are collected from the songbooks and broadsheets of the sixteenth century or from the lips of rustics and exiles in our own day; the events they record belong to a decade in the fourteenth century (1358–69). As in Denmark, where Olrik has stated the ballad problem in almost the same terms[1], it is the province of theory to determine by inferences the connexion that links the poetical record to the thing recorded; and in Spain, where ballads were from the beginning strictly narrative, we have not even the fitful and uncertain assistance offered to the Danish investigator by the refrains and lyrical interpolations in his *Viser*. It is thus natural that certainty cannot be attributed to our conclusions; but by combining the various probabilities that have arisen in our examination of the individual poems, we can form some idea of the date and origin of the cycle and its relation to the whole mass of Spanish ballad poetry.

[1] 'Saaledes som Folkeviserne nu ligger for os, er de dels blevne opskrevne af adelige Damer i det 16de og 17de Aarh., dels sungne af Bønderfolk ned mod vore Dage i Bindestuer ...Men forud den Tid, da de blev forte i Pennen, ligger der lang Tid—deres Liv i Middelalderen—hvor de blot lærtes udenad ved Sang, og hvor de ydre Forhold var helt forskellige: de horte ikke saa meget til ved Haandarbejdet eller ved Gildebordet, men de blev sungne i Dansen' (A. Olrik, *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*, I, p. 5).

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There are no ballads based immediately on the events of Spanish history older than those which refer to Pedro the Cruel and his quarrel with Enrique de Trastamara. Older subjects of an historical nature, of course, are celebrated in the *Romancero*, such as the exploits of the Cid or the tax of five maravedis; but in these cases an epic, a chronicle or a legend intervenes between the event and its entry into the body of Spanish minstrelsy. In the reign of Alfonso XI a near-ballad emerged with Rodrigo Yáñez's *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, which is distinguished from true balladry by its portentous length and the impossibility of its adoption as one of the traditions of the people. But in the *Romancero del Rey Don Pedro* we possess traditional poetry, in which critics have not failed to note the bitter rancour of contemporary politics. As the arguments adduced above have been directed towards removing the gratuitous assumption of Ayala's priority over the corresponding ballads (an assumption which no one cares to make for the *Romance del Cerco de Baeza*), what prevents our supposing that the three great murders were already sung in the Trastamaran camps during the lifetime of the unhappy tyrant? They answer perfectly the political needs of the moment. How better account for Enrique de Trastamara's sleepless hate than by remembering that his nearest brother's head had been sent, like John the Baptist's, bleeding upon a charger by a new Herod to a worse than Herodias? Could loyal Basques lack indignation when reminded that their Lord had been cast, as though he were a Jezebel, from a palace window into the streets of Bilbao? The blackest horror filled every right thinking soul when he thought of the innocent Queen, whose very name meant purity, brutally murdered while yet on her knees—an attitude that saved even the blood-guilty Claudius from Hamlet's avenging sword! The work of the two prophets was probably later than these three primitive pieces. Necessarily later than Pedro's death, they were perhaps inspired chiefly by the recrudescence of bitterness in the claims made by the tyrant's daughter upon the usurped throne. So, at least, it seems wise to interpret the 'pastorcico's' allusion in one version of the ballad to the depravity of Pedro's children. Shortly after the name of Coimbra had begun to attract attention in the Portuguese wars, a more dramatic rendering of Don Fadrique's tragedy came into circulation; and to this second version, combined with the old tale of Queen Blanche's death, the partisans of John of Gaunt and Princess Costanza replied by pleading on the King's account adequate justification. Of the brief pæan upon King Pedro's death nothing certain can be affirmed; but the insignificant siege of Baeza was first sung in the year of the event itself, or at most not later

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than a score of years thereafter. There remains only the *Romance del Prior de San Juan*, of very doubtful historicity and late attestation, strongly influenced by the formulae of epical balladry, and introducing a new conception of the King's character. Don Pedro's appearance in a humorous rôle—still a tyrant, but a tyrant *manqué*—seems to harmonise with the spirit of a more tolerant age than that of Enrique II and Juan I. When the third Enrique had ascended the throne, leading with him the heiress of King Pedro, the events of the civil wars doubtless appeared as an historical perspective of fixed values. With this exception, then, the *Romancero del Rey Don Pedro* seems to have been extant before Ayala commenced his chronicles in 1394; four ballads may have been sung before 1369, and three variants are marked by the polemics and passions of the war of 1386–8.

It is also noteworthy that these ballads are generally connected with Sevilla or other Andalusian cities. Fadrique was murdered at Sevilla; the Queen at Medina Sidonia or Jerez de la Frontera. The 'pastorcico' haunted the country near Jerez; Juan Pérez de Rebolledo was 'vecino de Jerez.' From Sevilla the Prior of St John escaped by his wit and horsemanship. Baeza is on the upper Guadalquivir and Montiel among the mountains near its sources. Coimbra, Guadalupe and Consuegra are used in these poems merely as marks of distance from the southern capital. In two cases the action occurs in other parts of Spain; the 'clérigo profeta' is found in the vicinity of Nájera, and the Lord of Biscay murdered at Bilbao. These pieces warn us not to attempt too precise a localisation of early Spanish balladry; but the intervention of Andalucía is noteworthy and intelligible. Since its conquest by St Ferdinand this province had been among the wealthiest and most important in Spain, of which it had been the real capital since Alfonso XI was compelled to march southward against the Benimarines of Africa. Don Pedro, with his liking for the society of Jews and Moors, stayed by preference in the south, and adorned Sevilla with a palace that is still the wonder of tourists. Along the line of the Guadalquivir raged the war of 1368, and the decisive victory of the rebels was gained among its sources. Under the Trastamaras the importance of Sevilla in no wise declined; it was from Sevilla, for instance, that Juan I organised his last invasion of Portugal, and to Sevilla that he reported his defeat. The energies of Spain at this epoch were concentrated at Sevilla, a fact we should take into account in discussing a literary form born at this time. To the *Romancero de Don Pedro*, in fact, Andalucía bears the same relation as Castile to the *cantares de gesta* and Toledo to the 'School of Toledo.'

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The special reference to Andalucía we have noted in the *Romancero de Don Pedro* is seen to grow stronger when we pass on to the ballads of the frontier wars. The oldest of these ballads, the *Romance del Cerco de Baeza* (1368), also forms part of the cycle of King Pedro. In it the characteristics of the genre, notably the preoccupation with personal and local interests, are already established, seeing that they are *mutatis mutandis* those of the older cycle. No national conception, such as that of the Salado crusade in the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, presided over the formation of the various units in the *Romancero del Rey Don Pedro*, even though some of the actors were figures of national consequence; on the contrary the spirit that inspires them breathes out faction and personal rancour, and the incidents recorded are frequently obscure or only by accident of significance for the whole people. It appears, for instance, to have been in the years of Aljubarrota and Valverde, that the author of *Entre la gente se dice* canvassed the private morals of Don Fadrique and the Queen; and of the various encounters at Nájera minstrelsy has busied itself not with the shock of legions, but with the apocryphal pronouncements of an unnamed cleric. In outlook and style as in localisation and date the ballads of the Moorish frontier continue the traditions of those born in the civil conflict on the Guadalquivir. They form one body of poems arising directly from the events they narrate, which, if we take advantage of Torres Naharro's celebrated division of his comedies, we may term *romances a noticia*, that is, ballads based on fact. In the opposite class of *romances a fantasia* we should place all those pieces which are begotten of some written or spoken literary tradition, whether their originals be old national epics and tales, mediaeval novels, or the motifs of international folklore. In setting up these classes we make a distinction which has been left obscure by Menéndez y Pelayo, though it is explicit among the classifiers of Scandinavian minstrelsy. In the far north the 'historiske Viser' are those which deal with Riber-Ulf at the battle of Graahedeslaget, with Valdemar's wives and the frontier warfare in Gotland and Holstein; the detritus of ancient heroic poems such as *Alf i Odderskær* and *Hagbard og Signe* is found among the 'Kæmpeviser' beside the cycles of Diderik and Holger Danske. In Spain, however, 'romances históricos' are understood to include the epic cycles as well as all poems directly inspired by history, and are sharply discriminated from 'romances caballerescos.' This classification is based on the theory of the epic origin of Spanish ballads, which it presumes to be accepted by criticism. But if we approach the *Romancero* from some other angle (such as, for instance, Andrew Lang's presumption of the priority of folklore motives),

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the inclusion of the infantes de Lara, etc., and the civil and frontier narratives in one class of 'historical ballads' is found to beg the question of their origin. As the term 'romances históricos' is too wide in its present acceptation to describe what Scandinavian scholarship would understand by that term, namely poems arising out of historical events without the mediation of different literary forms, it may be of some immediate service to use the formula *romances a noticia* as the equivalent in Spain of the 'historiske Viser.'

Now it is noteworthy that these *romances a noticia* and 'historiske Viser' are in their several countries the only ones which permit any founded conjecture as to their date of origin, and that this date is in each case almost as old as the practice of ballad-mongering itself. This is the more evident in the Scandinavian North, because the use of rhymed stanzas in opposition to the old Germanic accentual system and the powerful influence of the *carole* make a formal break with the national epics, and fix the twelfth century as the earliest in which the *Viser* as we know them could have come into being. Among the historical pieces, however, we find that the battle of Lena in 1208 is the subject of a contemporary song, and that there are earlier themes (Ridder Stig's death in 1151, Valdemar and Tove in 1157) handled by the minstrels, though with less precision. In Spain it is not possible to make the same formal distinction between the old epical matter and its consequence for balladry; but we can observe the persistence of the epics as epics down to the middle years of the fourteenth century. The scribes of the *Segunda Crónica General* in 1344 'prosified' the *Segundo Cantar de los Infantes de Lara*, and there is said to have been yet a third *Cantar*. The epical influence, however attenuated, still predominated in Rodrigo Yáñez's conception of the Salado campaign of 1340; and the author of the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* was sometimes more faithful to original epic texts than the scribes of the *Primera Crónica General*. But already in the last quarter of the fourteenth century we find quite well-authenticated *romances a noticia*, and nothing in our present knowledge forbids our believing that some date from the decade of the events they relate, viz., 1358–69. The *cantares de gesta* had not been altogether dissolved into their elements and episodes at the time when the earliest Don Pedro pieces were composed.

These poems are significant not only for their date but also for their form. The themes which our classification includes among the *romances a fantasía* have, for the most part, been the object of literary treatments other than the ballad manner. The Cid is best presented in an epic of ample dimensions; the proper form (to use an expression of Aristotle's)

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of King Rodrigo's history was a 'tradition' among Moslem historians and a novel among mediaeval Spaniards. The theme of Ogier the Dane could only be adapted to Spanish balladry by altering the data of the French epic; and such topics as the 'Gentle dame despised by the crude shepherd' or the 'Bella mal maridada' were capable of lyrical and other treatments as well as of inclusion in the *Romancero*. But the *romances a noticia* have been, as artistic forms, nothing but ballads; and their technique is similar in Spain, Scotland, or Scandinavia. They deal with local and personal interests, and they aim at giving universal circulation to their version of events. They are bound to be as short as the memory of reciters, and short also in view of their unimpressive themes. They must conceal the poet's personality lest it prove incompatible with that of any among the myriad persons who are to carry on the ballad's tradition. They must relate action in the most general terms, and found it upon fundamental emotions alone. So, for instance, royalty in ballads is 'el rey,' 'el emperador,' 'Dannerkoning,' and even when it bears a name is no less shadowy; but epic poets discriminate between a Charlemagne and a Louis, or ascribe to an Alfonso more than one attribute; and when Ogier appeals to Charlemagne in the French epic, the Emperor is not merely moved by natural indignation, as in the Spanish ballad, but takes into account the whole feudal aspect of a vassal's suit for the punishment of his lord. To the Spanish minstrel, concerned only with fundamental situations and motives, nothing prevents Charlot from being summarily judged and torn to pieces; in the French epic the resistance of society to Ogier delays his vengeance for thousands of lines. It is by the simplification of motive and situation—the prerequisite of traditional circulation—that ballads are to be distinguished from epics and epyllia even in cases where there may be correspondence of theme, spirit, length, form and language[1]. But, as we have noted, this simplification is essential to the success of the *romancero a noticia* which appeals at once for traditional acceptance; other rewards were possible for those who treated literary themes.

The length, objectivity and manner of these poems can be related to their nature and purpose; for their poetical form they need not have been indebted to the *cantares de gesta*. Though printed in lines of 16 syllables by recent editors in order to stress their resemblance to epic metres, there is every reason to believe they were composed (as we find them in the

[1] A direct comparison between an epic passage and a ballad is possible only in two cases in Spain, and the differences are there as numerous as the resemblances. Between the *Edda* and the *Viser* comparison is made difficult because the former are usually dramatic, the latter narrative. But it is possible to examine the *Thrymskvida* and *Tord af Hafsgaard*, and to note that the former, despite its popular tendencies, is not capable of forming part of traditional poetry for lack of the generalisations that have entered into its offspring.

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cancioneros and *pliegos sueltos*) in octosyllables—an ancient form in Andalucía if we can credit the Arabists. The octosyllable is as likely to be the basis of the epic sixteens, as the epic line to have become two octosyllables[1]. Were the ballads written in sixteens, it would doubtless be easy to account for the assonances as a survival of tirades; but the practice of alternate assonance is so widespread in folk-poetry that it cannot be regarded as an improbable form of expression in the *Romancero*. Epical formulae are only prominent in the *Romance del Prior de San Juan* among those we have considered, and it is more likely to be of late than of early composition. These formulae together with changes of assonance within the ballad are among the marks of the 'ancient' (*viejos*) ballads, which are generally of epic origin. But the age of a ballad *qua* ballad is not necessarily that of its matter and style, which may well be that of some much older poem. To account for the emergence of epical ballads it is only necessary that there should be a moment of contact between the two literary manners. We have no means of judging when this contact was made in Spain or Denmark. In either country ancient epics were being transcribed in the prose of national histories, by the Alfonsine scribes and Saxo Danicus, at about the time when the earliest ballads inspired by events were sung; in either country the epics, when they became ballads, brought with them marks of their venerable antiquity.

The ballads of the civil and frontier wars, then, are a class in the Spanish *Romancero* not demonstrably younger than the ballad genre itself, and it is not known that the epical ballads were at all their seniors. Their style explains itself better than it can be explained by non-ballad models, and their versification is not necessarily borrowed from that of the *cantares de gesta*, which is itself a subject of controversy. Their appearance of relative modernity may be due to absence of archaism, and not to late composition; and it is not impossible that some *romances viejos* may have been their juniors. In the corpus of Spanish ballads the *romances a noticia*, based on facts, can be opposed to the *romances a fantasía*, based on various forms of literary tradition; and a satisfactory theory of Spanish ballad origins cannot be framed without taking both classes equally into consideration.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

[1] On the syllabic question, see H. R. Lang, 'Restoration of the *Poema del Cid*,' in *Revue Hispanique*, LXVI (1926). Nebrija, *Gramatica*, II, cap. viii (1492), says: 'El tetrametro iambico, que llaman los latinos octonario, e nuestros poetas pie de romances, tiene regularmente diez y seis silabas.' The allusion to the classical tetrameter destroys the evidential value of the passage. Encina, *Arte de Poesía Castellana* (1496), declared that *romances* were octosyllabic quatrains, i.e., octosyllables sung to *music* in groups of four lines.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Wulfstan's Account of the Esthonians.

The narrative of Wulfstan the navigator, inserted by King Alfred in his translation of Orosius (and included in Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*), ends with a reference to a certain tribe which was skilled in processes of refrigeration:

And þǣr is mid Estum án mǣgð þæt hī magon cyle gewyrcan; and þȳ þǣr licgað þā dēadan menn swā lange, and ne fūliað, þæt hȳ wyrcað þone cyle him on. And þēah man āsette twēgen fǣtels full ealað oððe wæteres, hȳ gedōð þǣt ǣgþer bið oferfroren, sam hit sȳ sumor sam winter.

Another traveller, Fynes Moryson, who visited Danzig and its neighbourhood in 1593, tells almost the same story in his *Itinerary*, IV, chap. iv:

Give me leave to adde one observation, which to me seemed very strange. At Malvin and Dantzke in Prussen, betweene Michaelmas and Christmas, the Country people bring in sledges laded with dead Hares, all frozen over, which are so preserved aswell and better, then if they were powdred with Salt, till our Lady day in Lent, about which time the frost begins first to breake. And if they will eate a Hare in the meane time, they thaw it at the fier, or the oven of the warme stove, or by casting it into water, and so they presently set it to the fier, either to be rosted or boyled. In like sort they preserve Phesants, or any kind of flesh, being frozen over, aswell as if they were salted. And if any man thinke this a Travellers fiction, let him know, that a most credible person told mee, of his certaine knowledge and experience, that the Moscovites in Russia, bring the dead bodies of men in winter thus frozen over, and so lay them on heapes in the Bellfrees of the Churches, where they lie without rotting, or ill smell, till about our Lady day in Lent the Snow begins to thaw, and the earth to be fit for digging (for till that time the earth is covered with deepe and hard snow, and if it were not so covered, yet is so hard by continuall frosts, as it cannot bee digged). And at that time each family takes the bodies of their dead, and takes care to burie them.

G. Waterhouse.

Dublin.

Some Unpublished Harvey Marginalia.

Among the many books which Gabriel Harvey annotated in his own handwriting there are two which have been occasionally spoken of, but whose marginalia have not yet been published. They are not included in Professor G. C. Moore Smith's list of books annotated by Harvey, but they are mentioned by Mr Frank Marcham in his recent book, *Lopez the Jew* (1927, p. 17). The books I have in mind are Thomas Wilson's black-letter quartos, *The Arte of Rhetorike*, 1567, and his anonymously published *The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logike*, 1567. Harvey himself may have had the books bound together (in a gilt calf binding) into one volume. On December 10th, 1917, the volume was sold in New

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York to G. D. Smith for forty-five dollars. In 1920 it was resold (for 550 dollars) to Dr A. S. W. Rosenbach, to whose kindness I am indebted for the privilege of publishing these notes.

From Professor Moore Smith's book we know that Harvey twice referred to 'M. Secretary Wylsons Rhetoric' and once to his 'Logique' in his copy of Quintilian (1542)[1].

The penmanship of these notes, written in very dark ink, is in almost all instances Harvey's typical Italian hand, neat, simple, well-formed, and—as a rule—easily legible; a few of the notes, especially the Thomas More anecdotes, are in Harvey's crabbed, ill-formed, and not easily decipherable Old English 'secretary' hand[2]. The ink of the latter is a light brown. Scattered throughout these books, especially in *The Arte of Rhetorike* (which Harvey read much more studiously than *The Rule of Reason*), there are many undoubtedly significant symbols (e.g., a circle with a dot in it, double *s*'s, a figure resembling a caduceus, little crosses, etc.), some of which have not yet, I think, been interpreted.

In the following transcript of the marginalia I shall put the page references in brackets to the left of the passage or words opposite which the comment occurs, print the text in Roman type, within quotes, and Harvey's notes in italics.

[T.-p.] *Gabrielis Harueij*, at the top of the page.

G H, adjacent to the words 'Anno domini' about the centre of the page.

[A.^{v}, top.] *Mr. Wilsons wonderful deliuerie out of prison in Rome, bie fire & sword.* This is at the top of the page on which Wilson recites his difficulties in Rome, having been incarcerated for the publication of heretical matters contained in his *The Arte of Rhetorike*, 1553.

[A.^{v}.] The letters *J.C.*, standing for 'jurisconsultus' (G. C. Moore Smith), occur in the right margin (r. m.) opposite the first two lines of the text. This notation occurs in eleven other places in the book.

On the third page following this, above the initial 'M' with which the chapter on 'Eloquence' begins, Harvey wrote *As logique j^{w}, I. b.* Above and to the right of the *j* is a letter which is probably an omega, the combination standing for 'primo.' The *w* or omega may not impossibly stand for the initial letter of 'Wilson.'

Below the Latin poem headed 'Gaulterus Haddonus D. Juris Ciuilis, et Reginae Maiestatis, à Libellis supplicibus[3]' Harvey wrote *Ut par sis in utriusq; orationis facultate.*

[a. iiij^{v}, l. m.] In the left margin (l. m.), opposite the section dealing with 'Matters triflying,' Harvey wrote *M. Aschum* and underlined the words 'who did' in the following sentence: 'As if one should fantasie to praise a Gose, before any other beaste liuyng (as I knowe who did).'

[1] See G. C. Moore Smith, *Harvey Marginalia*, pp. 112, 114. The footnotes are mostly contributed by Professor Moore Smith. [Ed.]

[2] Here we have a striking illustration of how well an Elizabethan penman might write on one occasion and how badly on another; as well as of how excellent his penmanship might be in one script and how wretched in another. A bibliotist (handwriting expert) would find it almost impossible to identify the writer of one as the writer of the other.

[3] Some title to be added, e.g., *Reginae Maiestatis Secretarius*, or 'a supplicum libellis Magister,' Master of Requests? [G.C.M.S.]

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[Fol. 16v.] *notable sentences, verie pithie, & Wise,* just above the page-heading.

[Fol. 18r.] *For the student of Lawe,* just above the page-caption.

[Fol. 65r.] *The Roman prudence in extolling the Valour of their mightiest enimies, as Pyrrhus, Annibal, Mithridates, etc.,* in the middle of the right margin.

[Fol. 68v.] At the top of the page bearing the following marginal caption: 'He that will stirre affections to other, must first bee moued hymself,' Harvey wrote this: *Checus. Templeus. Gardinerus. Valsingamus. Vilsonus. omnes regij Cantabrigiensis*[1].

At the bottom of the same page, in connexion with a discussion of 'laughter,' Harvey wrote as follows: *Gulielmus Templaeus, Thomae Gardiner, Nunc Vuilsono utor, homine sane facetissimo, tuiꝫ amantissimo. Js mecum quotidie Jllustrissimum Checum audit, Demosthenem interpretantem, Vale, et Valsingamum salutare te ex animo arbitrabere. Patauij, ex aedibus Titi Liuij.* 1554[2].

[Fol. 69r, r. m.] Under the caption 'Laughter mouyng' Harvey wrote: *sᵘᵐ* [? Secundo], *ƨ* [an inverted *S*]. *quasi praefatio in artem, scitè iocandi.*

At the bottom of this page, just below the sentence: 'There are five thinges, whiche Tullie noteth, concernyng pleasaunt talke,' Harvey wrote this: *One of my best for the art of iesting: next Tullie, Quintilian, the Courtier in Italian, yᵉ fourth of mensa philosoph. Of all, the shortest, & most familiar, owr Wilson.*

[Fol. 69v, l. m.] Near the bottom of the page, directly under the marginal caption: 'Mirthe how many waies, it is moued,' Harvey wrote the word *Lawherne*[3].

At the bottom of this page Harvey wrote the following: *Few delitiae Atticae. Wilson of Cambridge: & Jewel of Oxford then, Since Clark*[4] *of Cambridg: & Tobie Mathew*[5] *of Oxford. Before More, & Heywood of London. The first, & the last, Chaucer, & Sidney. Fine, & sweet men: almost like Tullie, & Cesar.*

This section of the book was evidently read very carefully; many passages are underlined, and the margins bristle with Harvey's cabalistic marks.

[Fol. 70v.] Under 'Mirthe makyng, twoo waies vsed' (in l. m.) he wrote *Ars scitè iocandi.*

[Fol. 71r, top.] *Jestes. The art itself.*

In the right margin, opposite the words 'to much is euer naught,' we have the comment *ne quid nimis* (underlined). Just below this is the word *scurrility*—probably as something to be avoided.

Opposite an anecdote involving the words 'Ah miser, nō potuit tacere & viuere?' Harvey wrote: *Malle amicū, quàm dictum perdere.*

Above the section dealing with 'Pleasant answere, made contrarie to our lookyng, delights vs muche,' our commentator wrote *Inexpectata iocundiora,* and at the bottom of the page he wrote *Ironizing by contraryes.*

[Fol. 72r.] *sū* [some] *bring purses frō ye church, insteade of Sermons* is written opposite the author's comment upon those who 'bryng other mennes purses home in their bosomes, in the stede of other mennes Sermons.'

[Fol. 73v, l. m.] *notarius stultitiarū,* written opposite Wilson's account of a jester (at the Court of the King of Naples) who kept a reckoning 'of all follies.'

[Fol. 74r, r. m.] *Dulci narratore nihil dulcius.*

[Fol. 74v, l. m.] *Hyperbola Aretini.*

[Fol. 75r, r. m.] *Ironics enlarged.*

[1] ? *omnes collegii regii Cantabrigiensis.* [Ed.]

[2] Clearly Harvey is quoting a letter from Temple to Gardiner. [Ed.] It is especially interesting as it shows that Cheke was lecturing on Demosthenes at Padua in 1554, and that William Temple, Wilson, and apparently Francis Walsingham were among his auditors there. This is new information. Sir John Clarke had been released from the Tower in Sept. 1554. Temple's letter may have been written at any time till March 25, 1554/5. Thomas Gardiner, Public Orator at Cambridge in 1554, was tutor to Francis Walsingham. [G.C.M.S.]

[3] Doubtless a friend of Harvey, perhaps Thomas Laugherne, B.A. in 1563/4. [G.C.M.S.]

[4] Bartholomew Clerke, Fellow of King's College 1557, M.A. 1562. [G.C.M.S.]

[5] B.A. 1564, Public Orator 1569. [G.C.M.S.]

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[Fol. 75r.] *Green, & Nash at this instant.*

These words, undoubtedly written before Greene's death, occur near the bottom margin of the page, opposite the following description of a person who 'hath more honesty with hym then he nedes; and therfore both is able and will lende, when it pleaseth hym beste. Beware of hym aboue all menne that euer you knewe. He hath no fellowe, there is none suche, I thinke he will not liue long, he is so honest a manne.'

[Fol. 75r.] *Julian in his Misopogon*[1] *finely cammendes* [*sic* for 'commends'] *his foes: vt s^ie*, 5.

[Fol. 75v.] The text predicts that Sir Thomas More's wit will endure 'unto the worldes ende.' Just above these words Harvey wrote: *Sir Thomas More. Vt J^ic*[2] *in his Logiques*, 84. *b. Th. Morus, illud Britanniae decus*[3]*: Beatus Rhenanus in Mori Opuscula.*

[Fol. 76r.] *Britanniae non nisi Vnicum ingenium. Coleti familiare dictum, ab Erasmo memoratum in vita Mori.* At the top of the page.

This is the page on which Harvey wrote his memorable remark, *Nash y^e rayler.* But it is not generally known that these words are written as a comment on the author's description of 'an euill man [who] had accused many persons.' Harvey underlined the last three words.

[Fol. 103r, r. m.] *Sir John Cheek*, set opposite 'a moste worthie man.' *slew* corrects a misprint ('shewe') in the text.

[Fol. 105r.] Under 'A Spaniardes doubte' Harvey wrote *Anpapa, S.C.E.*

[Fol. 111v.] Just above Demosthenes' praise of 'Pronunciation' Harvey wrote, at the top of the page, *The* 1. 2. 3. *action, action, action.*

[Fol. 112r.] *Lepidè, et facetè: vt erat suo in Flore, omnium Academicorũ festiuissimus. Alter ferè Thomas Morus.* The page is devoted to a discussion of 'faultes in pronunciation.'

[Fol. 113r.] Across the top of the page Harvey wrote the following: *Next after Tullie himself: mie familiar rhetoricians, Quintilian, & Wilson. daily necessarie, & important in Latin & Inglish. in euerie parlie, & discourse, priuate, or publique.*

[Fol. 113v.] This is the first page of the Index. Across the top of the page Harvey wrote *Doctor Wilsons Inglish Demosthenes* [1570][4]*: & his dialogue of Vsurie* [1572]*: much commended of fine Censors.*

Across the upper margin of the next page we find this: *Eliots French dialogues* [a lost book?][5]. *Aschams affaires of Germanie* [1570?][6]. [Henry Buttes'] *Diets drie dinner* [1590]. *Grata nouitas: Varietas: breuitas.*

On the third page of the Index, across the upper margin, Harvey has the following annotation: *Wilson, & Talaeus: Talaeus, & Wilson, ad vnguem. pregnantissima principia oratoriarum praeceptionum Tullij, & Quintiliani: Phalerij et Hermogenis.*

Across the upper margin of the very last page of the book Harvey made the following memorandum: *Thomae Wilsoni Epicedia, et Epigrammata, memorata in nomenclatore Constantini Lexicographi* =[7] *ex bibliotheca Gesneri.*

The Rule of Reason Harvey did not read so carefully as *The Arte of Rhetorike.* This probably explains why the former has fewer of his annotations and why so much less of it is underlined.

[1] Written against beards, i.e., philosophers. [G.C.M.S.]

[2] One would expect *vt W* (i.e., Wilson) *in his Logiques.* [Ed.]

[3] ? *decus.* [Ed.] Beatus Rhenanus, a historian 1485–1547. [G.C.M.S.]

[4] *The Three Orations of Demosthenes in favour of the Olynthians...with these his fower Orations against King Philip of Macedon Englished out of the Greeke*, 4°, 1570. [G.C.M.S.]

[5] Probably by John Eliot, author of *Ortho-Epia Gallica. Eliots Fruits for the French*, London, 1593, 4°, of which there is a copy with Harvey's signature 1593, and some marginal notes. [G.C.M.S.]

[6] *Report of the Affaires and State of Germany*, 1552 and 1570.

[7] Harvey had the book *bibliotheca Gesneri.*

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[T.-p.] Across the upper margin we find this annotation: *Witcraft newly published bie M. Leuer of S. Jhons.*

No such book is recorded in the *Short-Title Catalogue*, unless Harvey had Ralph Lever's *Arte of Reason* [1573] in mind.

Underneath the date is the beautifully written signature, *Gabrjel Haruejus.*

On the third page of 'The Epistle' (p. A. iij) the names *Cheeke* and *Cooke* are written in the margin opposite the mention of Sir John Cheeke and Sir Anthony Cooke.

[B. j^{v}, l. m.] The text ('mannes witte...inuented this Arte logic...by a naturall order') did not meet with Harvey's approval. He therefore underlined the word 'Natural' and wrote *an artificial* in the margin.

[Fol. 14^{r}.] Opposite the section-heading, 'Of a definition,' Harvey, again disapproving of his author, wrote: *Here a fitter place for the arguments of Jnuention.*

[Fol. 60^{r}.] Where the author proceeds to discuss 'Disputacion, or reasonyng,' the annotator writes: *Here a fitter place for propositions, & syllogisms of Judgment.*

[Fol. 62^{r}.] *Aristotles Elenchs.* Opposite the heading, 'The places of false conclusions.'

[Fol. 62^{v}.] *disputatio ad rem—ad hominem.* At the top of the page.

[Fol. 65^{r}.] *His Elenches, or fallacians.*

At the top of the page. Across the top of the last page of 'The Table' (the Index) Harvey wrote:

gabrielis harueij, et amicorum. 1570.
Great varietie of rhetorique, logique, & much other learning.

Below the last line of this 'Table' Harvey wrote these lines:

Praecepta hîc: exempla in discursa[1] *Caroli V. et*
Epinicio[2] *Henrici IV: sed heus, Vtrisque ad Vnguem.*

Just below this, in Harvey's most crabbed Old English hand, occur the following anecdotes about his favourite, Sir Thomas More.

Syr Thomas Mores Jestes: (reportid in these words unto me.
To my Lord of Shrowesberry.

1. *J pray my lord bid my wife welcũ for she is half A kin unto your Lordshipp. howe so, J pray you, syr Thomas? And it please youe syre, she cõeth of ye shrowes, but not of ye berries.*
2. *At y^{e} subuersion of Abbies A gentleman sued for A bell, that was mutch worth. when he could not obteyne it of y^{e} kinges Commissioneres, Sir Thomas desired them yet, thowghe they woolde not giue him the bell, to bestowe y^{e} rope uppõ him.*
3. *Being depriued of y^{e} Chauncelorshipp, whereas on[e] of his Gentlemẽ was woonte after Seruyce, to cũ [come] vnto My Lady, and tell her, My Lorde was gone before, he cummeth me nowe himselfe vnto her, where she satt in ye Churche and askith her merrily: will it please yo^{r} Ladishipp to be gone, for my Lordishipp is gone before.*
4. *Being walking on A highe leades in y^{e} Courte, ther cummeth me suddainly vnto him A tall & stronge gentleman, that was madd, who taking him by y^{e} showders, badd him leape downe there, or he woold throwe him downe/ where it was ten to on[e], he shoulde haue broken his neck/*[3] *Tushe, quoth S^{r} Thomas, that is nothinge; it were sumthinge to go downe, & then leape vpp hether, as you shall see me do by, & by. J marry J woolde fayne see that, quoth ye madd Gentleman & so lett him departe, exspecting to see him leape vpp/.*
5. *Skelton callid K.H. [King Henry VIII] Deũ, and Diuũ in certayn flattering verses. J [ay]. quoth Sr Th. More. Vt sunt Diuorum, Mars, Bacchus.*

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM.

NEW YORK.

[1] ? *discursu.* [Ed.]
[2] ? *Epinicia.* [Ed.] If this is Henry IV of France, the note must be after 1589. [G.C.M.S.]
[3] The words 'where it...neck' are in the left margin.

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A Note on Drayton and Philemon Holland.

On June 4, 1610, there was entered at the Stationers' Hall on behalf of George Bishop a translation of Camden's Latin work *Britannia*, done by Philemon Holland, then an usher of the Coventry Free School. The title-page informs the reader that the English version was 'finally revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions.' Some interest attaches to this work of Holland in connexion with another literary enterprise of that period undertaken by Michael Drayton, namely, his *Polyolbion*. It has been assumed by critics[1] that Drayton's gigantic work was directly based upon the topographical and other matter contained in Camden's *Britannia*, and an examination of the two would certainly tend to support that conclusion, for the Thirty Songs of the *Polyolbion* treat of England poetically county by county in much the same manner (though in slightly different order) as Camden's work does in prose; further, many an historical episode or legend narrated in Drayton's songs is to be found—at times more or less curtailed—in the *Britannia*. A careful investigation of the problem, however, shows that whilst Camden undoubtedly remains the indirect source of the *Polyolbion's* framework, it is feasible that the latter was really derived from Holland's translation. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that Drayton had the Latin text of Camden before him together with the English version.

It is important to note that Camden's Latin *Britannia* first appeared in 1586, and new editions were subsequently published in 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607, and 1616. With the exception of the last[2], each was a revised and augmented version of the preceding issue, so that the edition of 1607 is indeed considerably larger than that of 1586. A collation of these together with Drayton's songs yields the result that of the geographical, historical, and other items recorded in the *Polyolbion*, about a hundred are not contained in the edition of 1586; of these, about sixty are not in that of 1590, about fifty not in that of 1594, about thirty are not given by the 1600 issue, and six[3] at least are not even to be found in the text of 1607. All, however, are in Holland's translation. In addition, an examination

[1] Hooper, *Complete Works of Michael Drayton*, Introd., p. xvii; *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, IV, p. 190; Elton, *Michael Drayton. A Critical Study*, pp. 112–13.

[2] The 1616 edition, 'Nunc tertio recognita,' etc., published at Frankfort-on-Main, is a mere word for word repetition of that of 1594, and does not contain any of the facts added in the versions of 1600 and 1607. It is therefore omitted from the arguments that follow.

[3] Lickey Hill, P. XIV, 31–7; H. p. 574; River Loddon, P. XV, 293; H. p. 296; Hampstead, P. XVI, 249; H. p. 421; Highgate, P. XVI, 245, 255; H. p. 421; Tenham, cherries of, P. XVIII, 666–67; H. pp. 334, 352; Ancient urns unearthed, P. XIX, 132; H. p. 449. (P. = *Polyolbion*; H. = Holland.)

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of the *Polyolbion* shows that in several instances the words used by the poet are either identical with or a distinct echo of those in Holland. Hence, we have the following possibilities:

1. Having begun his *Polyolbion*, Drayton altered or added to his lines with each new edition of Camden's work.

2. Having drawn up a preliminary scheme for his Thirty Songs and perhaps commenced part of the work, Drayton put it aside until after the appearance of Camden's 1607 edition, possibly seeing the latter whilst it was still in preparation and borrowing from the manuscript sheets.

3. Drayton knew of Holland's translation, probably saw it in manuscript form, and made use of it for his *Polyolbion*.

An acceptance of the first two of these suggestions still leaves us to explain how it is that at least six of the facts recorded in the *Polyolbion* are in Holland's text but not in that of any of the Latin editions, and the occasional use by the poet of words practically identical with those of Holland's version, when the choice of language in translating is by no means limited. The third proposal eliminates these difficulties, providing it can be shown that Drayton may have had access to Holland's translation before its publication. Now the *Polyolbion* must have been in hand by 1598, for in that year, in his *Palladis Tamia*, Francis Meres wrote:

> Michael Drayton is now penning in English verse a Poem called *Polyolbion* Geographical and Hydrographicall of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, rivers, lakes, flouds, bathes, and springs that be in England.

This is before Camden's edition of 1600; and the edition of 1594, to which Drayton might have had recourse in 1598, omits, as already stated, about fifty of the facts common to both the *Polyolbion* and Holland's translation. Moreover, it is not impossible that Drayton began his work even before 1598, for two of his sonnets[1] of 1594 definitely indicate his leanings towards topographical writing. The extensive labour involved in the preparation and composition of the *Polyolbion* was spread over a period of many years; but despite his other literary efforts, Drayton kept plodding on with his great task until at length the first eighteen songs were entered in the Stationers' Registers on February 7, 1612, some twenty months after the publication of Holland's work. In these eighteen songs are to be found at least twenty of the facts that are not in Camden's 1594 edition, and among them are five missing from the edition of 1607[2]. As all are given in Holland's version, we are faced with the following alternatives: either Drayton saw the manuscript

[1] *Amours* 20 and 24.

[2] See note to previous page.

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sheets of Holland's work during the course of its preparation, or, between June 1610 and February 1612, he noted the additions made by Holland to the original text of Camden and superimposed several of these upon the lines of his first eighteen songs. The former appears by far the more probable alternative. That Holland's work was begun sufficiently early for Drayton to have been able to use it even in his first songs is attested by Holland's own words on p. 516 of his work, where he states, 'And while I was writing and perusing this Worke, our most Sacred Soveraigne King James in the yeere 1603, upon one and the same day advanced Lord Henry Howard,' etc.

It may be that Drayton was given the opportunity to see Holland's manuscripts through the agency of Camden himself, for it appears that as the translation proceeded, Holland sent his papers to Camden for advice or correction. Evidence of this exists in a letter to Camden, dated from Coventry, August 25, 1609, wherein Holland refers to Camden as his 'loving and affectionate friend,' and 'invites his opinion as to meaning of many phrases[1].' Again, there may have been a direct personal contact between Drayton and Holland through the Harington family. To the wife of John, the first Baron Harington of Exton, Holland dedicated his translation of the *Historie of Twelve Caesars, Emperours of Rome* by Suetonius, published in 1606; whilst, to the daughter of Lord and Lady Harington, Lucy, afterwards Countess of Bedford, a renowned patroness of literature, Drayton dedicated a number of his works, and extolled her in his verse on several occasions both before and after her marriage. Nor ought the geographical link between the two to be altogether overlooked. Polesworth itself was only about fifteen miles to the north-west of Coventry, the nearest large town of the county. The Gooderes of Polesworth had definite associations with Coventry, and Anne Goodere was born in the street called Mich Park[2]. Now both Sir Henry Goodere the Elder and his son were ardent patrons of literature, and we are told by Ben Jonson that they had a valuable library at Polesworth[3]. It is almost beyond question that they would hear of the literary activities of Philemon Holland; is it asking too much to assume that he like Ben Jonson and others was at times a visitor at Polesworth Hall where he and

[1] *Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton. Jul. CV.* 28. See article on Philemon Holland in *D.N.B.*

[2] Drayton himself records this fact in his *Hymn To His Lady's Birth-Place.* Anne Goodere was certainly celebrated by the poet as his *Idea* after 1606 and possibly earlier.

[3] In his 86th epigram Jonson wrote:

> When I would know thee, Goodyere, my thought looks
> Upon thy well-made choice of friends and books:
> Then do I love thee and behold thy ends
> In making thy friends books, and thy books friends.

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Drayton would meet? What we know of the Gooderes and the proximity of Polesworth to Coventry lend this geographical link a strong air of probability.

As instances of similarity between the language of Drayton and Holland, compare the following:

1. Of the River Camel. 'Let Camel of her course and curious windings boast' (P. I, 169). Camden has 'Camel, a tortuoso meatu; (Hoc enim Cam illis denotat),' etc. (edition, 1586, p. 76). Holland reads: 'Camel, of the crooked windings and reaches that it makes in his course' (p. 194). Drayton's *of her course* and *windings* are significant when compared with Holland's version.

2. Of Chesil Sands.

> aloft where Chesil lifts
> Her ridged snake-like sands (P. II, 33–4).

Camden has: 'aggerque Chesill dictus, ex arenis agglomeratis, freto tenui interfuso,...Hoc aggere Portland,' etc. Now *agger* can be translated in several ways, such as *Heap, rampart, pile, mound*, etc.; but Drayton's word *ridged* apparently follows Holland, who has: 'By this Bank or Sand-ridge, Portland,' etc.

3. Of Offa's Dike. 'Cast up that mighty mound of eighty miles in length' (P. IX, 237). Camden gives the length in his editions of 1586–1600 as 'per 90 plus minus mill. pass.' In the 1607 edition, this reappears as 'per LXXXX plus minus mille passus' (ed. 1586, p. 354). Holland's words are, 'for the space of foureskore and ten miles' (p. 623). Drayton seems to have used Holland's 'foureskore' and omitted the words following.

4. Of Tenham.

> Rich Tenham undertakes thy closets to suffice
> With cherries.... (P. XVIII, 666–7).

These lines are followed by an account of a variety of fruit. No mention of Tenham occurs in any of Camden's editions of *Britannia*, but Holland has, 'Then I saw Tenham...the parent...of all the choise fruit gardens, and Orchards of Kent....For thirty Parishes there about are replenished with Cherie gardens, and Orchards beautifully disposed in direct lines.'

5. Of a Holy Spring at Harlweston.

> And quoth the saltish spring...
> . . . .
> ...brackish I became: he finding me depriv'd
> Of former freshness quite,...
> On me bestow'd this gift, my sweetness to requite,
> That I should ever cure the dimness of the sight (P. XXII, 55–62).

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Camden omits all mention of Holy Springs in his edition of 1586; but, in those of 1590 on, he has:

> Sub hoc ad Hailweston viculum admodum tenuem duo sunt fonticuli, alter dulcis, alter quodammodo salsus; hunc contra scabiem et lepram; illum contra oculorum hebetudinem valere perhibent vicini. (Ed. 1590, p. 394.)

Holland translates the words *salsus* and *contra oculorum hebetudinem* by *brackish* and *against the dimnesse of the eyesight* (p. 497), a rendering almost identical with that used by Drayton.

6. Of the Dotterill. 'So marking you (with care) the apish bird doth do' (P. xxv, 348). Camden makes no reference to the dotterills until the edition of 1607, where he says of them, 'quae imitatrices aves' (p. 408). Holland renders this by, 'Which being a kinde of birds as it were of an apish kinde, ready to imitate what they see done' (p. 543).

7. Of Fish living in earth caught by turf diggers.

> Where those that toil for turf, with peating spades do find
> Fish living in that earth (P. xxvii, 79–80).

Camden, again only in his edition of 1607, has: 'in qua pisciculi innatant, qui a fossoribus capiuntur: ut fossiles hic esse pisces dicamus...et ligonibus homines piscatum eant' (p. 612). Holland has, 'in it swim little fishes that are caught by the diggers of turfe: So that wee may say, there bee fishes digged heere out of the earth...and men go afishing with spades' (p. 748).

These resemblances in the diction of Drayton and Holland are admittedly few and far between, but it must be borne in mind that Drayton is poetising the items he has selected and not giving just a reproduction of the prose version before him. Had Drayton actually used the Latin *Britannia* of Camden and not Holland's translation, the existence of similar phrasing as indicated above, where a translator has at his command a fairly extensive vocabulary, is a difficulty that scarcely finds a satisfactory solution—particularly when, as in the example of the Spring of Harlweston, two of the parallels occur in such proximity. That Drayton and Holland should both have introduced the words *brackish* and *the dimness of the sight* into their accounts is no mere coincidence. Considered with the rest of the evidence, this proves not only the poet's close acquaintance with Holland's translation, but also indicates—since it occurs in Song 22—that, after the appearance of Camden's edition of 1607, Drayton still followed Holland's English version.

I. Gourvitch.

London.

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An Italian Drama on Henry the Eighth.

English dramatists, in having recourse to Continental history for the raw material of their plays, have not infrequently given warped versions of the historical facts. It is interesting to find that in this they were at least equalled by one of their fellows on the Continent. The taste for international scandal is universal, particularly when that scandal can be linked with a tale of romantic love. Some idea of this nature probably induced Lodovico Aleardo, a Florentine, to compose his tragedy of *Armida*, dedicated to Patriccio Aleardo, and published by Pietro Greco and Francesco at Vicenza in 1607.

The play deals with the matrimonial tangles of Henry VIII of England; it is a curious mixture of romantic stuff such as might have been drawn from Ariosto, and of garbled historical fact. It probably reflects fairly well the Italian-Catholic attitude to Henry's conduct. It is curious to find that in the play the social position of Catherine of Aragon is usurped by Armida, who represents Anne Boleyn, whilst Catherine is represented by the almost insignificant Arinda.

The following is a brief outline of the plot of the play: Arrigo, King of England, has married Armida, daughter of the King of Spain, and betrothed of his deceased brother Arturo, whilst Arinda, his first wife, is still alive. His chief counsellor, in conversation with Tersandro, a knight of the court, expresses grave doubts as to the happiness of

> le seconde nozze,
> A cui passato è 'l Re, mentre ancor vive
> La prima sposa.

The sanctity of the marriage ceremony weighs on his mind.

> Se non il nostro Re, quando s' avinse
> Con nodo marital con la figliola
> Del Re, c' ha de le Spagne in man lo scettro,
> Già pria dovuta al suo fratello Arturo,
> A cui vietò troppo improvisa morte
> De l' alte nozze sue goder i frutti.

The counsellor fears that the deed will bring its punishment on the King and the realm, for he has had an ominous vision.

Arrigo now appears on the stage, cursing women in the sententious high-tragedy fashion of the sixteenth century.

> Chi pria destò del gran Motor del Cielo
> La destra ad ira? Chi turbò la pace
> Universal del mondo? Chi rivolse
> Sossopra le città, distrusse i Regni?
> Chi indusse a lagrimar l' huomo primiero?
> Chi trovò la menzogna? Chi la fede
> A rompere imparò? Se non la Donna,
> Se non questo infernal mostro perverso?

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The King tells how Dalinda, a servant of ill-repute, has revealed his Queen's adultery. He consults his counsellor, who advises caution. But now Arrigo and the counsellor overhear Dorillo, the Queen's page, tell of his love for Armida and of hers for him. Orders are given that he be secretly beheaded in the Tower, and his head is sent to Armida, who laments over it. Her husband appears in the midst of her lamentations and rebukes her. She defends herself as best she can. Her maid, Doride, is ordered to the stake, and Armida is sent to the block.

Whilst Arrigo rejoices in his having rid himself of the unfaithful Armida, there comes a letter from Arinda on her death-bed confessing that she still loves him.

> Che stata i' sono ogn' hor candida e pura,
> Serbando sempre inviolabil fede.
> Ma solamente il Re mi fa morire
> Perch' è già di me satio, e che desia
> Unirsi in compagnia d' un' altra Donna.

Deeply affected by the letter, Arrigo expresses bitter regret that the second marriage ever took place.

JOHN M. LOTHIAN.

SFORZA D'ODDI'S 'EROFILOMACHIA' THE SOURCE OF HAWKESWORTH'S 'LEANDER.'

Dr F. S. Boas, in his *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (p. 317), gives it as his opinion that one of Giovanbattista della Porta's comedies, *La Fantesca*, 'probably suggested' Hawkesworth's *Leander*. What Dr Boas is content to state as an opinion, Dr Schelling, in his *Elizabethan Drama* (II, p. 77), gives unconditionally as a fact: 'Walter Hawkesworth translated Porta's *La Fantesca* and *La Cintia* into *Leander* and *Labyrinthus*, acted at Cambridge in 1598 and 1599.' This statement is repeated in M. A. Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, p. 218. Between Hawkesworth's play and della Porta's there are some points of resemblance which might justify Dr Boas's surmise; certainly these could not be held to substantiate Dr Schelling's assertion. As a matter of fact, *Leander* is simply a 'rifacimento,' incident by incident, of Sforza d'Oddi's *Erofilomachia, overo Il Duello d' Amore e d' Amicizia*, dedicated from Perugia, 1572. In order to show how much closer than della Porta's in plot and incident d'Oddi's play is to Hawkesworth's, I give Dr Boas's summary of the Latin play, followed by the plots of the two Italian plays

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claimed as its source; that d'Oddi's play is the true source there can, it seems to me, be no reasonable doubt.

Leander and Flaminia, who belong to neighbouring but hostile families, have become enamoured. Gerastus flees secretly with his daughter to Florence, and when Leander tries to follow them, his ship is captured by pirates, and he remains in servitude for four years, till he is bought off by a young Florentine, Alphonsus. From his service he contrives to pass for a time into that of Gerastus, where, under the name of Cocalus, he makes himself a laughing-stock by his pranks and idle ways. In this disguise he can be near his adored one; but it is an equivocal happiness, for Flaminia, according to the convention of Italian comedy, has two other wooers. Alphonsus has fallen in love with her, while her father wishes to marry her to the foolish elderly doctor, Hippocrassus.

The doctor, however, is a very lukewarm suitor, and is easily induced, on the very night fixed for his betrothal, to visit the courtesan Ardelia, attired in the dress of the braggart soldier Rinoceron. He thus both forfeits the favour of Gerastus, and gets a drubbing from Ardelia, who takes him to be the soldier, and seeks thus to prove that she holds him cheap compared with Alphonsus; for she is a sixteenth-century 'Dame aux camelias,' who has become inspired by an unselfish passion, and is agonised at the prospect of Alphonsus deserting her for Flaminia.

With cynical indifference, however, to her tears and protestations, Alphonsus presses his suit, and promises Leander his freedom if he will help him to win Flaminia's hand. Up to this point (III, v), the atmosphere of the piece has been peculiarly sordid and unwholesome. Dotards, braggarts, clowns, and courtesans have filed in unedifying procession across the stage. But suddenly there comes a rush of purer air and the action takes a higher range. Leander, as he listens to Alphonsus, is torn between love for Flaminia, of whom hitherto there has been only a glimpse in the opening scene of the play, and his desire for freedom. Flaminia appears at the door of her father's house (IV, ii), bent on flight to a convent to escape marriage with anyone but Leander. Her maid, Spinetta, persuades her to return indoors, but not before she has proclaimed in her lover's hearing that she will be his alone. Overcome by the conflict of his emotions, Leander falls down in a swoon, and is found by Gerastus, who calls Flaminia forth to raise and revive him. But he has to tear himself from her arms to bid Alphonsus come to ask her to be his bride.

This done, he can endure no more and flees from Florence (v, ii), leaving letters to be delivered in three days, after the marriage has taken place, revealing who he is. But Ardelia, in whose view he had deposited the letters 'unsealed,' hurries with them to Gerastus, that she may prevent the union of Alphonsus with her rival. In this she succeeds, for Alphonsus, when he learns the secret of Leander's love and self-sacrifice, with a similar magnanimity, renounces all claim to Flaminia's hand, and sets out at once in search of the fugitive. Meanwhile Hippocrassus appears in arms before Gerastus's door to demand his bride, but while he is vapouring Alphonsus returns with Leander whom Gerastus is now at last delighted to welcome as his son-in-law.

A very brief summary of the story of della Porta's *La Fantesca* is given by Dr Boas at p. 317 of his book. More fully, the plot is as follows:

Essandro, having neglected his studies, runs away from the home of his uncle, Apollione. He arrives in Naples and falls in love with Cleria, daughter of Gerasto, a doctor. He disguises himself as a servant girl 'Fioretta,' and takes service in the house of Gerasto, where the new maid speedily wins the favour of Cleria. 'Fioretta' finally announces that her brother has arrived in Naples and, going out, dresses as Essandro and appears before Cleria's window; *she* is rewarded by Cleria's falling in love at once with the 'brother.'

Gerasto meanwhile falls in love with 'Fioretta'; Santina, his wife, overhears his plans and locks up 'Fioretta' with Cleria.

Gerasto has undertaken to give Cleria to the son of Narticoforo, a Roman pedant. Father and son are now expected to arrive. Panurgo, Essandro's servant, dresses as

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a doctor, and gets the parasite Morfeo to pretend to be Narticoforo's son, with twisted mouth, rotting flesh, etc. When the two present themselves as the scholar from Rome and his son, Gerasto withdraws from the contract.

Meanwhile the real Narticoforo arrives and is received by the inevitable Panurgo, who now pretends to be Gerasto and claims that the house is plague-stricken, refusing to admit Narticoforo. The latter seeks out a Spaniard, Capt. Dante, to help him, but the soldier proves to be a coward. Essandro also tries to chase the pedant from the city.

The real Gerasto now meets Narticoforo and is told to beware of the plague. He leads the visitors into the house, where he captures 'Fioretta' and tries to make love to *her*. He meets with rather rough treatment at the hands of Essandro, who is desperate at the thought that all will be discovered.

After several incidents of minor importance, Gerasto discovers the trickery of Panurgo by the arrival of a servant with the cloak (a doctor's) with which Panurgo was to disguise himself. The appearance of the uncle Apollione saves the situation. He has come in search of Essandro. He is recognised by Panurgo as his brother, and thus Panurgo proves to be Essandro's father. Essandro is married to Cleria, whilst Narticoforo's son is quite pleased to accept her sister Ersilia.

Sforza d'Oddi's play, which he tells us was written in very early youth, and which in later editions he has purged 'di tutto ciò che le potesse torre, o di vaghezza, o di dignità,' is as follows:

Leandro, son of Raimondo Sardi of Genoa, falls in love with Flaminia, daughter of Oberto di Portici. Their vows are secret, as the two families are at feud. Oberto departs from Genoa suddenly and secretly. Leandro goes in search. He is taken prisoner and kept at the galleys for two years and a half. Finally he is bought by Amico, a Perugian, who takes him to Florence and sells him to Oberto as a servant. Only Alfonso, a friend who is leaving Florence, recognises him.

Amico also loves Flaminia, and in turn is loved by a courtesan, Ardelia, who supplies him with money. Oberto meanwhile is hurrying on a match between Flaminia and Hippocrasso, and the betrothal is arranged for that evening. But Fabio (i.e., Leandro), Amico, Ardelia, etc., put their heads together and devise a plan whereby Hippocrasso is induced by the belief that Ardelia wishes to favour him to put off the match under the pretence that he is suffering from a secret malady. He is induced also to go to Ardelia's house dressed as Capt. Rinoceronte, whilst the latter is persuaded to appear at the same place dressed as Hippocrasso. Both, when they arrive, are soundly beaten.

Leandro, torn between his love for Flaminia and his duty to Amico, to whom he owes his liberty and to whom he has sworn faithful service, leaves a letter in cipher for Oberto—a cipher intelligible only to Oberto and to Amico, and to Ardelia, who has been instructed in it by Amico: Ardelia reads the letter and takes it to Amico. Meanwhile news arrives of the termination of the feud between the two families. Amico is eagerly urging a marriage settlement between himself and Flaminia when Ardelia reveals Leandro's letter. All praise Leandro's fine loyalty and his constancy to Flaminia. He is at once sent for and Oberto willingly gives him Flaminia's hand, Amico agreeing that that is the only fitting reward for his fidelity.

A detailed comparison of the three plots does not seem to be necessary to our present purpose, which was to show the true source of Hawkesworth's play. Such a comparison could only serve to demonstrate more fully what is already obvious from the rough outlines given above, namely, that the resemblance between Hawkesworth's *Leander* and d'Oddi's *Erofilomachia* is so close as to make it practically certain that the latter was used by Hawkesworth as his original, and not della Porta's *La*

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Fantesca, as hitherto surmised or asserted. The Italian play is practically identical with the English-Latin one in names, characters, and incidents.

JOHN M. LOTHIAN.

SASKATCHEWAN,
CANADA.

L. FR. HUBER ÜBER DEN 'VERFASSER DER RÄUBER UND DES FIESKO' IM SOMMER 1783.

Wohlbekannt ist der Brief, den Ch. G. Körner im Verein mit L. Fr. Huber und den Schwestern Stock, von freundlichen Gaben begleitet, im Juni 1784 an Schiller richtete; ebenso der erste Brief Hubers[1] vom 7. Januar 1785 [fälschlich 1784 datiert] in Beantwortung des Schillerschen Briefes an die Freunde vom 7. Dezember 1784. Dagegen scheint es unbemerkt geblieben zu sein, dass derselbe Huber schon 1783 in überschwänglichen Sätzen auf den 'Verfasser—den Schöpfer der Räuber und des Fiesko' öffentlich hingewiesen hatte. Das war geschehen in der sechs Seiten umfassenden Vorrede zu seiner Bearbeitung von Colley Cibbers Lustspiel *Love Makes a Man or the Fop's Fortune*. Der Titel des Huberschen Stückes—ich citiere nach dem Exemplar in meiner Bibliothek—lautet: *Liebe macht den Mann | Lustspiel | in fünf Aufzügen | nach dem Englischen | von | Colley Cibber.* Berlin 1784 bei Christian Friederich Himburg. Die Vorrede ist datiert: *Geschrieben zu Leipzig im Sommer* 1783 und unterzeichnet *C. F. Huber.*

Goedeke v[2], S. 480 ff. führt das Stück nicht unter den Schriften Hubers auf; vielleicht hängt das zusammen mit dem Druckfehler C. F. Huber statt L(udwig) F. Huber. Dass es sich nur um ihn und nicht um einen sonst als Theaterdichter völlig unbekannten Namensvetter handelt, befürwortet neben der obigen Ortsangabe (Leipzig) schon der Umstand, dass der junge Huber (geb. 1764) gerade damals durch den Umgang mit jungen Engländern angeregt, für englische Sprache und Literatur, namentlich für das ältere englische Theater und im besonderen für Shakespeare sich begeisterte und als Frucht dieser Betätigung 1785 seinen *Ethelwulf oder Der König kein König* nach Beaumont und Fletcher in Leipzig und Dresden, freilich ohne Glück, auf die Bühne brachte[2]. Die Beschäftigung mit Beaumont und Fletcher und dem älteren englischen Theater führte ihn auch zu C. Cibber, von dessen Komödie er sagt: 'Cibbers *Love Makes a Man* ist nichts andres als eine Zusammenfassung zweier Stücke von Beaumont und Fletcher: *The Custom of the Country* und *The Elder Brother*.'

[1] S. Speidel und Wittmann, *Bilder aus der Schillerzeit*, S. 77f.
[2] Vgl. *A.D.B.* XIII, S. 236f.

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Nachdem er Cibbers Stück und dessen Fehler kurz karakterisiert hat, fährt er rücksichtlich seiner eigenen (freien) Bearbeitung fort:

Dieses Lustspiel ist mehr für das Theater als für das Kabinet, und wenn es für jenes Verdienste hat, so wird man billig diejenigen Fehler übersehen müssen, ohne welche es das nicht seyn könnte was es ist.... Die Vollkommenheit ist in der dramatischen Kunst, wie in jeder andern, so selten, dass man Unrecht thut, irgend ein Produkt derselben, wegen einiger Unvollkommenheiten, ganz zu verwerfen. Wo finden wir den dramatischen Dichter, der Shakspears Stärke der Gedanken und originelle Karakterzüge besitzt, und dabei die Fehler Shakspears zu vermeiden weis, die einem geläuterten Geschmak auffallen; dessen Werke Enthusiasmus und Feuer athmen, ohne sich von philosophischer Wahrheit zu entfernen; der nach Plan arbeitet, wenn auch geringeren Geistern sein Plan Verwirrung, und sein *eigner* Gang Verirrung scheint; der nicht auf den Ausdruk *einer* Leidenschaft, auf die Ausführung *eines* Karakters, von dem alle übrigen blos Modifikationen scheinen, eingeschränkt, *alle* Leidenschaften gleich gros, gleich stark reden, *alle* Karaktere gleich passend, gleich glüklich handeln zu lassen, weis, der—doch wo gerath' ich hin? Ich denk' ein Ideal zu malen, und Deutschland hat ihn ja, diesen Dichter; noch steht dieses glükliche Genie in seiner vollen Blüthe. Aber Deutschland kennt ihn nicht—*verkennt* ihn. Noch hat der grosse Mann keine der Belohnungen grosser Männer genossen, als Verfolgung. Noch stossen sich viele an Fehler des Jugendfeuers, die selbst eben so sehr als seine Schönheiten das grosse Gepräge des Genies tragen. Noch wird er selbst von vielen, die, wenn sie ihn lesen wollten, würdig wären ihn zu schäzen, unter das Heer von geist- und geschmaklosen Nachäffern Shakspears gerechnet. Noch theilt er den glüklichen Fluch, den der berühmte Lobredner Richardsons ausgesprochen hat: 'Wehe dem Mann von Genie, der die Schranken übersteigt, welche Gebrauch und Zeit den Werken der Kunst vorgeschrieben haben und der das Protokoll und seine Formeln mit Füssen tritt. Es werden lange Jahre nach seinem Tode vergehen, eh' ihm die Gerechtigkeit erwiesen wird, die er verdient.'—Für meine Freunde und für die Wenigen, in deren Seele ich vielleicht hier schreibe, hab' ich genug gesagt: sie werden keinen Namen verlangen, sondern sagen: hat Deutschland mehr als den Einzigen?—denn Lessing ist todt!—Um aber den ästhetischen Kezermachern diese kleine Freude nicht zu rauben, will ich mich erklären. Ich meine den Verfasser—den Schöpfer der Räuber und des Fiesko: diesen grossen Stern am Deutschen Himmel, der troz Umarbeiter- und Rezensenten-Wolken für gesunde Augen so herrlich leuchtet.

Für diese Digression—bitt' ich nicht um Verzeihung. Mir und meinen Freunden ist sie gewis schäzbar—und sollte sie auch das Einzige Schäzbare in diesen wenigen Bogen seyn.

Helle Jugendbegeisterung wird man den Sätzen, die übrigens kaum vielen zu Gesichte gekommen sein werden, gern zugestehen. Man möchte auch aus ihnen folgern, dass Huber bei seinem engen Verhältnis zu Körner und den Schwestern Stock, an die er gewiss bei den 'Freunden' in erster Linie denkt, die treibende Kraft für die Annäherung des Quartetts an Schiller im folgenden Jahre gewesen sein dürfte. Im übrigen steht wohl, neben der ehrlichen Begeisterung für den wenig älteren Schwabendichter, hinter den Huberschen Ausführungen als geistiger, aber ins masslose erhöhter Pate die Rezension der *Räuber* durch den Romanschriftsteller und Komödiendichter Timme in der *Erfurter Gelehrten Zeitung* vom 24. Juli 1781 (s. J. W. Braun, *Schiller und Goethe im Urteil ihrer Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1882, I, S. 1ff.). Sieht Timme in dem Dichter der *Räuber* das Zeug für einen zukünftigen Shakespeare, bei

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Huber ist er bereits Deutschlands Shakespeare[1], ja wohl grösser als er—der ideale Dichter. Wünscht jener ein Meisterstück mit Shakespeares Vorzügen, aber ohne dessen Fehler, so hat nach Huber, der ja nun das 'Trauerspiel' von 1782 und den *Fiesco* vor sich hatte, ihr Schöpfer dieses Ideal verwirklicht. Verweist jener Schiller auf Lessing als leuchtendes Vorbild, so verbeugt sich auch dieser vor seinem Genius, aber 'Lessing ist todt.' Ja sogar Timmes Erwähnung von Richardson[2] weiss Huber für Schillers Grösse auszudeuten. Goethe wird totgeschwiegen. Kein Wunder; der Dichter des *Götz* hatte—es war nun zehn Jahre her—den kühnen Jugendwurf nicht wiederholt. War von dem Weimarer Minister überhaupt noch ein dramatisches Erzeugnis auf den Pfaden Shakespeares zu erwarten?

R. Priebsch.

London.

[1] Vgl. Hubers Brief an Schiller vom 11. October. 1785 (a.a.O., S. 88) '...Dir schwindelt noch immer, wenn Du an Shakespeare hinaufsiehst? Dein grosser Genius—wie soll ich Dir ihn nennen? Schwindle nicht vor dem Briten Shakespeare—deutscher Schiller!'

[2] 'Man legt schon lange Richardson seinen Lovelace zur Last: und Lovelace ist doch gewiss ein Heiliger gegen Franz?'

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REVIEWS

Studien zu Chaucer und Langland. Von FRITZ KROG. (*Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft LXV.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1928. xii + 174 pp. 9 M.

Herr Krog intended this book to be a psychological study of Chaucer and Langland. Although they have little in common he feels that such a study must be reciprocally beneficial, because they are contemporaries and because each, in his own sphere, was a man of mark.

The motto of the Chaucerian section:

> This world nis but a thurghfare ful of wo,
> And we ben pilgrimes, passinge to and fro;
> Deeth is an end of every worldly sore;

indicates Herr Krog's somewhat narrow conception of Chaucer. He finds that Chaucer, a weak, impressionable nature, was unhappy in being born into the changing world of the later fourteenth century and still more unhappy in the circumstances of his career. Except for the early years of his life, when he was still in his father's house, he was always alien to his environment. By birth and upbringing he belonged to the middle class of commercial London, so that, when he entered the service of the Duchess of Ulster, he left his home in every sense of the word, and the strain of adapting himself to the life of the Court resulted in a spiritual conflict from which he was never free. This conflict can be traced throughout his work as, for instance, in the melancholy and pessimism of the earlier writings and in the fate which dominates *Troilus and Cressida*, 'eine Schicksals-Tragödie'. If Chaucer is ever at peace with himself, it is through his sense of humour, though this, in the *Canterbury Tales*, may become satiric.

When we turn to the second section expecting to find a parallel treatment of Langland, it becomes obvious that this book suffers from that lack of harmony which the author detects in Chaucer. Herr Krog has realised that any psychological study of Langland must be unsatisfactory as long as the present uncertainty with regard to texts and authorship continues. He therefore devotes the greater part of this section to a detailed textual investigation of certain portions of *Piers Plowman*. The MSS. have not been consulted for this work, but the fullest use has been made of the texts, or portions of texts, which have been printed. This investigation leads to two results of importance: first, it refutes the theory of Dr Görnemann that all the existing MSS. of *Piers Plowman* are merely variants of one original MS. and that the A-, B- and C-texts, as such, do not exist; second, it confirms the work of earlier investigators, based on a study of the MSS., that the C-text is derived from a B-text MS. which was, in some ways, superior to any existing B-text MS. In the matter of single or multiple authorship, the author is convinced that one man wrote the three versions, but he does not feel justified in claiming that his results add much here. Herr Krog understands the supreme importance

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of the MS. evidence in all these problems and, also, the difficulty of arriving at decisive conclusions until critical texts of the three versions are established. As illustrating these points he notes the contradictory results obtained by recent investigators of the alliteration of *Piers Plowman*: one definitely in favour of multiple authorship; the other, almost as definitely, against it.

ELSIE BLACKMAN.

LONDON.

Les Sonnets Élisabéthains. Les Sources et l'apport personnel. Par JANET G. SCOTT. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, LX.) Paris: H. Champion. 1929. 343 pp. 45 fr.

In his preface to the edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, published by Thomas Newman in 1591, Nashe described Sidney as 'so excellent a poet (the least syllable of whose name sounded in the ears of judgment, is able to give the meanest line he writes, a dowry of immortality).' Undoubtedly it was the glamour of Sidney's name that led to the English sonneteering outburst of the last decade of the sixteenth century. Wyatt and Surrey, 'the two chief lanternes of light,' as Puttenham calls them, had indeed been the pioneers, but their sonnets—composed before 1540 and published in 1557—had borne but sparse fruit. It was not until the path had been blazed by the circulation and publication of the *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets that there followed the groups of Daniel, Drayton, Spenser and Shakespeare, as well as those written by practically every second-rate or minor poet of the day.

For several decades efforts have been made by eminent scholars to trace the sources drawn upon by English sonneteers and to indicate the various influences that have helped to mould both the form and matter of their poems. The labours of Sir Sidney Lee, Messrs L. E. Kastner, W. C. Ward, E. Koeppel and others need no elaboration here, and Dr Janet G. Scott displays throughout her book a close acquaintance with the works of her predecessors. In her preface she definitely states that her starting point was 'the well-known work of Sir Sidney Lee and the admirable studies of Mr L. E. Kastner.' The former had declared in the Prefatory Note to his *Elizabethan Sonnets* that his own treatment was 'far from exhaustive,' and 'a wide and fertile field of literary research' awaited exploration. Dr Scott's book is a fruitful effort in this field.

A difficulty that confronts enquirers after the sources of literary work is to discern accurately what are sources and what merely analogues. A very large number of the Elizabethan sonnets were manifestly translations, paraphrases, or close imitations of the creations of Petrarch and his Italian successors or of the series that emanated from the poets of the French Pléiade, especially of those composed by Du Bellay, Ronsard, or Desportes—themselves largely based upon Italian productions. The ascendancy of the Petrarchan tradition, the prevalent vein of Platonism, the cult of Eros, and the interaction of a host of ideas springing from

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everyday affairs or derived from the growing stock of classical translations, just as the proneness to moralise or to write in allegorical form, naturally tended to produce poems bearing striking thematic resemblances; these were further accentuated by the use of a number of expressions, conceits, puns and other linguistic devices that were current coin. All these are given careful consideration by Dr Scott. In her fifteen chapters she discusses the poems written by the English sonneteers from Wyatt to Shakespeare, devoting a chapter to each important sonnet series, as well as one to the works of minor poets, and another to the sonnets to be found scattered through Elizabethan literary works in general. In addition, she gives Chapter xv—the last before the conclusion—to the English sonnets of William Drummond of Hawthornden, whose poems are quite in accord with Elizabethan tradition.

Problems affecting the sources are carefully examined; but Dr Scott refrains from making a digression to treat topics of a general nature. Thus, she opens her chapter on Barnes (p. 69) by stating, 'Le nom de Barnes est connu de nos jours parce que Lee a prétendu retrouver en lui "le poète rival" des sonnets de Shakespeare'; but she offers no opinion of her own on the matter. Again, in connexion with Shakespeare's sonnets, she says expressly, 'Au sujet de Mr W. H., nous ne hasardons aucune conjecture, notre but étant de considérer les sonnets du point de vue des sources' (pp. 230 f.). Occasionally, she joins issue with her predecessors: she emphatically differs from the views expounded by Sir Sidney Lee on the sources of the sonnets of both Drayton and Shakespeare. Of Drayton's *Idea* she writes (p. 146):

> Existe-t-il des sources précises pour tous ces sonnets? Nous ne le croyons pas. Lee prétend que Claude de Pontoux a exercé une influence toute particulière sur Drayton. Il est difficile de l'admettre: aucune trace n'en existe dans le recueil. Pontoux avait une place très modeste dans la poésie française contemporaine, et quoiqu'il ne soit pas impossible que Drayton ait vu son canzonière, il est plus probable que le sonnettiste anglais l'ignorait complètement. Les citations de Lee ne prouvent en rien la dette de Drayton, car les antithèses citées reviennent dans maint autre sonnet contemporain.

So, too, she forcibly combats Lee's suggestion that Shakespeare was indebted to the works of Étienne Jodelle and other French poets (pp. 105 ff.). For the most part, however, Dr Scott is satisfied to continue the efforts of earlier workers and add to their results, sometimes very effectively—as, for instance, in the sources of Giles Fletcher's *Licia* or Watson's *Tears of Fancie*.

A valuable portion of Dr Scott's book is the Appendix in which she presents a list of the sources and analogues so far ascertained for each of the sonnet sequences. Although she also appends a list of the chief works published in Italy, France and England between the years 1499 and 1623 under Petrarchan influence, she fails to include a general bibliography of critical works on sonnet literature. Still, despite this deficiency, *Les Sonnets Élisabéthains* is a comprehensive and highly interesting study of its theme.

I. Gourvitch.

London.

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Daphnaida and other Poems. By EDMUND SPENSER. Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press. 1929. 243 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

This is the second volume of Professor Renwick's edition of the *Complete Works of Spenser* in seven volumes. Volume I contained the *Complaints* and the *Epigrams and Sonnets* from the *Theatre for Worldlings*. To these pieces Professor Renwick now adds all the rest of the minor poems. He prints a critical text unencumbered with footnotes, but supplies at the end of each volume a Commentary (in vol. II it fills pp. 171–227) and Bibliographical and Textual notes (pp. 231–43).

The text of Spenser's minor poems presents little difficulty, as the original editions of all the poems are well authenticated. What difficulty there is lies chiefly in the direction of punctuation. From a comparative study of the punctuation in *Colin Clout* and *Astrophel* Professor Renwick is led to think that in 1596 *Colin Clout* was printed from the author's manuscript, but *Astrophel* from an earlier edition now unknown. This would help to explain away the long interval between Sidney's death and the appearance of this collection of elegies. The suggestion might have been referred to in the Commentary. Not every student reads textual notes.

The real contribution of Professor Renwick to Spenserian scholarship lies, however, in his effort in the Commentary to provide the material for a full appreciation of Spenser's quality as a literary artist. This has not been attempted in any previous edition, and it could only be done by one deeply versed in the literature of the Renaissance, in the classics, and in Chaucer. The Elizabethans scarcely discriminated fully between the poet and the man of learning, and did not take it amiss that Spenser's poems were thrice-crossed by the book-lore of the past; but the content of education has changed, and most of the knowledge which a sixteenth-century poet could take for granted in his readers, is not now a general possession. It is to meet this change of circumstance, and rescue Spenser from superficial criticism, that Professor Renwick has gathered into his Commentary sufficient store of precedents, parallels, sources and illustrations to enable the careful, slow and patient reader to enjoy these poems as an Elizabethan must have enjoyed them. The task required great skill and judgment, and Professor Renwick has shown both: never allowing himself to be betrayed into mere source-hunting, but holding to his purpose of giving a view in perspective of the rich variety of inspirations at work upon the imagination of a Renaissance poet.

Nor may we forget that Spenser was an independent artist as well as a scholar. Professor Renwick takes pains to show where he gives a new turn to borrowed thought, or pours it into a different formal mould. The introductory comment on *Daphnaida* is a model of brief and telling criticism on Spenser's use of Chaucerian precedent in the *Boke of the Duchesse*. This is one of the all too rare occasions upon which Professor Renwick has departed from the self-denying ordinance he imposed on himself when he declared at the end of his General Introduction: 'Criticism is the reader's business; ours, humbly to try to help him by providing some of the material.' The Commentary upon the *Fowre Hymnes* is good in another way, as an exceedingly lucid presentation of

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the sources and substance of Spenser's thought in these difficult poems. New light is thrown on the poet's personality by the emphasis here laid on his rejection of many of the current doctrines of the Platonists.

Into the regions of historical research Professor Renwick has scarcely ventured. He has followed closely the work of other investigators, and comments where necessary upon matters still in controversy, but he is clearly less attracted by this side of Spenserian study. This is a pity. Spenser's poems touch so frequently upon contemporary life that often they cannot be fully understood without extensive historical knowledge and the exercise of the historical imagination. Thus in the volume of *Complaints* Professor Renwick did not observe that all the visions at the close of the *Ruines of Time* were pieces of personal allegory; and in the present volume he passes in silence a number of interesting points. A case occurs in *Colin Clout*, where he refers the reader from lines 660–792 to *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 581–942 (and *Teares of the Muses*, 67–108); and from *Colin Clout*, 795–894 (on Love), to the *Fowre Hymnes*. Professor Renwick makes no comment on the remarkable closeness of the passage on Love in *Colin Clout* to the *Hymne in Honour of Love* (and not to the *Fowre Hymnes* generally). Now we do not know when the first two Hymns were composed. Spenser says 'in the greener times of my youth.' He also says that *Mother Hubberd's Tale* was composed 'in the raw conceipt of my youth.' But the Love passage in *Colin Clout* ends with two lines which sound as if Spenser were thinking beyond *Colin Clout* to some more formal treatment of Love and Beauty (ll. 896–7). In *Colin Clout* Beauty receives only four lines. So that when we remember that the conjectural date 1580 for *Mother Hubberd's Tale* rests entirely on the famous Leicester allusion (ll. 619–30)—which may not be a Leicester allusion at all, but a reference to the new favourite, the Earl of Essex, high in favour in 1590, married in 1590 to the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, to the annoyance of Elizabeth, and lastly, much more like one of the 'wild beasts that swiftest are in chase' (? the heroes of the Portugal expedition of 1589) than ever was poor Leicester—we feel entitled to wonder whether all these coincidences do not point to 1590–1 for the date of *Mother Hubberd's Tale* and the first two Hymns, and to wish that Professor Renwick had hazarded an opinion.

For no one can know an author more intimately than his editor. Every word, every comma and semi-colon, must have engaged his close attention. Most helpful suggestion, where there is still matter of doubt, may therefore be expected of an editor. Professor Renwick can afford to risk a fall, for the advance made by his edition on the literary side is indubitable, and on no other side can it expect to be final, since every year or two is now adding something to our knowledge of Spenser.

I have noticed a few misprints. P. 132, l. 160, for *is* read *it*; p. 144, l. 1, read *wrought*; p. 181, l. 36, for 1540 read 540; p. 188, l. 7, for 1598 read 1589. Also in *Complaints*, p. 188, date of Leicester's death, correctly given on p. 195.

B. D. Wright.

Exeter.

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The Taming of the Shrew. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited by Sir A. QUILLER-COUCH and J. DOVER WILSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1928. xxvii + 194 pp. 6*s*.

All's Well that Ends Well. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited by Sir A. QUILLER-COUCH and J. DOVER WILSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. xxxv + 202 pp. 6*s*.

The latest volumes of the New Cambridge Shakespeare bring up the tale of comedies dealt with to the dozen. The experiment of the distinguished editors engaged in their great task has, beyond question, been amply justified. To the general introduction to each play Q. has brought his unfailing freshness of outlook and his very personal and independent appreciation of its quality. Professor Dover Wilson's textual analysis has invariably brought to the attention of his readers peculiar characteristics which have to be accounted for unless scholarship confesses to bankruptcy. And he is invariably ready to account for them. For the first time the problems of the copy for Shakespeare's plays have been tackled by an examination of the necessary industry, knowledge and penetration, leading to theories that shirk no consequence.

At the same time, Professor Dover Wilson's attempts to recreate the copy for the plays must not make us forget what light has been thrown by him on the text in the way of fresh interpretation of difficult passages. The most recent volume bears full witness to this aspect of his work, in a play notoriously full of cruxes, some of which he not only solves convincingly, but forces the obscure oracles to deliver up indications of dates for the various stages of the play, as with 'for-horse to a smocke' (II, i, 30), and the possible references to the Gunpowder Plot in I, i, 122 and IV, iii, 22.

So far, all his readers are at one in appreciation of the work done. But Professor Dover Wilson's solutions of the problems he has brought to light meet with no such unanimity of opinion. In the volumes under review I for one accept readily the general account of the copy for *The Taming of the Shrew*, for which the evidence seems strong, while I can in no wise accept as conclusive the evidence for the theory of the basic play behind it or of the fragments dismissed as débris of Nashe. So with *All's Well that Ends Well*, I acknowledge the cogency of the argument for revision after a considerable interval of years, and the indications of ill-morticed joins. But I find it almost incredible that a play of Shakespeare should be revised fundamentally by another writer during Shakespeare's lifetime for his own company. And I view with grave suspicion all attempts to foist upon unknown collaborators whatever critics think unworthy of Shakespeare, whether it be with Mr Robertson certain scenes concerning Joan of Arc, or with the present editors a passage concerning virginity, to describe which as 'bawdy' is a gross misuse of a word. The danger in this direction is patent in such a phrase as 'as we wish Helena to be' (p. xxv). An earnest commentator upon this play, indeed, might easily urge that this passage is the inevitable prologue to its main theme, in which Helena is evidently bent upon accepting the advice of Parolles,

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and pursuing the policy, maintained by him with some cogency, which seems to him commendable. And the Sonnets contain parallels. Incidentally, one wonders what Q. means by writing of work written by Shakespeare 'but a little before 1598' as 'plainly juvenile work' (p. vii), or 'very juvenile' (p. viii), when the dramatist was thirty-four years of age, and reasonably mature.

The fact is, of course, that the editors anticipate and desire nothing less than passive submission to their textual theories. A new examination has been made, a new weapon has been forged, and new battles are being waged, in which scholarship will sway nearer to the truth than ever before. This being the hope of the editors, and the proper end of their brilliant adventure, it is surely desirable that they themselves should one day pause to survey the course they have run and take stock both of the ground gained and of the instructed resistance encountered. Such a retrospect by Professor Dover Wilson would be of no less value than that of a further instalment of the indispensable editorial work he is engaged upon.

C. J. Sisson.

London.

Dryden and Howard, 1664–1668: *The Text of 'An Essay of Dramatic Poesy,' 'The Indian Emperor' and 'The Duke of Lerma,' with other Controversial Matter*. Edited by D. D. Arundell. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. xiv + 288 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.

In this volume Mr Arundell's aim has been 'to collect the whole of the controversy on *Dramatic Poesy* and to give in the same cover a practical example of each of the protagonists' theories.' With brief introductory notes he has given Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* and the later *Defence*, Howard's prefaces to *Four New Plays* and *The Great Favourite, or the Duke of Lerma*, and the pertinent passages of Dryden's dedication of *The Rival Ladies* and the introductory letter of *Annus Mirabilis*; together with texts of *The Indian Emperor* and *The Duke of Lerma*. The prose pieces can easily be found elsewhere, e.g., in Arber's *English Garner* or (with notes) in Ker's *Essays of Dryden* and Spingarn's *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*. The plays, however, are less accessible. *The Indian Emperor*—which, as written in the midst of the controversy, has been chosen in preference to the later and better *Conquest of Granada* and *Aureng-Zebe*—is not in the 'Mermaid' Dryden, and the early editions and Scott(-Saintsbury) cannot be on the shelves of all students; while *The Duke of Lerma* has perhaps not been reprinted for a couple of centuries. It is, moreover, appropriate to give the plays in their setting of prose controversy. The idea of Mr Arundell's volume is thus a good one.

Less happy, however, is the way he has carried it out; notwithstanding his explanation, others besides the teacher and man of letters to whom the volume is dedicated may be expected, in the editor's phrase, to raise their eyebrows at the method adopted. He has 'repunctuated, respelt and reparagraphed.' Surely this is a mistake in a volume which, from its contents, is presumably intended for the systematic student of Restora-

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tion literature rather than for the general reader. Furthermore, neither student nor general reader is likely to appreciate the punctuation which the editor has substituted for that of the original editions, especially in the plays. It is truly startling to see groups of 'dots constantly breaking up the text' of *The Indian Emperor*. 'I have put in these pauses frequently,' explains the editor, 'to avoid the impression of regular metre. ... They are pauses such as an actor might well make (though he might not make them all).... I hope that they may help the reader to realise the emotions of the characters more easily. Yet I have not invented these pauses out of my head. They are all represented (intentionally or not) by commas, colons and semi-colons in the original.' It should perhaps be explained that in this quotation from the dedicatory letter the dots are used according to the usual convention to indicate omissions and are not a sample of Mr Arundell's 'pauses.' These may be illustrated from the specimen he gives of the original punctuation and his modification of it.

> Woman! that's too good,
> Too mild for thee: There's Pity in that name,
> But thou hast lost thy Pity, with thy Shame.

This, so simple and satisfactory in its punctuation, clear to the brain and pleasing to the eye, is turned into the spotted

> Woman! That's too good...
> Too mild for thee...There's pity in that name...
> But thou hast lost thy pity...with thy shame.

Worse instances could easily be quoted; but this simple juxtaposition shows how unnecessary and how repellent is the 'translation.' The editorial rows of dots, notwithstanding the skill of the Cambridge University Press, make the text of *The Indian Emperor* a distressing eyesore. It is a travesty of the interesting attempt of the New Cambridge Shakespeare to render into modern notation the stops of the early editions. *The Duke of Lerma* is much less disfigured, since 'we are comparatively used to blank verse plays and can nearly imagine the dramatic pauses for ourselves.' It is a pity that the reader of *The Indian Emperor* was not credited with some slight intelligence and some sense of what constitutes a pleasant page of print. No one can be recommended to turn to this volume who can secure the texts in any other form.

F. W. Baxter.

Leeds.

The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism. By John W. Draper. New York: New York University Press. 1929. xvi + 358 pp. $6.50.

A Century of Broadside Elegies, being Ninety English and Ten Scotch Broadsides illustrating the Biography and Manners of the Seventeenth Century. Photographically reproduced and edited with an Introduction and Notes, by John W. Draper. London: Ingpen and Grant. 1928. xviii + 229 pp. 63*s*.

A 'funeral' elegy, in Professor Draper's interpretation, is one which 'not only sings the praises of the deceased but also with a pious gusto

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details the most dismal memoranda of death' (p. 9)—'the pains of illness, death-bed scenes, the terrors of hell, corporeal mortification, worms, damp charnels, and graveyards deep in the shade of cypress and melancholy yews' (p. 28). Of this type of elegy he gives us a full, even an exhaustive survey: from its occasional appearance in the reign of Elizabeth scarce a groan or a worm can have escaped him, whether in the broadside elegies (where they are most frequent) or in those issued in more ambitious form. To the adoption of the elegy by the Puritans at the time of the Commonwealth he traces the rapid increase in the number of 'mortuary touches,' and he attributes to the rise in power of the middle classes generally the continued popularity of the form and its final merging in the eighteenth-century 'graveyard school' of poetry. But Professor Draper's aim is not only to show that the broadside funeral elegy is the true ancestor of Blair and Young and Gray, and that it provided the Romantic age with 'a diction and metaphor of the emotions, a whole technique of ecstasy and lamentation' (p. 313); he regards this development as evidence that Romanticism, at least in its earlier stages, is 'the artistic development of the rising bourgeoisie' (p. 327)—whether one considers its interest in the archaic, its love of nature and of realistic description of nature, or its imaginative power. Professor Draper's arguments, however, are not convincing. Even though these qualities (which he finds taken as characteristic in different definitions) may be found in the broadside elegy, they are found more abundantly elsewhere, and they are not confined to one social class. 'Generations of endeavor were needed to bridge the gulf between the crude emotionalism of a Puritan minister bewailing a deceased colleague and the lofty beauty of Shelley's *Adonais*' (p. 326): but why is it necessary to bridge that gulf when there is *Lycidas*?

Professor Draper does not accept these definitions, though he takes them into account; but his own definition is even more difficult to accept. He 'believes that the crux and basis of Romanticism lies in emotionalism cultivated as an end in itself. . . .[It] is the more or less adequate artistic expression of the Sentimental state of mind: at its best, it can be appealing and even exquisite; but it cannot be sublime; for its meaning is not deep, and it concentrates its chief effects upon the feelings rather than upon the mind as a whole' (p. 330). One must protest against a definition which so clearly excludes the noblest works of the Romantic poets: even the authors of the Tales of Terror (except perhaps the fifth-rate ones) regarded their terrors as a means to an end and not as an end in themselves.

This tendency to exaggerate the importance of the particular evidence under consideration, and to concentrate on one aspect of a question, is seen in other parts of the book, and many of Professor Draper's statements are open to question. It is at least doubtful whether the Puritans as a whole were ever so strictly opposed to poetry as Professor Draper would have us believe, or that the funeral elegy became, either in England at the time of the Commonwealth (p. 91) or in Scotland (*Century*, p. xvii), or in New England (p. 156), 'the most outstanding *genre* of

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poetry'—most of the elegies, indeed, are not 'poetry.' Pope, Shenstone and Thomson cannot fairly be suspected of 'ridiculing' Spenser's style, still less of doing so 'because they associated it with dissenters and tradesmen' (p. 283); Pope certainly delighted in *The Faerie Queene* all his life (his statement to that effect is recorded by Spence), and an imitation, even a parody, does not necessarily imply ridicule. There was no 'apparently sudden increase in vogue' of Milton, Spenser and Shakespeare during the second quarter of the eighteenth century synchronising with the rising prestige of the middle class under Walpole (p. 327): if there was any such sudden increase, it should rather be dated earlier—in the case of Shakespeare, it had certainly begun when Rowe's edition was published in 1709.

Professor Draper gives us an interesting survey of the broadside elegy, though his deductions are questionable and the book is not made easier reading by the use of such dark phrases as 'the higher synthesis of the culture-movements of his age,' 'an undigested epitome' (p. 249), or 'an epitome *in extenso*' (p. 306).

We are grateful to Professor Draper for *A Century of Broadside Elegies*, which makes accessible a representative collection of these elegies, serious and satiric: elegies on most of the famous (and some of the infamous) men and women of the seventeenth century—kings, statesmen, soldiers, clergymen, criminals. This is a delightful volume, most attractively produced, and sufficiently large for the facsimiles to be readable. The woodcuts which adorn many of them are especially interesting—notably the ones depicting the funeral (e.g., of the third Earl of Essex, No. 17), the execution of Charles I (No. 26), and the skirmish outside Tangier (No. 45). Professor Draper's explanatory notes err rather on the side of explaining what should be obvious. Can it be that readers likely to be interested in broadsides require to be told the meaning of *Ashwensday* or *bugbear*, or given the reference for the story of Babel? Moreover, one frequently disagrees with Professor Draper's interpretation of particular passages, and there are inaccuracies. *Joynture* is not 'dowry' (p. 48); Pepys did not see Clun act on August 3rd, the night he was murdered (p. 100), but he was at the theatre on August 2nd, and again on August 4th, when he was told of the murder; Hampden was not killed, but only mortally wounded, at Chalgrove Field (p. 22)—he died six days later at Thame; Collington (p. 210) could not have belonged to Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbots-Hall: 'while they were both alive' in the next line of the elegy makes it clear that 'Collington and generous Abbots-Hall' refers to two not one.

Several misprints have been noted in both volumes. *The Funeral Elegy*: p. 5 *predeliction*, p. 42 *disingenuousness* for *ingenuousness*, p. 89 *develoment*, p. 111 *contrifugal*, pp. 144–5 *pub-isher*, p. 168 *Leodicean*, p. 179 *kaleidescopic*, p. 213 *characteristics example*, p. 220 *former* for *latter*, p. 233 *or* for *of*, p. 266 *leisure* for *leisured*, p. 304 *of* for *as*, p. 307 *verdorous*, p. 309 *revist*, p. 311 *funerals orations*, p. 340 n. *satric* for *satiric*; some of these surely unworthy of a University Press. *A Century of Broadside Elegies*: p. 34 *Cirenchester* (it is spelt correctly in the elegy), p. 64 *Serius* for *Sirius*,

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and *Canis Major* (in the note on *Charl's Wain*) for *Ursa Major*, p. 96 *Tiveot* for *Teviot*, p. 102 *raged* for *waged*, p. 128 *contrarity*, p. 132 *emphemism*, p. 156 *Swany* for *Sawny*, p. 158 *Heroditus*, p. 162 *Betterson* for *Betterton*, p. 208 *Appolodorus*, p. 221 *Indices* for *Indexes*.

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

Johnson and Boswell Revised by Themselves and Others. Three Essays by DAVID NICHOL SMITH, R. W. CHAPMAN and L. F. POWELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. 66 pp. 6*s*.

This little book will be indispensable to all devout Johnsonians and Boswellians. Two of the essays here reprinted are papers read before the Johnson Club by Professor Nichol Smith and Mr L. F. Powell; the other, by Dr Chapman, appeared in *The London Mercury*.

Professor Nichol Smith makes it clear, in spite of indications by Boswell to the contrary, that Johnson revised several of his works, especially *The Rambler*, *Rasselas* and *The Idler*, soon after their publication. In fact, he 'regarded revision after publication, should it be required, as part of the process of publication. If a book was hastily written, the act of authorship was not complete till the book had been revised.' Thus the first *Rambler*, issued in March 1750, had by 1756 appeared in four different states, with textual variations, and the other numbers in three states.

Johnson told Boswell on June 2nd, 1781 that he had not looked at *Rasselas* since it was published till that day. Yet a second edition of the tale, appearing two months after the original publication in April 1759, shows about sixty variants, of which specimens are given, and which have since been listed in full by Dr Chapman in his edition of *Rasselas*. *The Idlers* were also revised when they were collected in two duodecimo volumes in 1761. Among other changes No. 22 was omitted, and the end of the last number was rewritten.

Dr Chapman gives an illuminating account of the revised proofs of the first edition of *The Life of Johnson*, contained in Mr R. B. Adam's collection. The manuscript notes on the revises are in at least three hands, Boswell's, the reader's, and, possibly, Malone's. One feels that Boswell would have glowed with satisfaction over the certificate that he receives from the Secretary of the Clarendon Press: 'His marginalia show all the virtues that a printer or publisher could wish to find in his author—legibility, promptitude, quick appreciation of the nice points of printing, imperturbable good-humour and politeness.' The only sign of any approach to impatience is found on II; p. 225, 'I expected to have seen also the Revise of Hh *at least*. I request a little more dispatch'; but full amends are made on II, p. 257, 'This is very well done indeed. Pray gentlemen Compositors let me have as much as you can before Christmas.'

Selections from the Revises are given under four headings, and their most interesting feature, as Dr Chapman suggests, is that they give us, for the first time, certain passages or names which Boswell suppressed by

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means of cancel leaves. Thus we learn from I, pp. 272f. that Boswell originally mentioned Bishop Percy and Reynolds as among those for whom Johnson had written Dedications. In the cancel the names disappear, though a tell-tale reference to Percy was accidentally left in the Index.

The Revises have been sent by Mr Adam to England for use in the revision of Birkbeck Hill's edition of the *Life*. The principles on which this revision is being conducted are set forth by Mr Powell, who shows that while Hill was right in taking the third edition as his basis, this contains many textual errors, which may be corrected from the first or second editions, the variants to be given in a critical note. Mr Powell mentions some of the chief Johnsonian studies in two continents to which Hill's labours gave the impetus, and which will play their part in the revision of his great work. To these have now to be added the recently issued six-volume *édition de luxe* of the *Private Papers of James Boswell* in the collection of Colonel Isham, prepared for the press by Geoffrey Scott. And it is cheering to learn from Scott that they place Hill's commentary on a still more secure basis. 'By a stroke of irony he was denied these papers, a hundred times by his vigilance and intuition he divined what they contained.' So one may hope that the publication of the 'private papers' will do something to lighten Mr Powell's editorial labours.

F. S. Boas.

London.

An Appreciation of Colley Cibber, Actor and Dramatist, together with a Reprint of his Play 'The Careless Husband.' By D. M. E. Habbema. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris. 1928. 190 pp. 6*s.* 6*d.*

The student who offers an appreciation of Cibber must attend to two matters, Cibber's work and his personality. To concentrate on his work and ignore his personality is to deal with dry bones instead of with life. On the other hand, if you give too much attention to his personality, you are led into the error of imagining him a more important figure than he actually was, for the increasing fascination of Cibber as a man blinds you to his relative unimportance. Dr Habbema avoids this second error by ignoring Cibber's personality and concentrating on his work; but while he is trying to be fair to dramatic history, he is doing Cibber a gross injustice; an appreciation that ignores the more interesting aspect of its subject is badly named and is not what it purports to be.

The original matter in this book occupies about eighty pages and consists of a short biographical notice, some chapters on Cibber's achievement as actor, as theatrical manager and as dramatist, and fifteen pages of introduction to *The Careless Husband*. The plan is well enough, but in working it out the author does not keep to the vital points. Some important things are said, but these are so set about with cumbersome material that has no place in a short work of this kind, that it is not easy to pick them out. For example, in the chapter on Cibber as a

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theatrical manager, the author spends so much time on the details of the very complicated theatrical history of the time and in a long description of the conditions prevailing in the theatre, that the reader is puzzled to remember what is the real subject in hand. The chapter dealing with Cibber's work as dramatist is out of proportion to the rest. Surely Cibber's plays (he wrote or remodelled about twenty-five and many of them held the stage for a large number of years) deserve more than a third of the consideration given to his work as a manager. Dr Habbema has nothing new to say of Cibber's plays; he emphasises Cibber's concern with the 'sentimental-moral' tendency in the drama. It is, however, no longer a question of raising Cibber to his rightful place in literary history; the extent to which he contributed to the development of sentimental drama has become a commonplace.

One cannot think that this book will stimulate much interest in its subject. But we are grateful to the author for his careful reprint of *The Careless Husband*, that exquisite and delicately-written comedy which so well deserves the praise that Horace Walpole bestowed upon it.

KATHLEEN GOYNE.

LIVERPOOL.

Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Von HERMANN M. FLASDIECK. (*Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen*, Band XI.) Jena: Frommann. 1927. viii + 246 pp. 13 M.

The idea of a Speech Academy has been the cause of 'much throwing about of brains' among men of letters—and others—since the time of Shakespeare. Many of the brighter stars as well as a galaxy of the lesser writers have gone 'to cuffs in the question'; some, led by Lord Lumley and Mulcaster, have ranged themselves under the banner of Horace and have taken as their motto: 'use and custom,' which, the *Arte of English Poesie* tells us, 'are for him the only umpires of speech for force and skill.' Others have been dazzled by the clear light of the Pléiade and have deemed that the so-called perfection of the French language was largely brought about by the French Academy. 'There has been much to-do on both sides.'

In Professor Flasdieck's full and interesting presentation of this 'to-do' we have not so much an account or a history of the idea of a Speech Academy in England as a debate. What could be more entertaining and instructive than to have before us most of the eminent writers, as well as numbers of others throughout three centuries, discussing 'to have—or not to have—a Speech Academy.' The pursuance of such a theme over such a period of time has the fascination of a full-dress debate: we see the contestants arranging themselves on opposite benches. Such men as Sidney, Spenser, Dyer and Camden wish to follow the example of the French. And such men as Mulcaster, Lord Lumley and Daniel are for Horace's use and custom. Thus we may follow the shifting of the weight of authority from one side to the other from 1580 until 1928.

The real disadvantage of a controversy of this nature is that the subject

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includes too much: the speakers have too many points to keep to, and the diversity of the topics which are strictly relevant is too great. Is the point of reference to be merely the institution of an Academy? As Camden voices it: 'Others have so many Academyes and wee none at all.' Or is it to be spelling reform, as Howell puts it: 'to reform both in Ortography and speking'? Or is it to form 'the plan of a society for refining our language, and fixing its standard'? For clear guidance on any one of those linguistic problems which still face us it would be necessary to rearrange the proposals and arguments under such subject titles as spelling reform, pronunciation, vocabulary (also with sub-titles), grammar, syntax and style. As this work stands at present its one fault is an excess of its chief virtue: it is too full. One needs a clear head and a good memory to carry one through the book so that at the end a sense of order, proportion and unity may be preserved.

Nevertheless, in spite of the different threads in the one cord being continually snapped off, a reader cannot fail to perceive that quite a large number of the writers are convinced of the barbarity of their own language and have a blind belief in the panacea of an Academy that will 'purifie our native language.' Others, the more practical and the clearer thinkers, see that dictionaries, grammars, etc., must be compiled; though the reasons they give are very often unsound. Their faith in such compilations is naïve; it has not been justified by the compilations that were produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless this realisation of the lack of knowledge is of vital importance: proposals for Academies which should legislate were scarcely sound, as it would have been palpably unwise to lay down rules without a clear understanding of certain principles. To establish principles which would not cause sterilisation of the language, which would allow for development—language being an expression of a biological organism, a unit which grows, and which, therefore, needs new modes of expression as, for instance, new ways of regarding space and time, matter and mind, are achieved. It is clear that a vast amount of work on language must be carried out before laws that will benefit a language can be made. Much of this work has been completed by painstaking scholars, but before it is safe to decide on the instituting of an Academy it is necessary to find Academicians men of such clear insight on linguistic problems, of such width of understanding and sound judgment, that they will be free from the pedantry and the unadaptability of a conventional conservation and from the feather-headedness of modern fashion. That we are now ready for an Academy is a matter of doubt. Professor Flasdieck quotes Steeves, *Learned Societies*: 'There is a lack of responsible native enthusiasm in such movements.' The reason comes later, from Professor Sélincourt: 'If no authority is recognised, it is because we all aspire to be authorities in our measure.'

So we come to the prime difficulty: it is a purely national affair; perhaps our vices will not allow us to bow easily to dictation on matters of our everyday life: vices, if you will, of laziness, stubbornness or pride. But, on the other hand, there may be an intuitive distrust of all censorship

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of art and letters—even of the art of conversation; a distrust which, without realising it, recognises a fundamental principle of art—that restraint from outside is dangerous; and that only the restraint demanded by the nature of the subject, the thing to be expressed, must exercise a rigid rule. In other words, each man must be his own censor, he must so fashion his language that it will express his thoughts and other mental states as truthfully as he can make it.

It remains to recommend this book to all those who are interested in language problems; whether these problems belong to the past, to literary studies, or to the present, matters not. Professor Flasdieck has made available for us a great deal of very valuable and interesting material. He has shown us the state of a small section of learning in the past and has shown us in what confusion men of letters still are when they are dealing with certain language problems. The author has produced a very thorough and scholarly piece of work.

P. GURREY.

LONDON.

Grundzüge der englischen Verswissenschaft. Von E. W. SCRIPTURE. Marburg: N. G. Elwert. 1929. v + 98 pp. 7 M. 50.

The professing prosodist who ignores the records of spoken verse now rendered available by means of the kymograph does so at his peril; for the findings of this remarkably simple instrument might well dispose him, if not entirely to refit his workshop, at least to sweep away rubbish and obsolete material which has accumulated in the course of three centuries. Whatever objections may be raised against the various theories deduced from the experiments of the late Professor Sonnenschein, Dr Scripture and other investigators, the value and accuracy of their records cannot be disputed.

Dr Scripture finds, on enquiry among living poets, that the poet, believing himself to be guided by subconscious intuition rather than by reason, is inclined to resent any such intrusion into the secret bower of his Muse. This point established, Dr Scripture proceeds to detail his recordings and to tabulate results. A verse line is composed of 'centroids' or principal stresses separated by intervals of time approximately equal and by a varying number of 'midvowels'; the rhythm is further affected by the quality of the initial and final vowels of the line (strong-weak, weak-strong, strong-strong, weak-weak). Copious examples are cited in illustration of the centroid distribution, the grouping of centroids and medials into lines and the assembling of lines into stanzas. About one-third of the book is devoted to recordings from Shakespearian and Miltonic blank verse and from the alliterative measures of Old and Middle English poets.

The case against traditional English prosodists is to a large extent justified by these records, which represent the verse line as a continuous wave of sound unaffected by arbitrary foot-division or rigid observance of medial pause. But the application of methods exclusively scientific

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to the study of poetics is fraught with dangers which Dr Scripture has not entirely escaped. Confining his attention exclusively to spoken verse, he ignores other important considerations—the visual appeal of the printed poem, often enforced by appropriate verse indentation, and the unutterable mental impression created by the reading of verse. Moreover, some of the criticism here directed against the traditionalists falls wide of the mark. The fact that verse lines, as pronounced, appear to be governed solely by the recurrence of centroids varying in number cannot eliminate the constant norm of equal stresses and syllables, the undertone retained subconsciously in the mind of both poet and reader. In the lines of Shakespeare and Milton, as Dr Scripture points out, the centroids may range in number between one and six; and to attempt to impose uniform five-stress rhythm in the reading of such verse is as injudicious as to pronounce each of these stresses as the second element of an iamb. But this cannot alter the fact that the verse norm is the iambic pentameter. The statements of the poets questioned by Dr Scripture would appear to confirm the view that 'there is rarely any deliberate plan,' and that 'the verse dictates itself.' But poets are notoriously unreliable witnesses, whose evidence cannot always be accepted at its face value. The subconscious mind of the poet is, in fact, stored with traditional measures that have evolved partly from native speech rhythm, partly through foreign influences—traditional measures which find utterance from time to time even in the composition of nominally 'free' verse. The traditional verse in the mind of Shakespeare and Milton was the iambic pentameter, however seldom this verse may actually occur. The individuality of rhythm in verse is largely determined by the counterpoint of such deviation against the constant norm, the exception proving the rule.

B. E. C. Davis.

London.

De Contemptu Mundi. By Bernard of Morval. Re-edited with Introduction and copious variants from all the known MSS. by H. C. Hoskier. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1929. Folio. xxix + 104 pp. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The *De Contemptu Mundi* by Bernard of Morval, a Cluniac monk, sometimes on very doubtful authority known as Bernard of Morlaix, is known to few English readers save through the *cento* fashioned out of the First Book by Archbishop Trench for his Anthology of Latin Hymns, and through the translation of these excerpts by J. M. Neale; and by all save professed students of mediæval Latin poetry the poem is regarded as one of the greatest of Hymns. It is, as a matter of fact, something very different, being one of the bitterest and most fiery of Satires, tinged, it is true, with the deepest religious feeling, as the noble passages selected by Archbishop Trench, and the even more moving conclusion of the Third Book, reveal. But, for the rest, it is a denunciation of the vices of thirteenth-century Europe, whose violence and exaggeration are only equalled

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by its poetic power and the amazing dexterity of its rhyming hexameters. Passionate throughout, the poem rises to its highest pitch of fury in the vituperation of woman in the Second Book, beginning:

Femina sordida, femina perfida, femina fracta

and rising to a climax in a hexameter three words long:

Vas lue plenum,
Insatiabile, dissociabile, litigiosum.

The flood of denunciation continues, interrupted only by cries of agony such as:

O deus, O deus, ut quid in hoc reus est tuus orbis?

till it breaks into an exquisite entreaty to all the saints of heaven to pray for mankind:

Vos, sacra lilia, viva monilia, vasa decoris,
Luminis agmina, ferte precamina cordis et oris;

and closes with the passionate prayer:

Respice, respice, nos Patris unice virgine nate.
Da mala plangere, da bona sumere, da tua, da te.
Aurea tempora primaque robora redde,—rogamus.
Nos modo dirige, postmodo collige, ne pereamus.

Mr Hoskier deserves the gratitude of all students of the Middle Ages for his new edition of the poem, of which the only modern text is that of Wright (*Satirical Poems of the Middle Ages*, Rolls Series, 1872), which has for some time been out of print. He has at least given us a readable text with 'copious variants' as a guide to the problems which it presents. The apparatus criticus is, indeed, too copious and might well have been compressed, since it includes numerous common errors which occur in all mediæval MSS. and have no importance for the establishment of the text. The weak point of the book is the Introduction, which is diffuse, ill-arranged and full of repetitions. It might with great profit have been shortened, while a full bibliographical summary would have been of great value. But the book has clearly been a labour of love and it is a boon to have the text of this remarkable satire presented in such clear and beautiful form.

H. E. Butler.

London.

A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. Part I: *The Pre-classical Period*, 1610–1634. By Henry Carrington Lancaster. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1929. 788 pp. 175 fr.

Professor Carrington Lancaster has been known for nearly a quarter of a century as an indefatigable worker in the field of French dramatic literature in the seventeenth century, more especially during its first half. He has produced important works on French tragi-comedy (1907) and Pierre Du Ryer (1912); he has edited the *Mémoire de Mahelot* (1920) and Mairet's *Chryséide et Arimand* (1925); and he has contributed many

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valuable notes to various periodicals. His new work, the first instalment of 'a series of volumes on the seventeenth-century stage in France,' fills one with admiration at its thoroughness and its scholarly workmanship. He has analysed and discussed no less than 255 plays. Though none of these can be said to attain to the first rank, and only a very few, besides Corneille's comedies, are known to the ordinary student of French literature, the work was well worth doing, not only because the record is invaluable for reference, but because, though individually the majority of the plays may be unimportant, they throw much light on one another and so become important as a whole. Besides, as Professor Lancaster says, with perhaps a little pardonable exaggeration, 'very few are entirely lacking in interest.'

His first chapter, by way of preface, deals with the drama during the reign of Henri IV. He insists on the fact, first fully brought out by M. Lanson, that the plays of this period were written not merely to be read, but to be acted, and that in fact they were acted. But he recognises that they are in 'a form that is lyric and elegiac rather than dramatic.' Whether such a form can be called true drama is a debateable question. We next come to Hardy's tragedies and tragi-comedies, which, whatever their defects, show considerable dramatic power. Professor Lancaster is discriminating on Hardy's work as a whole, and he corrects Rigal with regard to his connexion with the actor-manager, Valleran Lecomte, making it clear that Hardy wrote for other troupes besides *Les Comédiens du Roi*, and that Lecomte and the other troupes employed other dramatists.

In the next two chapters (III and IV), he deals with Hardy's contemporaries from 1610 to 1624, including Racan and Théophile, but there is nothing to note except Racan's *Les Bergeries* and Théophile's *Pyrame et Thisbé*, which Professor Lancaster assigns to 1620 and 1621 respectively. A much more important figure as a dramatist is Théophile's friend, Jean Mairet, whose pastoral drama of *Sylvie*, produced in 1626 and printed in 1628, 'was probably the most widely read play published in France before 1637.' It is the inevitable result of Professor Lancaster's method of arrangement, which is more or less chronological, that we do not get a view of any writer's work as a whole. Thus, while Mairet's *Chryséide et Arimand* and *Sylvie* are discussed in chapter V, we do not come to *Silvanire* till chapter VII, nor to *Sophonisbe* till chapter X. I do not say this, however, by way of criticism; the method adopted is perhaps the best for historical purposes.

The years 1628 and 1629, which saw the *début* of Rotron and Du Ryer, are important as marking a decided trend in the direction of classical drama. 'No work stands out, but the average play is better written and better constructed.' 'A tout prendre,' says Faguet, 'la période qui va de 1610 à 1630 est une des moins fécondes qui aient été en France pour le poème dramatique.' This is perhaps putting it too strongly, but it is true that, out of the 170 plays produced during this period, very few have any real dramatic merit.

Professor Lancaster's second volume is devoted to the five years 1630–4, years memorable for the struggle between the partisans of

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classical and irregular drama. At the outset he sketches the history of this struggle, and he points out that Chapelain's often-quoted and long unpublished letter to Godeau 'cannot compare in importance with the work of Mairet.' Quite early in 1630, many months before the letter was written, the latter produced the pastoral play of *Silvanire*, which conforms, though not in the strictest fashion, to the unities, and in the following year (March 31, 1631) he published it with a preface. Then came the success of *Sophonisbe* in 1634, which 'seems to have been the chief element in the definite establishment of the rules.' The rest of Professor Lancaster's seventh chapter is occupied with pastoral drama, and the next three to tragi-comedy, comedy, and tragedy respectively. Of the thirty-seven tragi-comedies he says that 'none are known by name to-day except among specialists.' George de Scudéry's *Le Prince déguisé* (produced 1634), however, met with extraordinary success, and Corneille's *Clitandre* (1631) should be known to the student at least by name. Other more or less successful writers of tragi-comedy were Du Ryer and Rotrou.

Of greater interest is the comedy of this period, for it includes the early plays of Corneille, all of which Professor Lancaster discusses with discrimination, assigning dates to their production that may be accepted with considerable confidence. He pins down, for instance, *Mélite* to January or February 1630. Other comedies of interest are Jean Claveret's *L'Esprit fort* and Du Ryer's *Les Vendanges de Suresnes*, both of which show study of character and manners, the curious *Comédie des Proverbes*, from which Molière freely borrowed words and phrases, and the two entitled *Comédie des Comédiens*, one by Gougenot and the other by Scudéry, to which Molière was indebted for the idea of both *La Critique de l'École des Femmes* and *L'Impromptu de Versailles*.

Only three tragedies of the period are recognised by Professor Lancaster as important—Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*, La Pinetière's *Hippolyte*, both taken from Seneca, and Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, which not only determined the French stage in favour of tragedy as against tragi-comedy, but marked the beginning of French classical tragedy. Professor Lancaster has closely analysed it and carefully estimated its dramatic qualities. I cannot, for my part, rate it as highly as he does. It is better in intention than in execution. French classical drama had still to wait for its *Cid*.

The last chapter is full of interesting matter, which I have not space to discuss. It deals with various subjects connected with the presentation of the drama—with theatres, theatrical companies, actors and actresses, stage decoration, scenery and costume, full use being made for these latter topics of the invaluable *Mémoire de Mahelot*. It is a worthy conclusion to a remarkable book, to the excellences of which I hope I have served as a modest signpost.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

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Studi di filologia italiana. Bullettino della R. Accademia della Crusca. Vol. II. Florence: Sansoni. 1929. 157 pp. L. 15.

The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio. A Translation with Parallel Text by N. E. GRIFFIN and A. B. MYRICK. With an Introduction by N. E. GRIFFIN. University of Philadelphia Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. ix + 505 pp. 25*s*.

The second issue of the *Bullettino* of the Accademia della Crusca well maintains the high standard of value set by its predecessor, though one of its three component articles can hardly rank as 'philology' in the more usual sense of the word. Like the first volume, it is largely concerned with Boccaccio in anticipation of the critical edition of his works that the Academy is understood to be preparing. In 'Un autografo della *Teseide*,' Giuseppe Vandelli gives an account, illustrated with seven photographic facsimiles, of the manuscript formerly in the Vernon collection and now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana which has proved to be Boccaccio's autograph, with a partial commentary in his own hand, of the *Teseide*, or, as the author himself is now shown to have entitled it, *Teseida* (which he uses as a masculine, as Dante does with *Eneida* in the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*). Among the many interesting features presented by this manuscript, both textual and linguistic, is the way Boccaccio frequently establishes the scansion by a point under a vowel to indicate syneresis, with the result that dieresis has often to be admitted in words like *süo*, *ïo*, *cuï*, *vorreï*, and the like (p. 42). This obviously has its bearing in deciding the scansion of lines in the *Divina Commedia*, where the question of the so-called 'dieresi annormali' has given rise to some recent controversy. The second article, by Vincenzo Pernicone, presents a detailed study of the *Filostrato*: its date of composition, its relations with the *Filocolo*, its sources (among which he includes the Italian prose version of the *Roman de Troie* by Binduccio dello Scelto), its artistic elaboration in the principal characters: Troilo, Criseida, Pandaro, Diomede.

Readers of this *Review* have already had their attention drawn (XXIV, p. 239) to the remarkable article by Guido Mazzoni, in the second number of the first volume of the new *Studi Medievali*, on the 'cantilena' of the Tuscan giullare, 'Salva lo vescovo senato,' the earliest known Italian composition in verse. Mainly on the strength of the identification (proposed by Cesareo) of the three bishops mentioned, Mazzoni dated the composition between 1152 and 1157, instead of in the 'nineties of the century as maintained by Torraca, and placed the poem in a kind of ideal setting of jongleur activity and tradition, associating it with an anticipation in Pisa of the coming literary glories of Florence. In the third article of the *Bullettino*, 'Il più antico componimento poetico della letteratura italiana,' Mario Casella reopens the question, with a fresh study of the form and language of the poem, and yet another critical reconstruction of the text. Considered linguistically, 'la patria del giullare dovrà collocarsi in una zona ai limiti della Toscana orientale, dove promiscuamente concorrevano forme e suoni dei dialetti senese, aretino e umbro' (p. 143). The identification of the 'vescovo senato' himself with Villano Gaetani

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of Pisa, and of 'Grimaldesco,' the one certain name in the whole poem, with Grimaldo of Osimo, being both rejected, we are left only with the 'vescovo volterrano' still accepted as Galgano de' Pannocchieschi, who pontificated from 1150 to 1171. But of this prelate's name the manuscript preserves only the initial letter, which Torraca prefers to read as T rather than G and interprets 'toscano.' The giullare thus concludes his praise of the 'vescovo senato' (that is, on the assumption that he is not to be identified with 'lo vescovo Grimaldesco' of the next stanza):

> Da che 'l mondo fue pagano,
> non ci so tal marchisciano.
> Se mi dà caval balçano
> monsterroll' al bon [Galgano],
> al vescovo volterrano
> cui bendicente bascio la mano.

Apart from any paleological considerations, I am not convinced by the argument (p. 149) that *toscano* (instead of *Galgano*) would be a useless anticipation of *volterrano*. If we understand by 'marchisciano,' not 'gran signore,' but a native of the March of Ancona, a following 'toscano' seems not unnatural or pointless. A Tuscan must not be surpassed in generosity by a man of the Marches, though the latter was unique in his kind, if his countrymen already had the reputation that they bear in Boccaccio's novel (*Decameron*, VIII, 5) of Messer Niccola da San Lepidio, nearly two centuries later: 'Rettori marchigiani, li quali generalmente sono uomini di povero cuore e di vita tanto strema e tanto misera, che altro non pare ogni lor fatto che una pidocchieria.'

The *Filostrato* has assuredly never been presented before in so attractive an external garb as that in which it now comes to us from America, and students of Boccaccio will be glad to have the handsome volume upon their shelves. The text reproduces that of Moutier with the corrections of Savj-Lopez, in the *Biblioteca Romanica*, at the foot of the page. I have noticed a few mistakes in the accompanying prose translation (for instance in III, 92, where 'Piaceali ancora di vedere ornare | Li giovani d' onesta leggiadria' cannot possibly mean: 'It ever pleased him to behold honours bestowed upon youths of modest grace'). Mr Griffin's adequate introduction, of 107 pages, deals with the poem from the autobiographical point of view and also its significance in literary history, with some interesting remarks on 'the *Filostrato* as a Courtly Love Document.' In this latter connexion, it is odd that he has not recognised the technical use of 'intendanza' for 'amore' (VIII, 2). The statement that Fiammetta is called 'Lucia' in the *Amorosa Visione* (p. 11 n.) depends upon an old erroneous reading. I would suggest that King Robert was not entitled 'King of Naples and the Two Sicilies' (p. 12). Also Boccaccio's social status in Naples is hardly correctly defined by calling him 'the son of a Florentine money lender' (pp. 22, 71). His father was connected with the firm of the Bardi, one of those great Florentine commercial houses that were getting the entire financial affairs of the southern kingdom into their hands and whose representatives held a privileged position even before the law.

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Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz. Von K. JABERG und J. JUD. Bd. II (Handwerk und Handwerkszeug—Handel—Zahlen—Zeit und Raum—Himmelskörper—Wetter—Metalle). Zofingen (Schweiz): Ringier und Co. 1929. 214 maps. 220.55 Sw. frs.

The joint editors of the *AIS*, although in full professional harness, have found time and energy to give us this second volume of maps, twelve months after the first. Only those who have been privileged to see something of the actual elaboration of the Atlas can have any conception of the amount of self-sacrificing labour of which its luminous and stately pages are the fruit. There is no need to add to what was said in the review of the first volume[1] of the importance on general grounds of this the latest linguistic atlas. Our aim will be to give a short account of the present volume, with a commentary upon some of its most salient features as they appear after a first and necessarily incomplete perusal.

A glance at the titles of the eighty-five maps which compose the first two sections, 'Mestieri ed Arnesi' and 'il Commercio,' and which register the various names for the 'cooper,' the 'tinker,' the 'bootmaker,' the 'charcoal-burner,' the 'smith,' the 'carpenter,' the 'baker,' the 'butcher,' the 'miller,' the 'tailor,' the 'saddler,' the 'sweep' and the 'shopkeeper,' and of their varied implements, tools and equipment, gives immediate evidence of the great sociological and ethnological importance of this volume, which is enhanced by the valuable array of descriptive drawings accompanying some of the maps. Facing the 'madia' map (238), for example, a whole page is devoted to the various types of kneading-troughs and pasteboards in use in Italy. The former are seen to vary from the hollow tree-trunk, the 'panera' of certain parts of Piedmont (where, we are told, 'Man bäckt einmal im Jahr!') or the simple oval tub of the Alpine villages, to the handsome hutch-like chest of the Abruzzi, or the elaborate cupboard combination of the richer Emilian, Tuscan and Umbrian areas. Facing the 'il mulino' map (252) is another page still more striking in the light it throws upon the survival of primitive types in the remoter regions of the country. It illustrates the various devices still obtaining for the crushing and milling of corn, and shows us implements of the stone age, the prehistoric rubbing-stone of Campania and Southern Sicily, hand-mills straight from the Bible, mortars and pestles familiar to visitors at Pompeii, to say nothing of the common donkey- or water-mills, all surviving side by side with the types of modern industry. The mere linguist is unable to set a valuation upon this ethnological material *per se*, to judge the extent to which it is exhaustive, even with the wealth of marginal information and explanation which the authors have supplied, or even to visualise the methods by which it can be completely utilised—a technique for applying it has, perhaps, still to be elaborated. But he can appreciate the importance of such maps to the historian as a record of present-day customs and practices, destined, many of them, soon to disappear, such as, for example, the varied methods of baking, whether communal or otherwise, recorded in maps 234, 'il

[1] See *Mod. Lang. Rev.* July, 1929, pp. 364 ff.

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fornaio,' 237, 'impastare,' and 239 'il forno,' or the movements of itinerant tradesmen and traders as disclosed in that specially interesting series of maps and marginal notes: 'il calderaio' (202), 'l'arrotino' (203), 'il cenciaiuolo' (204), 'lo spazzacamino' (268), 'il merciaiolo ambulante' (271). Having felt the lack of such detailed descriptive material as that supplied by the 'madia' illustrations mentioned above in attempting to use the French Atlas, in an endeavour to interpret maps like 'l'escabeau' (*ALF*, 479), for example, the philologist is in the nature of things prone to consider this ethnological material rather as an aid to the solution of linguistic problems, a justifiable point of view no doubt, provided that by 'solution' is meant an interpretation based on a complete integration of the ethnological and the more strictly linguistic factors which compose the problems.

The need for such an integration is brought home to us at the outset in a map like 'il calderaio ambulante' (202). Here the ancient **pariolum* derivatives which are found on the northern periphery, and which creep down between the Venetian and Milanese speech-zones to the Po and beyond, are undoubtedly vestiges of an ancient area whose western fragment still survives in the **pariolum* derivatives in southern France (comp. *ALF*, 256, 1694). This area is now cut through by a great wedge of *magnano* which runs from Tuscany in the south, over Liguria, Piedmont, and Lombardy, crosses via the Mont Cenis and St Bernard passes, and thence penetrates into the French patois, where it is a widespread appellation of the 'tinker' and the travelling 'vet.' The 'knife-grinder' map, 'l'arrotino' (203), binds the social or ethnological to the linguistic in similar fashion with regard to the Provençal area. The Lombard and Piedmontese word is *muleta* or *moleta*, and it is interesting to turn to the 'rémouleur' map (*ALF*, 1691) and see these 't'-forms straggling along the old post roads, via the Col de la Traversette and the Col de Tende, like so many itinerant aliens, the sturdiest of them actually reaching the Rhone at Pierrelatte, and cutting in two what was apparently once a continuous 'amolaire' area with forms like *amulet*, or even *amuret* (!). The 'ragman' map, 'il cenciaiuolo' (204), shows a similar penetration of Provence by an Italian *stracciaio*, which is the prevailing form of north and central Italy but has made its way into the departments of Vaucluse and the Bouches-du-Rhône. Maps such as these clearly enlighten and are enlightened by the social history of the regions concerned.

It would be a long but very instructive task to examine the far more numerous examples which this volume and, particularly, these two sections provide of the varied and prolonged penetration of French influences into the peninsula, both phonic and lexical. On the 'tailor' map, 'il sarto' (259), for example, not only do we find recent 'tailleur' forms where we would expect them, in the north-west, but in Sicily and Southern Italy we encounter an earlier 'couturier[1]' representative, *custuriere*, still vigorous and widely used, bearing witness to an ancient French hegemony in this area of Norman and Angevin rule, a testimony

[1] It is interesting to note that *couturier* is still the word used for 'tailor' in the western patois of France.

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which is confirmed by the 'sols tournois' which can be detected in Apulia and Calabria in the 'danaro' map (278), as also by the *giugnetto* forms for July (comp. O.F. *juignet*) in the 'luglio' map (322), or the *simana* forms for 'settimana' in map 328. Usually, of course, Sicily and the south are least exposed to French influence of more modern date, though the reaction of the various areas of the peninsula does not depend entirely on geographical considerations and differs with regard to each invading word. Thus the universal word for a 'weigh-bridge,' given in the margin to the 'bilancia' map (272), is the French *bascule* under various guises, whereas the 's'-forms coming from French *vis* in the 'vite' map (218) are confined to the Turin speech zone. Sicily and parts of Southern Italy with *filo ferrato* for 'wire' still resist the victorious 'fil di ferro,' almost universal elsewhere, but they are not so successful with regard to 'portamonete' (281), another apparently French intruder. The latter map gives interesting information as to the vulnerability and receptivity of different areas. The old word *borsa* with its derivatives is found more or less everywhere, although frequently marked as antiquated. In the north, *portamonete* has practically conquered Piedmont; Lombardy holds out better, while Venetia remains true to its own special form, *taccuino*. From Florence to Rome *portamonete* holds sway, but Naples and its area clings successfully to *portazecchini*, while *borsa* revives in the extreme south and finds its safest refuge in Sicily. Sardinia, as is usual with a word of this type, has gone over to the invader.

A very instructive map in this connexion is that of the 'carpenter's brace,' 'la menarola' (229). The most widely used form, even in Tuscany, where *menarola* is definitely in a minority, is the Greek *trapano* <τρύπανον. In the north-west, however, there has been an overwhelming invasion of the French *vilbrequin*, not in its standard French form but with an 'r' in the first syllable characteristic of the form prevailing in the contiguous Provençal area. Along the frontier the word is scarcely modified. It appears in the barbarous guise of *virabarkiŋ*, with initial 'v' maintained. But the towns, and particularly Milan, etymologise and naturalise it to *girabekin* and send it up to the Ladino area in this more familiar dress. At first sight the invaded territory would seem to end on a line drawn from Genoa to Bergamo, east of which, in the Venetian speech zone, the earlier *trapano* seems secure, except for slight underminings by latecomers like 'trivella inglese' or 'trivella americana.' But closer scrutiny reveals a significant outlier of 'virebrequin,' *girabarkĩ*, away down on the northern borders of the Marches, apparently quite cut off from the main body of its fellows. But the connexion is established if we observe that clustering round Bologna are a number of points where the 'brace' is called a 'galliga,' i.e., we take it, a 'trivella francese[1].' In other words, the French implement has been adopted, but Bologna will have none of its barbarous northern name. Florence, equally reluctant to adopt the foreign name, finds a more elegant solution by coining for the improved implement (?) that ousts the ancient *trapano* a new name, 'menarola.'

[1] Comp. *a savyarda* for the 'auger,' map 227; points 865, 896.

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If this entirely cartographical interpretation is correct, we have here an interesting gradation of linguistic consciousness ever deepening as we recede from the frontier. The rural area of Piedmont gives us what is practically the southern French word *virebrequin*, the *aliorum commistio* in this region being as evident now as in the days of Dante[1]. Turin has initial 'g' but retains the second 'r.' Milan radiates a more italianised *girabekin*. Venice, undisturbed in its backwater, abides by its ancient *trapano*. Bologna is receptive but critical, while Florence, significantly, would have us forget what she owes to the north. Further south a ripple, *lu grikku* at point 575, on the surface of the unbroken 'trapano' area shows perhaps a distant tremor of this linguistic invasion. Sicily, like the south, is also solid 'trapano,' but with a change of stress, *trapáno*, while Sardinia, as is usual with recent words, comes under northern influence and shows us, by the side of its *trapano* and *trapante* forms, *virebrequin* equivalents which range from a colourless *girabarkinu* to a lively *girafacchino*!

The maps in the next group, 'Numeri' (284–308), are much less conditioned by historical, social or ethnological factors than those of the first two sections. Here the interest is mainly linguistic in the narrow sense and particularly phonological. The more human interest revives, however, in the 'Tempo e Spazio' section (309–59), which gives us the months, the days of the week, the parts of the day, and adverbs of time and place, and still more in the concluding sections devoted to 'Corpi celesti' (360–2), 'Fenomeni atmosferici' (363–400) and 'Metalli' (401–12). In the calendar maps one can examine the inroads made into the inherited pagan calendar on the one hand by the calendar of catholicism, and on the other by the natural calendar as determined by rural occupations, sowing, reaping, haymaking, weeding and the like. Thus 'June' is *tsarkladur* in the Grisons, *lampadas* in Sardinia, *San Giovanne* in two points in Piedmont. Sardinia is seen to be the greatest innovator in this respect, and not only gives us saints' names for October and November, but with *cena pura* for Friday makes a breach in the otherwise solid mass of the pagan week-days. Except for Sardinia these inroads are scantier than one might perhaps have expected; few also are the vestiges of earlier methods of time-reckoning, e.g., *capo d'anno* for September in Sardinia, and the remnants in Southern Italy of the system which puts sunset at twenty-four o'clock.

From the point of view of popular psychology and popular lore generally, there is much that is worthy of notice in certain maps and marginal notes of this later part of the volume. It is interesting, for instance, to study in map 355, 'non vada,' the polite attenuations of the imperative which are seen to range from a laconic *non i*, at point 710, to the courteous entreaty *səñərǫ́ya nan ǵa vę́ya* at point 717, and to dreary circumlocutions like *ossīa nón éi níšit* or *na staga miga ndęr* at points 819 and 424;

[1] Cp. *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I. xv: 'Dicimus Tridentum atque Taurinum, nec non Alexandriam civitates metis Italiae in tantum sedere propinquas, quod puras nequeunt habere loquelas; ita quod, si etiam quod turpissimum habent vulgare, haberent pulcerrimum, propter aliorum commistionem esse vere Latinum (i.e. Italian) negaremus.'

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to observe in maps 350 and 348 the various renderings of the idea 'the day before yesterday' and 'the day after to-morrow,' and to see the south in this connexion enjoying a veritable hypertrophy of forms with a special name even for a day as remote as five days hence; to examine the trend of popular inventiveness or adaptability, whether spontaneous[1] or prompted by some flaw in the inherited linguistic material, as displayed in maps like 'balenare,' 'to lighten' (391), 'intirizzite,' 'numbed' (389), 'to drizzle' (margin of map 367), or in those which record the expressions for the idea of 'to cease' (368), 'must' (351), 'since' (341), 'by' (353) and 'whence' (359). Items of folk-lore interest are to be found sprinkled over many of the weather maps, but are particularly numerous in the map for 'the rainbow' (370).

Taken as a whole the number of linguistic problems which this volume reveals and will help to solve, if ever the mass of material which it contains is completely utilised—and here one must confess to a certain feeling of doubt—is every whit as great as in the preceding volume. The question of the 'mutilé phonétique' is seen to be as fundamental for Italian as Gilliéron showed it to be for French. It is clearly at the back of much of the lexical and phonic diversity of maps like 'il chiodo' and 'inchiodare' (230, 231), which, by the way, would have gladdened the master's heart, or 'la nuvola' (364), 'nevica' (377), 'la neve' (378), 'la rugiada' (374), and just as clearly prompts the revitalising methods displayed in maps like 'uno' (284), 'maggio' (320), 'oggi' (346), 'la pioggia' (369). It has doubtless considerable bearing on the struggles evidenced in maps 220 and 394 between *cadere* and *cascare*, between *prendere*, *pigliare* and *togliere* in the 'prendi' map (222), between *macinare* and *molere* in map 254, *habeo*, *porto* and *teneo* in 'ho le mani...' (388), and *dies* and *diurnus* in map 336.

The question of the Tuscan and non-Tuscan elements in literary Italian is again raised by a considerable number of maps in the present collection and very forcibly by 'due assi' (232), 'la crusca' (257), 'la rugiada' (374), 'prendi' (222), where in each case the prevailing Tuscan form diverges from that of the 'vulgare illustre.'

On every page almost, one may say, some problem confronts us inviting enquiry and research. One can only hint at a few here: the relations of *artem* and *ministerium* in the 'mestiere' map (199), the replacement of *ferri* by *arnesi* in map 200, the distribution of the *levare*, *crescere* and *fermentum* forms in 'il lievito' (235), the weakness of the ancient *pistor* in 'il fornaio' (234), the conflict between *faber*, *ferrarius* and *fabricarius* in 'il fabbro' (213), the restricted area of the literary *il fulmine* in map 393, the mutual relations and distribution of *sera* and *noctem* (340), of *glacies* and *gelu* (381, etc.), of *mattina* and *mane* (337), the universality of the Germanic *risparmiare* (282), etc. etc. All these, and many others, will provide ample material for theses and monographs for many years to

[1] Spontaneous inventiveness is displayed in a particularly interesting manner in the map for 'shavings,' 'i trucioli' (226), in the earlier part of the volume. Here popular fancy seems to have delighted in the creation of a great variety of pretty and picturesque names, especially in the north and south.

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come. It is worth saying again that a linguistic atlas sets problems, but does not solve them forthwith. Only occasionally, as in the two instances with which, by way of illustration, we shall end this review, is some etymological puzzle immediately elucidated by a glance at the map.

The first is the question of Italian *stagione*. Meyer-Lubke, s.v. *Statio*, refuses to identify this word with the French *saison* <*sationem*, because of the phonological difficulty, hence his rubric *Statio*. But the fact that map 310, 'le stagioni,' shows us forms without a 't,' not only in western Piedmont, where they are to be expected, but in an area as remote from French influence as the Piave valley, would appear to prove that Italy also possessed at one time a more regular representative of *satio*, whether indigenous or not, and that the present form *stagione* is due to some comparatively recent modification thereof. When we read in the margin of map 310 that in numerous dialects the word *stagione* is considered to be an 'imported' word, that the farther south one goes, the less 'popular' the conception 'season' becomes, and that in Sicily 'summer' and 'winter' are the only seasons that the popular mind distinguishes, when we see further that in map 312, in a great number of points in Central and Southern Italy and in Sicily, the word for 'summer' is *stagione*, we are forced to recognise in *stagione* for 'season,' not a development of a vulgar Latin *statio*, but a cross between a representative of *satio* and the word *estate*, a cross due in all probability to a popular etymologising of a word that has come in from Gaul.

The second case is the origin of Italian *succhiello*, 'an auger.' This word, according to Pianigiani, has been derived from *succhiare*, 'to suck' (!), from Lat. *sucula*, 'a winch,' or from Lat. *subula*, 'an awl,' via the hypothetical form **subucula*. The very interesting map 227 gives, we feel sure, the solution. *Succhiello* is clearly a diminutive of *succhio*, which actually exists at various points, and this in turn comes from *suculum* a diminutive of *sus*. The southern and Sardinian areas show for the word diminutives or derivatives of *verres*, 'boar'; one point, 728, actually has *lu verrə*. There may even be an immixture of *troia* in some of the equivalents found in the Marches. To any one acquainted with the anatomy of the male pig the allusion is obvious, if indelicate, and the identity of O.F. *escroue*, Eng. *screw*, with Latin *scrofa* (cp. Span. *puerca*, 'screw,' in *REW.*, s.v. *Scrofa*) confirms the commonness, not to say the immediacy, of this bucolic metaphor.

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Opusculos. By J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS. Vols. I, II and IV. Coimbra: University Press. 1928, 1929. xxii + 1310; vi + 532.

He would be a bold man who should undertake to compile a bibliography of Professor Leite de Vasconcellos' works. Many of them are out of print and difficult to obtain, and it is sometimes in leaflets and articles of a few pages that the most valuable matter is contained. The reprinting, under the care of the author (whose untiring activity has been shown recently in another volume, of absorbing interest and nearly

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700 pages: *Antroponimia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1928), of all or the greater part of his shorter treatises, is therefore an event of importance for ethnologists and philologists. These papers, of which three volumes are now published, vol. III being still in the press, cover a period of fifty years and include some valuable articles now published for the first time. One could scarcely give any idea of the value and variety of their contents in a short review. A few notes gleaned from these volumes will serve to show what treasures here await the reader; vol. II is devoted to dialectology of which the author may be said to have been the founder in Portugal half a century ago; vols. I and IV (with continuous pagination) to philology. Gifted with an ear as sensitive as any musician's, Dr Leite de Vasconcellos has travelled through the Portuguese provinces, and especially along the land frontier, collecting samples of the various dialects and discovering those now known as *mirandés*, *samartinhego*, *riodonorés* and *guadramilés*. On the value of studying the language of the people the author insists again and again (cf. vol. I, pp. 332, 342; II, 6, 57; IV, 939, 1227). Did language, he asks, spring up suddenly in the study of the learned? If we laugh at the peasants for saying *manica* instead of *maquina* (machine) or *borna* for *morna*, why do we not laugh at the cultured for saying *barulho* instead of *marulho* and *joelho* for the earlier *geolho* (*genuculum*), which survives among the people and was used by Arraez, who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century? In a country where the illiterate have always formed a majority, the people have often preserved the purest forms of language and pronunciation. Many of the forms along the frontier are coloured by Spanish or Galician. *Cereija* (cherry) becomes *cereissa*, *creissa* and *treissa*. *Batata* (potato) is also *patata*, *matata*, *pataca*, and 'chestnut' (*castanha*, *castanhola*) and 'the Indian' (*india*). Variants of *vermelho* (vermeil) (Span. *bermejo*) are *bermelho*, *bremelho*, *bremeyo* (Old Span. *mermeio*), *bormelho*, *burmelho*, *brumelho*, *murmelho*. A curious transformation is that of *melancolia* into *branconia*, black into white (*mlancolia*, *mranconia*, *branconia*). The mirandés form *cheno* (Span. *lleno*, Port. *cheio*) might be due to the influence of the Castilian form on the Portuguese; but Dr Leite de Vasconcellos comes to the conclusion that its descent must be traced directly to the Latin (IV, 683, 685). The slang, of gipsies, masons, students, etc., is often of great interest. *Pio* for wine probably has nothing to do with the Greek for 'to drink,' which other recent slang words for 'to drink' also resemble; nor is *artife* for bread to be connected with Basque *artoa*; but other words show signs of the cosmopolitan influences prevailing in Portugal: *gera*, for flesh, might be connected with French *chère*, *froga* (woman) with German *Frau*, *chuza* with English shoe; *nentes* with Itahan *niente*.

Dr Leite de Vasconcellos has the secret of multiplying time, and the materials amassed by him are almost inexhaustible. It is to be hoped that in his old age he will train some of his pupils to collaborate with him in giving this accumulated treasure to the world.

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Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Aufklärung: Christian Thomasius und Christian Weise. Herausgegeben von F. Brüggemann. (*Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen.* Reihe: *Aufklärung*, Band I.) Weimar: H. Böhlau; Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag. 1928. 350 pp. 5 M.

Volksbücher vom sterbenden Rittertum. Herausgegeben von H. Kindermann. (Same Series. Reihe: *Volks- und Schwankbücher*, Band I.) Same publishers. 300 pp. 5 M.

Das schlesische Kunstdrama. Herausgegeben von W. Flemming. (Same Series. Reihe: *Barockdrama*, Band I.) Leipzig: Ph. Reclam. 1930. 332 pp. 7 M. 50.

Vor dem Untergang des alten Reichs, 1756–95. Herausgegeben von E. Horner. (Same Series. Reihe: *Politische Dichtung*, Band I.) Same publisher. 1930. 282 pp. 7 M.

Märchen. Herausgegeben von A. Müller. Band I. (Same Series. Reihe: *Romantik*, Band XIV.) Same publisher. 328 pp. 7 M. 50.

For years now the volumes of that valuable compendium of German literature, Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, have been gradually going out of print, and it was to be hoped that its publishers would, after the war, decide to reissue it, or at least the more sought-after volumes. This has not, so far, been the case. In the place of 'Kürschner' has come a new series, *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen*, which is planned in 250 volumes to appear at the rate of one volume each month. The general editorship is in the hands of Professors W. Brecht and D. Kralik of Vienna and Professor H. Kindermann of Danzig; and the various 'Reihen' into which it is divided have been entrusted to distinguished scholars and specialists. The first two volumes were published by the Österreichischer Bundesverlag in Vienna in conjunction with H. Böhlau in Weimar; subsequently the series passed to the firm of Ph. Reclam in Leipzig.

The key to the new series is the phrase 'in Entwicklungsreihen.' It is evidently not proposed to publish the complete or selected works of individual poets in compact and consecutive volumes, but rather to follow a more organic system by arranging the literature in groups, schools and 'kinds.' The undertaking is planned on a generous scale, and these five first volumes, each of which is representative of a different 'Reihe,' promise well.

The series 'Volks- und Schwankbücher' under the editorship of Professor Kindermann is planned in seven volumes, bearing the titles: 'Volksbücher vom sterbenden Rittertum,' 'Volksbücher von Weltweite und Abenteuerlust,' 'Volksbücher von der leidenden Frauenseele,' 'Volksbücher vom neuentdeckten Menschen,' 'Volksbücher von närrischer Weisheit,' 'Volksbücher von irdischem Glück und ewiger Sehnsucht,' and lastly 'Wickrams Anfänge eines deutschen Kunstromans.' These titles are certainly attractive, but the writers of the old Volksbücher would have opened their eyes very wide indeed to see themselves taken so seriously and to have such modern ideas read into their work! Vol. I is

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introduced by a somewhat wordy and not very clear exposition and includes specimens of the Volksbücher *Von Trojas Zerstörung, Hug Schapler, Pontus und Sidonia, Olivier und Artus* and *Die Haimonskinder.*

The seventeenth-century Baroque is to be spread over no less than twenty-two volumes: 'Barockdrama' five, 'Barocklyrik' three, 'Barockroman' nine, and 'Das volkstümliche Barocktheater in Österreich' five. To the outsider who has a difficulty in understanding the extraordinary interest for the Baroque which has infected recent German literary historians, this must seem excessive liberality. For, whatever the theoretical virtues of the Baroque may be, there is no getting over the fact that the literature it inspired in Germany is mediocre and insipid; and most of it is unreadable to-day. The Baroque drama is, however, in the hands of its ablest elucidator, Professor Willi Flemming, whose excellent introduction—the best of any of these volumes—extends to some fifty pages. The chief contents of this volume, *Das schlesische Kunstdrama,* are specimens of Opitz's version of Seneca's *Trojanerinnen,* Gryphius' *Cardenio und Celinde* and *Papinianus,* and Lohenstein's *Sophonisbe.*

The series 'Aufklärung' (fourteen volumes) is edited by Professor F. Brüggemann, who contributes, however, only a meagre introduction to his first volume. It contains specimens of the writings of Thomasius and Christian Weise, strange bedfellows whose inclusion in the same volume does not seem altogether justified; one feels that Weise's place is rather with the seventeenth-century dramatists. The 'Romantik' (general editor, Professor Paul Kluckhohn) is to be given the same number of volumes as the Baroque, twenty-two, an equivalence which surely reflects on the exaggerated importance the planners of the series attribute to the Baroque or the underestimation in which they hold Germany's romantic literature. The first volume of the 'Romantik' series to appear is a volume of 'Märchen' (XIV), edited by Dr Andreas Müller; it includes, as its longest items, Brentano's *Gockel und Hinkel* and *Rheinmärchen* and Fouqué's *Undine.* Lastly, the series 'Politische Dichtung'—from the Seven Years' War down to 1918—under the general editorship of Professor Robert F. Arnold, is inaugurated with an anthology entitled *Vor dem Untergang des alten Reichs,* 1756–95. The editor of this volume is Professor Emil Horner.

Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen thus makes a very promising beginning and deserves all success. It is a pity, however, that the high costs of book production in Germany have obliged the publisher to put a price on the volumes—7 M. or 7 M. 50—which, bearing in mind the fact that a round dozen are to appear in each year, places them beyond the purchasing power of most students of German literature in this country at least. And libraries may have a certain reluctance in paying so high a price for reprints of works which they already possess in standard collected editions of the authors in question.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

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Lessings Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe in 25 Teilen. Herausgegeben mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen von JULIUS PETERSEN und WALDEMAR VON OHLSHAUSEN. Berlin: Bong und Co. 1929. M. 87.50.

The bicentenary of the birth of Lessing has not seen the publication of any very conspicuous contribution to the interpretation or criticism of this master-mind of Germany's great age, but it is something of a celebration that the present very excellent edition of his complete works should have been completed in the year 1929. Six parts of this edition, containing Lessing's chief works, were published more than twenty years ago; it was hoped then that the publishing house of Bong, which had taken over the heritage of the old Hempel editions, would give us a new Lessing on the Hempel lines, but abreast of modern scholarship. This has at last, under Professor Julius Petersen's editorship, been accomplished.

The text of the new edition differs from that of the 'historisch-kritische' edition of Lachmann as revised (third edition) by the late Professor Muncker (1886–1924), in so far as it represents a 'Mittelweg zwischen buchstabengetreuer Wiedergabe der Lessingschen Orthographie und vollständiger Modernisierung,' and its punctuation—although here, I think, a somewhat more conservative attitude might have been advisable—is brought into line with latter-day rules. The edition does not contain, as the older Hempel one and that of Lachmann and Muncker did, Lessing's correspondence; but in respect of his writings, it aims at and achieves a greater completeness. Muncker had accepted the principle that Lessing's translations should be excluded from his edition; Professor Petersen has been less rigid, and we are particularly grateful to him for reprinting in vol. XI Lessing's translation of Diderot which has only been accessible in (of modern editions) that of Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur.* He has also included a good deal from the *Theatralische Bibliothek*, which contains little but translation, and even some items from the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters.* In addition to this, the new edition has the advantage over its immediate predecessor, of being able to include a good deal of matter which modern scholarship has claimed for Lessing, notably, the recently discovered *Italienisches Tagebuch.* Although Lessing's correspondence is excluded, I am glad to see that that valuable prelude of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, the letters which Lessing wrote to Mendelssohn and Nicolai on the subject of tragedy, has a place here. The initial publication of the chief works of Lessing in 1907 has caused some dislocation in the chronological order of the volumes; but this is hardly likely to disturb the reader, and the chronological table in the last volume provides, if necessary, the corrective.

The Lachmann-Muncker edition is provided with no commentary other than bibliographical and textual; the present edition has the great advantage of excellent introductions to the individual works and a very full commentary. Those on Lessing's theological and philosophical works are particularly valuable, as the material brought together here is other-

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wise not readily accessible to the literary student. The whole work is introduced by a concise 'Lebensbild' of Lessing by Professor Petersen in which, in the brief compass of some forty pages, he admirably sums up Lessing's life and work. A comparison of the commentaries to the present edition—which, a little inconveniently, are not attached to the volumes they concern, but are collected together in three separate volumes following VI, XV and XXV—with those to the works which appeared in the 1907 volumes, shows that they have undergone a careful revision and have been brought up to date. Perhaps, if I may be permitted a word *pro domo*, articles in this *Review* and my critical edition of *Nathan der Weise* (Cambridge, 1912) might have contributed to the notes some items worth including. Altogether, then, it is no misuse of superlatives to say that this edition of Lessing is the most complete and serviceable at present available; indeed, it is indispensable even to those who have already a Lessing on their shelves. The Index volume has not yet appeared. It will, no doubt, be on similar lines to that of the Muncker edition published in 1924, but I gather from a remark in the 'Vorbemerkung' to the first volume of Commentary that it will also take count of Lessing's linguistic forms—a most useful addition.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Les Œuvres dramatiques d'Otto Ludwig. I. (De 1840 à 1852.) Par LÉON MIS. Nouvelle édition. Paris: J. Gamber. 1929. 442 pp. 60 fr.

Les Études sur Shakespeare d'Otto Ludwig. Par LÉON MIS. Nouvelle édition. Paris: J. Gamber. 1929. 180 pp. 25 fr.

The first editions of these two works were published some years ago, but evidently in a limited number of copies, as it was not possible then to obtain copies through the booksellers in this country. We welcome their re-issue by the firm of Gamber; for M. Mis has made contributions of importance to the study of Otto Ludwig. The reader will perhaps regret that in his larger work he has not given us a study of Ludwig as a whole, instead of restricting himself to the dramatic works. Much space is taken up here with Ludwig's often very inconsiderable sketches and fragments while his work as a novelist is ignored, although it surely throws some light on the mentality that produced the dramas. Still, within the limits he has set himself, M. Mis has given us a very thorough study and has spared himself no pains in utilising the manuscript material preserved in Weimar. As his first volume carries us as far as *Die Makkabäer*, it is, however, a little difficult to see what the second volume of the work will contain. From the contents of vol. I I would single out as particularly helpful and illuminating M. Mis's account of Ludwig's debt to his predecessors and of the models for his first dramatic attempts, and a valuable chapter—unfortunately short—on 'La doctrine esthétique de Ludwig vers 1850,' which precedes that on *Der Erbförster*. Here M. Mis makes clear Ludwig's particular debt to Shakespeare, and shows how, under the influence of our poet, he turned away from the type of tragedy

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which shows 'les personnages succombant sous les coups d'une destinée qu'ils n'avaient pas provoquée.'

Il partage donc lui-même, à ses débuts, l'erreur, fondamentale, selon lui, de tous les dramaturges postérieurs à Shakespeare; à l'exception de Goethe, ils ont considéré la lutte du héros contre des puissances extérieures comme seule capable de produire le conflit tragique. Peu à peu l'étude des drames de Shakespeare lui donne la conviction qu'il n'est point d'autre conflit tragique que celui qui se déroule dans l'âme même du héros, et qui y met aux prises les divers instincts. Si le héros entre en lutte avec le monde extérieur, c'est parce qu'il est d'abord en lutte avec soi-même, et que ce désaccord intérieur l'amène à accomplir un acte qui provoquera la réaction des forces opposées.

Whether Ludwig was justified in this view of all dramatists subsequent to Shakespeare is of course very debateable, but M. Mis's summary statement puts in a nutshell what Shakespeare meant for Ludwig's own dramatic production. The chapter on *Der Erbförster* is exceedingly good and justifies in large measure the space that had been devoted in the earlier part of the volume to the poet's unfinished fragments. M. Mis shows how *Der Erbförster* is 'l'héritier de toutes les pièces antérieures, ou plus exactement, comme leur point d'aboutissement commun.' With *Der Erbförster* Ludwig at last attains a mastery of poetic realism. *Die Makkabäer* is dealt with with equal thoroughness, but I have difficulty in accepting M. Mis's high estimate of the merits of that tragedy: 'Nous y voyons, pour notre part, la plus parfaite de ses œuvres dramatiques.' A final chapter of the volume is devoted to Ludwig and Hebbel without, however, throwing new light on questions that are still very much under debate.

In his smaller volume on Ludwig's *Shakespeare-Studien*, M. Mis endeavours to bring order into the confused and often contradictory opinions which Ludwig jotted down about Shakespeare at different periods of his life. He is often very helpful and his little book will be indispensable to the student of Ludwig's relations to Shakespeare.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Heine, by H. G. Atkins. *The Republic of Letters*. London: G. Routledge. 1929. x + 292 pp. 6*s*. net.

The interest in Heine in this country and America is perennial, as witness the numerous biographies which appear at frequent intervals, books, especially American books, with catch-penny titles: *That Man Heine*, by Lewis Browne, New York, 1927; *Heine: the Strange Guest*, by Henry Baerlein, London, 1928, to say nothing of the translations which pour from the press at the rate of nearly one a year. Professor Atkins's work is, however, on an entirely different footing from these somewhat pretentious, journalistic productions and can lay claim to the soundest scholarship. It is plain that he is well versed in the general literature of his subject, and he has taken full advantage of the recent collection of Letters published by Hirth, and of the *Gespräche mit Heine* edited by Houben. If the latest

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German book on Heine, *Heines geistige Gestalt und Welt* by K. Sternberg (1929), is lacking in his excellent bibliography, it is presumably because it appeared after his final proofs had gone in.

Professor Atkins, though not contributing any important new material to what was already known about Heine, has at least presented the old in a very attractive light. He is perhaps a little too much obsessed with the idea that he must vindicate Heine at all cost, and much of his volume is taken up with the discussion of his life, and with the relation of unsavoury scandals now dead and buried. That Heine was a bad German, an ungrateful nephew, a scurrilous pamphleteer, a renegade Jew, an inveterate free-thinker and an unprincipled libertine may or not be true, but it is—on this side of the North Sea at least—a matter of complete indifference to the general public, which is solely concerned with his art, and which will go on singing his songs whatever the Puritans may think of his morals. And in the matter of morality, how many of his detractors could, with the obvious sincerity born of the terrible sufferings of the 'Matratzengruft,' utter the proud boast:

> Hab eine Jungfrau nie verführet
> Mit Liebeswort, mit Schmeichelei;
> Ich hab auch nie ein Weib berühret,
> Wusst ich, dass sie vermählet sei.
>
> Wahrhaftig, wenn es anders wäre,
> Mein Name, er verdiente nicht
> Zu strahlen in dem Buch der Ehre;
> Man dürft mir spucken ins Gesicht.

Would Goethe's reputation stand so severe a test?

Professor Atkins's justification in dedicating so much space to Heine the Man, is the admitted subjectivity of much of the poet's work. On the other hand, it is possible to make too much of the 'confession' theory. For instance, Heine's journey to the Harz is admittedly based on fact; but fact plays a very small part in his description of it. And while the love-affairs with his cousins were certainly the incentive to much of the *Buch der Lieder*, yet the best poems of the collection are those in which he forgets his own petty troubles in the creation of pure objective beauty. It is a pity that Professor Atkins does not give us more criticism and less biography, for he reveals himself as a coiner of happy phrases: as when he describes the *Romanzero* as 'a great epic of renunciation,' or his hero as 'essentially a fragmentist,' and so brings out one of his most Romantic characteristics. Professor Atkins shows very clearly how Heine's lyric fame rests not only on the excellence of individual poems, but largely on the artistic arrangement of these poems within the collection, which is no doubt what Matthew Arnold had in mind when he spoke of Heine's 'cunning art.' Professor Atkins is particularly good in his admirable analysis of the metrical beauties of Heine's poetry; no less was to be expected of the author of a standard book on German metrics. The final chapter summing up the poet's claim to fame is both apt and just; only it might have ended on a more positive note than the sentence with which it concludes: 'Whence did it come, that wonderful and inexplicable gift

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of song'? Surely Professor Atkins has answered his own query by anticipation when he quotes Heine's significant words (p. 143): 'All my words and songs blossom forth from a great divinely-joyous springtime idea.' It is the joy of the artist in the beauty of life and the world, a joy he had learned to appreciate still more fully from his favourite Saint Simonians. And it is primarily this joyousness, this light-heartedness, which rarely forsook him even amid the sufferings of his later years, that make his poems ever young. He possessed a divine gift of humour which is rare among his compatriots, but which has endeared him to the Western nations, even though we English were the butt of some of his most malicious sallies. And so it is difficult for non-Germans to take amiss (as Professor Atkins is inclined to do) those vitriolic denunciations of the Fatherland which goaded Treitschke and other good Prussians to such fury. For as a Rhinelander and a Jew, what allegiance did Heine owe to pompous Frederick William IV whom he castigates so deservedly for his awkward flirtations with liberalism? Granted that much of Heine's work is in bad taste, that still more is pure journalism and admittedly 'Brotarbeit,' yet more than enough remains to justify the popular English and French verdict which places Heine, the lyric poet (as indeed Professor Atkins agrees), on but a very little lower level than Goethe.

Professor Atkins's book is eminently readable and well composed; it is of course possible to disagree with him on a few points. He does not neglect, indeed, to bring out Heine's importance as a critic, a fact which is often overlooked in the praise of the poet. But is the very biassed and somewhat unreliable *Romantische Schule* really of greater importance than *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie* with its impassioned admiration of Lessing and Spinoza, and its fine insight into Luther and Kant? Platen deserves more of posterity than the appellation of poetaster (p. 109). Surely (p. 143) it was not Fichte but Schelling who stood in danger of conversion to Catholicism, as indeed is implied by p. 213. Did Heine really invent the term 'Europamüde'? It is commonly ascribed to Lenau. And is Professor Atkins so sure that the Rhinelanders themselves would not have welcomed the return of the French in 1844? A small section seemed to desire it even as late as 1923! But these are trifles, and the book is singularly free from errors of fact and judgment. Its 'get up' is excellent. It is prefaced by an apparently unpublished portrait which shows off well Heine's handsome, sensuous face, which bears so remarkable a likeness to that of Oscar Wilde. The Guernsey printers have done their work well, although they commit occasional lapses: p. 14 'for a time' instead of 'for all time,' p. 128 'geniune' for 'genuine,' p. 164 'heronies' for 'heroines,' p. 187 'Olla Potrida' for 'Podrida,' and a very ugly typographical division of 'd'-Amsterdam' on p. 208. The *Heine* of H. G. Atkins makes a worthy fellow to the admirable volumes which have already preceded it in *The Republic of Letters*.

L. A. Willoughby.

Sheffield.

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Kotzebue. A Survey of his Progress in France and England, preceded by a consideration of the critical attitude to him in Germany. By L. F. THOMPSON. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*, LI.) Paris: H. Champion. 1928. 174 pp. 30 fr.

It must have involved no little labour to search English and French contemporary literatures for traces of this prolific German playwright, and the book bears witness to Mr Thompson's patience. If the author's conclusions are perhaps not as complete or as final as he might have wished, he can plead with much justification the magnitude of his task.

With regard to the dramas much of the ground had been adequately broken by W. Sellier's dissertation *Kotzebue in England*, Berlin, 1901, which Mr Thompson is able to supplement, however, in many respects. But he appears to have missed F. W. Stokoe's *German Influence in the English Romantic Period*, Cambridge, 1926, which he might have consulted with profit for the setting of his English chapters. Miss Stockley's *German Literature as known in England*, 1750–1830, London, 1929, came, of course, too late to be available or either author might have derived benefit from the perusal of the other's work.

English enthusiasm for Kotzebue in the closing years of the eighteenth century is as amazing as it is undeniable. In the course of forty-six years no fewer than thirty-six of his plays were translated of which twenty-two were produced on the stage. *The Negro Slaves* (1796) first called attention to the new star on the German horizon which reached its zenith with *The Stranger* (1798). This translation of *Menschenhass und Reue* established Kotzebue's popularity with the English public for several generations and, incidentally, it rescued Drury Lane from impending bankruptcy. So tenacious of life was it that Sir Henry Irving actually considered reviving it at the Lyceum in 1879, and not until 1891 was it played for the last time with Wilson Barrett as Meinau. But the year 1799 marks the height of the Kotzebue fever in England, when fifteen of his plays were translated (and several more than once) and of these ten found their way on to the stage. The astounding success of Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1799) adapted from *Die Spanier in Peru* must have helped to fan the flames, and when famous actors like John Kemble and Mrs Siddons vied with one another in portraying his characters, Kotzebue's reputation seemed assured. But by the following year it was already on the wane. His sensational assassination in 1819 produced, it is true, a temporary revival of interest in his life and works and several translations of his memoirs appeared. But William Taylor's extravagant praise in the *Historic Survey* (1828) represented merely the infatuation of an earlier generation which was out-of-date before his book was printed.

It is not easy to account for this early enthusiasm of a hard-headed, money-making British public for the 'heterogeneous mixture of commonplace and rodomontade' which is so characteristic a feature of Kotzebue's work. Mr Thompson, indeed, ascribes it to the inherent merit to which all later critics have obstinately shut their eyes. He finds it partly in the improved stage technique and partly in the sentiment and affected

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simplicity which appealed to an audience still mildly susceptible to Rousseauism. It was due also, no doubt, to the skill with which Kotzebue played on the primitive instincts of the half-educated public which, under the stimulus of the increased wealth produced by the industrial revolution, now formed the major portion of theatrical audiences. For good or evil, however, Kotzebue has left his mark on the English drama: by concentrating on plot and situation he gave a great fillip to the development of the melodrama, while the bathos in which he so often wallowed is seen at its best in a type of comedy still popular to-day, e.g., *A Pair of Spectacles* or *Sweet Lavender*.

The history of Kotzebue in France runs parallel with that of Kotzebue in England, but the vogue he enjoyed among the French is the more comprehensible, as he was himself in a large measure the heir of French dramatic tradition represented by La Chaussée and Diderot, Mercier and Beaumarchais. Indeed, some thirty or more of his dramatic works are adaptations from contemporary French authors. Moreover his high-flown sentiment and his rhetoric were still in fashion in the post-revolutionary period. Between 1790 and 1840 some forty-two of Kotzebue's plays were translated into French; *Menschenhass und Reue* and *Die Versöhnung* found as many admirers and translators as in England and were long on the repertory of the Comédie Française, while *Die deutschen Kleinstädter* was for many years a favourite school-text in the French Lycées. In view of this popularity it is strange that Mr Thompson should have been unable to discover traces of influence where one would most have expected it. For though the French had little to learn from him in the matter of technique Kotzebue could and did supply them with interesting situations. Pixérécourt was well acquainted with his plays, and Kotzebue, it is suggested, may have provided him with that proper mixture of tragic and comic element which he perfected in his 'mélodrame.' Picard and Duval also show affinities to Kotzebue, which suggests that borrowing is probable, although Mr Thompson will not commit himself in the matter. But it is curious that no definite traces of Kotzebue can be discovered in Scribe, with whose bourgeois muse he had so much in common; nor even in the elder Dumas, who seems to have preferred Iffland. It is, on the other hand, more apparent in the work of Dumas *fils* and particularly patent in *Le Fils Naturel*. There is also considerable evidence for the influence of Kotzebue on the dramatic work of Erckmann-Chatrian as represented, for instance, by *L'Ami Fritz*.

Mr Thompson is on less solid ground when in his introductory chapter he gallantly attempts a rehabilitation of Kotzebue, both as a man and an artist. Appeals to the popularity of his hero are no evidence of literary merit, and he has wasted much ink in trying to prove that Kotzebue was not the immoral, vapid, vulgar, untrustworthy personage he is usually supposed to have been. And because he is occasionally witty and amusing, and possessed an amazing 'flair' for a dramatic situation, Mr Thompson thinks we should render honour where it is due. But Kotzebue's morals and politics are a matter of indifference to the twentieth century, however much they may have exercised the nine-

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teenth, and if his dramas to-day have a purely historical significance, it is precisely because they are imbued with that realism which Mr Thompson admiringly notes as one of their chief characteristics. Their appeal was through the plot, the characters, the scenes, and these were necessarily topical. But the manners and customs of 1800 seem merely silly in 1930. Kotzebue has failed to keep the public ear because his work bears no relation to the eternal realities which, as Goethe says, must always characterise true art.

Mr Thompson's book suffers from lack of form and some confusion of thought and presentation, and his style is occasionally irritating in its exclamatory and sometimes cantankerous tone. Often, too, he assumes that the facts of an obscure and forgotten literary controversy are known to his readers. Nor are his facts always beyond reproach: Miss Holcroft's translation of *Emilia Galotti* which, relying perhaps unduly on the Rev. J. Genest, he says was 'never printed,' actually appeared in Vol. I of the *Theatrical Recorder* in 1805. B. Thompson had previously published a version in Vol. VI of his *German Theatre* (1801). A reference to the essays of W. Todt or S. H. Kenwood on *Lessing in England* would have saved him from this error. *Ottokar von Böhmen* (p. 53) has a strange sound as the title of Grillparzer's tragedy and the latter's Edrita spelt her name with one t. Surely, too, the 'fourth estate' (p. 41) was scarcely in existence at the end of the eighteenth century. Finally the French printers have done their work badly and the book teems with misprints of which perhaps the most irritating is the almost constant spelling of the adjectives French and German with a small letter.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

SHEFFIELD.

SHORT NOTICES

Professor O. F. Emerson was interested in many aspects and in all periods of English language and literature, but in his later years Chaucer was the author to whom he was most attracted and on whom much of his most valuable work was done. It was, therefore, a happy idea to let the memorial volume to him be a collected edition of the papers on Chaucerian subjects which he had contributed to various periodicals from 1903 onwards. *Chaucer Essays and Studies* (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press. 1929. 455 pp.) owes its inception to Professor W. Graham, and has been ably edited by Professor W. H. Hulme, who contributes a sympathetic account of Emerson's life and work. Ample evidence of the width of Professor Emerson's interests is given by the Bibliography of his writings originally compiled by Professor Clark S. Northup for the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* and revised for the present volume; Professor Barrow's list of the books and authors referred to in the text gives further evidence of the scope of his reading and also serves to some extent as an index.

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It is to be wished that the editor had allowed himself to correct the erroneous references to 'J. Tout' (p. 159) and 'J. F. Tout' (pp. 174 n., 274 n.). All three are listed by Professor Barrow under T. F. Tout; on p. 174 the reference is certainly to him, and on p. 184 it is probably to him, though as the exact reference is not given it cannot be easily verified; on p. 159, however, the name should be 'J. Tait,' for he, not Professor Tout, wrote the article on Richard II in the *D.N.B.* from which Professor Emerson is quoting. But these are small blemishes in an attractive and welcome volume, which comes from a university where the study of English is in honour. H. W. H.

The four publications *Shakespeare's English*, by George Gordon (S.P.E. Tract No. XXIX. London: H. Milford. 1928. 22 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*), *Needed Words*, by Logan Pearsall Smith (same series. No. XXXI. London: H. Milford. 1928. 22 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*), *The Colloquial Language of the Commonwealth and Restoration*, by Margaret Williamson (English Association, Pamphlet No. 73. London: H. Milford. 1929. 32 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*) and *Breaking Priscian's Head*, by J. Y. T. Greig (London: Kegan Paul. 1928. 92 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*) have no doubt been compiled for the general reader rather than for the specialist. Of the four, *Shakespeare's English* and *Needed Words* are the only two that should have the serious attention of scholars.

In *Shakespeare's English* the writer discusses the lists of word innovations of Puttenham, Nash and Ben Jonson, the sixteenth-century borrowings from the Latin, and Shakespeare's vocabulary. He himself says: 'It is an endless and, of course, quite speculative theme on which I have embarked'; this theme, indeed, would have been more profitable if the setting for most of the words dealt with had been given; it is impossible, for instance, to judge the force and pith of dialect words if they are apart from their context. To provide a reader with lists of words without the opportunity of using them in thought is like being given a handful of dead gold-fish, things that have lost their value and their power to enrich the minds of men. The writer must have been led away from thought by the attraction of word hunting, for he lays heavy stress on the Elizabethans' cultivation of words for the fun of word making; he says: 'The reason why so many of these adjectives were made was partly, no doubt, because they were needed, but still more because they were fancied'; and 'I have been tempted even to think that they researched, and dived for specimens in the past.' But, surely it was the persistent need for words to express their thoughts, for words to harmonise with the melodies that ran in their heads, for words to embody their passion or their gaiety, their playfulness or their sorrow, that made the Elizabethans so prodigal, so greedy, so careless and free with borrowings, coinages, dialects and derivations!

Again, in *Needed Words*, we have a study of 'borrowing,' of the naturalisation of words, and of word formation. There are a number of statements in this pamphlet that need modification, for instance, 'foreign words which we are forced to borrow are words like *blasé*, *ennui*, etc., which describe various ways of feeling.' As we have a large number of

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words describing these states of mind and emotion, it is conceivable that there may have been another cause for the borrowing than the lack of a word. A gap in the vocabulary is sufficient to cause a word to be coined or borrowed, but it is not the sole factor influencing the arrival and sojourn of a word. Or, 'we are forced to eke out our vocabulary... with many French words,' suggests that 'borrowing' is a disadvantage; whereas, if people resist the arrival of new words, they are likely to resist the arrival of new ideas. It is not in the borrowing of foreign words that there may be an evil, but in the rigidity of the words themselves which does not allow an adaptation to English ways, or in the retention of words that have resisted naturalisation. Or, 'the best words never contain their definition.' One may well ask, what are the 'best' words? And one may argue that scientific words *should* convey by their meaning some indication of the thing designated, when that thing is unfamiliar. Nevertheless, there is in this pamphlet much concerning the linguistic habits of men that is instructive.

The Colloquial Language of the Commonwealth and Restoration provides lists of metaphorical phrases, proverbs and common phrases, which are identical with those of the present day, which have been modified in more modern times, or which are now obsolete; it gives examples of 'a marked disregard for logical and even for grammatical construction,' of 'grammatical peculiarities,' of 'wordiness,' of the early occurrence of a few words and of erratic spellings. This is a mixed dish of syntax, style, diction and spellings. The collections are not quite without interest, but there is insufficient material in each to make the conclusions drawn of any value. Furthermore, to label the following as 'faulty grammar' is to cause a misunderstanding of some of the changes of form and construction that had been going on in the language for years, and in some instances for centuries: '*The Use of Adjective for Adverb*..."a *perfect* good judge"; "*extreme* ill"'; where obviously *perfect* and *extreme* are adverbs modifying an adjective. 'Monk has a brother lives in Cornwall'; 'They had a discreet woman attended them', and so on; where good writers since Chaucer (if not before him) had omitted the relative. 'My father's new wife *which* he had then married' is another flagrant example; and there are many more.

Breaking Priscian's Head contains its own 'sentence'; the author is out to break heads, no matter whose: Professor Sélincourt and Mr Fowler both get some shrewd knocks; but to be hoist by his own petard is, no doubt, a galling process to one who had used ten times the amount of explosive necessary. P. G.

Mr E. M. W. Tillyard's *The Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (London: Scholartis Press. 1929. xii + 180 pp. 7*s*. 6*d*.) contains an excellent choice of poems and an introduction admirable for its balanced appreciation of Wyatt as poet and man. There is one questionable passage in the introduction, where it is stated that the 'vigour and eloquence' of Wyatt's defence of himself secured his acquittal when he was accused of treason: the written defence deserves Mr Tillyard's praise, but it appears

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to have been composed merely to relieve the feelings of Wyatt, who then submitted himself to the King's mercy with the distressing meekness of any other Tudor Englishman. But for this slip, Mr Tillyard's statements are as accurate as his criticisms and selections are judicious. The work of making Wyatt better known to readers who have met with only a few, and not always the best, of his poems, and shrink not inexcusably from a complete edition and the spelling of the MSS., could not have been done in a more scholarly fashion; and the Scholartis Press has helped by producing a book which is pleasant to the eyes. E. C. B.

The editor of Sidney's *Arcadia*, Professor Feuillerat, gave Dr R. W. Zandvoort, the author of this monograph (*Sidney's Arcadia: a Comparison between the Two Versions*. Amsterdam: Swets en Zeitlinger. 1929. 227 pp. 5 fl. 70), the task of investigating Sidney's 'development as a thinker,' with a view to his attaining the Doctorate of Letters and Philosophy at Leyden. Dr Zandvoort has performed the commission with thoroughness and enthusiasm, grounding it on the problem indicated in the title.

Dobell's rediscovery of the *Old Arcadia* is now an old story. He hoped that a satisfactory text of the *Arcadia* would be eventually published, based on a collation of the three manuscripts. Two of these are now in America, though three others have come to light since and are still in this country. Dr Zandvoort finds after a careful inspection that the variants are not numerous or considerable enough to make any supplement to M. Feuillerat's reprint of one of the American manuscripts (in the fourth volume of the *Works*) worth publishing. He discusses the question of dates, concluding that the *Old Arcadia* was probably completed by 1580, and that the *New Arcadia* belongs to the years 1581–2.

A valuable section of his work gives the results of an examination of the manuscripts and the early editions. Probably the first two books of the *New Arcadia* were collated by Lady Pembroke 'with an unrevised copy of the original version'; but some new errors crept into this first folio. He has gone at much length into the problem how far the three books added in 1593 represent Sidney's own text, and has registered the variations.

Having performed this preliminary task, he is able to deal satisfactorily with the progress of Sidney as a story-teller, as marked by the differences between the two versions. Dobell thought the *New Arcadia* 'a regrettable instance of artistic retrogression,' and his view has been generally endorsed. Dr Zandvoort, on the contrary, points to many instances of 'advance in characterisation, in verisimilitude, in narrative technique,' and sums up: 'If the *New Arcadia* is not a masterpiece, it contains more of what goes to the making of one than is to be found in its predecessor.' Other interesting sections treat with fullness and care the subjects of 'Sidney's progress as a thinker' and 'the style of the two *Arcadias*'; and there is an annotated bibliography, specially emphasising the contributions of the last fifty years to the critical literature of the *Arcadia*.

E. A. B.

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The punctuality of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* shames its chronicler, and the volumes for 1928 and 1929 (Bd. LXIV, LXV. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 295 and 301 pp. Each 8 M.) must now be treated together. Both are under the experienced editorship of Professor W. Keller, and approach the solidity of the pre-war issues. Apart from the full digests of current work in treatises, periodicals and theatrical representations, the trend of German study is rather different from our own. Little interest seems to be taken in the problems of parallel texts, or in controversies as to divided authorship. An exception is Professor V. Østerberg's (1929) exposition of the claim for Shakespeare's hand in part of *Edward III*, but this does not hail from Germany. He is certainly successful in showing that the style is not incompatible with Shakespeare's, and perhaps one cannot get much further on stylistic evidence, given the fairly early date to which the play must be ascribed. On the other hand, the zest for *Quellenstudien* and the like is still keen. The chief space in the 1929 volume is devoted to Fräulein B. V. Wenger's *Shylocks Pfund Fleisch*, which traces the theme through all the literatures over 83 pages. Fräulein Elise Richter (1928) carries back the linking of the Portia and Imogen motives to Juan Timoneda's *El Patrañuelo* (1576). Dr Hugo Daffner (1928) approaches *Der Selbstmord bei Shakespeare*, and in others, from all angles. These are erudite exercises in comparative literature, but they often tend to become rather remote from Shakespeare. There are interesting notes (1928) by Professors Keller and Alison Gaw on the 'turret' in 1 *Henry VI*. Dr E. Gundolf (1928) defends the authenticity of the Darmstadt death-mask. Dr G. von Glasenapp (1928) completes an earlier study of the supernatural in *Macbeth*. A good deal of attention is paid to the impact of Shakespeare upon German criticism. And there are several discourses delivered upon ceremonial occasions. Those at the annual meetings of the German Gesellschaft were for 1928 by Professor H. W. von Waltershausen on *Shakespeares Einfluss auf die Musik*, and for 1929 by Professor B. Fehr on *Das Shakespeare-Erlebnis in der englischen Romantik*. E. K. C.

Mr J. M. Robertson has published the first part of his discussion of *Henry VI* (*The Shakespeare Canon*, Part IV, Division I. London: G. Routledge. 1930. xvi + 137 pp. 7*s*. 6*d*.) on the heels of Mr Alexander's *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*. The two books may well be read together as exemplifying two widely divergent modes of approach to the textual aspects of Shakespearean scholarship, so divergent indeed that Mr Robertson, in a *Postscript*, permits himself to impute chicanery to the methods of his opponents, in the desire to discredit their arguments (p. xvi). The book continues in Mr Robertson's well-marked track, of argument based on metrical statistics and stylistic perceptions, ignoring or disavowing all conclusions of recent bibliographical study of Shakespeare. Mr Robertson, in this instance, is particularly concerned to save Shakespeare from the odium of having written certain scenes concerning Joan of Arc. We may well wonder what strange conception Mr Robertson has formed of Elizabethan methods of collaboration when we find 'a

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small Greene patch in the first scene' (p. 56). And we may question the results likely to come of a literary judgment so erratic as Mr Robertson's is. The emendation he proposes on p. 30, or the remark on p. 101, note 1, for example, can hardly be acceptable to many of his readers. And I, among other readers, can only regret the deplorably acrimonious tone here imported by Mr Robertson into the necessary controversies of scholarship. C. J. S.

Of the three romances that make up the thirteenth-century prose *Lancelot del Lac*, we have the complete but uncritical edition of the whole by Dr Oskar Sommer as volumes III–VI of the 'Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances,' the excellent critical edition of the *Queste del Saint Graal* by M. Albert Pauphilet, and a good text of the last branch, the *Mort Artu*, by the late Professor J. D. Bruce. In the latest addition to the 'Broadway Medieval Library,' *Sir Lancelot of the Lake*, translated from the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français 344, with an Introduction and Notes (London: G. Routledge. 1929. xx + 420 pp. 18*s*.), Miss Lucy Allen Paton has selected for English-speaking readers a series of passages regarded as fundamental for an understanding of the legend connected together by summaries of the rest of the French text, and furnished with an admirable critical introduction, dealing, not only with the 'Prose Trilogy,' but also with the *Lanzelet* and the *Conte de la Charrette*. The result is a most attractive volume, and its value is enhanced by forty-six illustrations, reproducing miniatures running in date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, which are a noteworthy addition to our knowledge of Arthurian iconography. We do not know whether the Editors or the Publishers should be held responsible for the statement on the wrapper, that the volume is 'translated for the greater part from unpublished material.' It is distinctly unfortunate that a scholarly work should be presented with a misleading claim of this kind, which we feel sure that Miss Paton would be the first person to repudiate.

E. G. G.

Among the peculiarities which commend the chivalrous novel of *Zifar* to the notice of scholars is the circumstance that it alone among all Peninsular novels appears to have had contact with the Breton *lais*. These contacts, however, are also contacts with the world of universal folk-lore, and one does from time to time feel qualms in referring them to particular literary texts. It is possible that Professor Charles P. Wagner may modify somewhat his conclusions of twenty-seven years ago in the commentary which is to form the second volume of his *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (vol. I, Text. University of Michigan: Ann Arbor. 1929. xviii + 532 pp.). Meanwhile we are wholly grateful to him for this edition. Michelant's text (1872), apart from its insufficiency in textual matters, has only recently become available on our shelves; and intermittent glances at it in more provident libraries, together with abstracts and abstracts of abstracts, have generated in many of us positive errors and a feeling of insecurity. A definitive and accessible text comes as a welcome relief. The preface is occupied with an exact description of the two manuscripts and the 1512

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edition. While reserving comment for the critical volume, it seems desirable to mention that Professor Wagner gives this work the date *c.* 1300. He is convinced that the eulogy of Queen María de Molina (d. 1321), though found in both manuscripts, is an interpolation from the margin. Readers of the *Modern Language Review* (XXIV, 1929, p. 498) will remember that Dr G. Moldenhauer used this datum to rob the *Zifar* of some of its antiquity. The question has since been examined by E. Buceta, 'Algunas notas históricas al prólogo del "Cauallero Zifar"' (*Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII (1930), pp. 18–36. W. J. E.

M. Léon Lemonnier's able little book, *Les Traducteurs d'Edgar Poe en France de* 1845 *à* 1875*: Charles Baudelaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1928. 214 pp. 25 fr.), deals with the earlier period of Poe's influence in France, thus completing M. Louis Seylaz's work on Poe and the Symbolists. It falls naturally into two parts, the first a study of the earlier translators and of their more or less scrappy, inadequate, often insincere adaptations of Poe's work, the second a frankly admirative presentation of Baudelaire as the ideal translator of Poe, with a penetrating analysis of the psychological factors which predisposed him to sympathy with the American writer. This is obviously the aspect of the subject which has most keenly interested M. Lemonnier himself, and it is here that he has most stimulating ideas and criticisms to offer. The whole question of the translator's right to interpret comes into consideration, and judicious quotation of parallel passages is used to show how many factors tempt him to betray his original. Baudelaire achieved the apparently impossible in combining strictly literal rendering with ease and power of style. He scrupulously respected Poe's irregularities and eccentricities of expression, and successfully avoided the all too common tendency to standardise to the commonplace by watering down the characteristic features of an author's style. Students of the translator's art would benefit from a close study of M. Lemonnier's criticisms, and it is to be regretted that more passages have not been quoted and analysed, especially parallel renderings of the same passage by various translators. As it is, M. Lemonnier's partiality has tempted him rather frequently to give us Baudelaire's best to compare with the worst efforts of Forgues, Léon de Wailly, Hughes or Madame Meunier. Baudelaire's merit as a translator is so exceptional that it risks nothing from the exposure of his occasional lapses, due to an incomplete understanding of English idiom, not to lack of sympathy with Poe's thought. Here are a few typical errors from Baudelaire's otherwise excellent version of *The Man of the Crowd*:

Men die *nightly* in their beds...	Des hommes meurent *la nuit* dans leurs lits...
...*takes up* a burden...	...*supporte* un fardeau...
...about the *closing in* of an evening in autumn...	...sur la *fin* d'un soir d'automne...
...a satisfied, *business-like* demeanour...	...un maintien convaincu et *propre aux affaires*...

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Their habiliments belonged to that order which is *pointedly termed the decent*	Leurs vêtements appartenaient à cet ordre qui *est exactement défini par le terme: décent*
...*scowling upon*...	...*bousculant*...
...*inarticulate*...	...*désarticulés*...
...a number of wretched inebriates *still pressed in and out of* the flaunting entrance.	...une foule de misérables ivrognes *se pressaient encore en dedans et en dehors de* la fastueuse porte.

M. Lemonnier mentions a few of Baudelaire's errors (p. 184), but these are not among the most interesting. Even where he quotes parallel passages from two translations, he does not point out Baudelaire's weaknesses. *A small bleak-looking island* is surely better rendered by Madame Meunier as *une petite île froide et nue*, than by Baudelaire as *une île qui avait l'air déserte* (p. 178). *Planait* is better than *s'abattait* for a fog which *hung* over the city (p. 181). M. Lemonnier's partiality is nevertheless amply justified. Baudelaire as a translator stands far above all his rivals. M. E. I. R.

To the many literary societies in Germany has just been added an 'Annette von Droste-Hülshoff-Gesellschaft,' which has issued its first volume, *Briefwechsel zwischen Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff und Wilhelm Grimm*, edited by K. Schulte-Kemminghausen (Münster: Aschendorff. vii + 168 pp. 6 M. 50). This is a delightful collection of letters full of intimate details, which call up a leisurely world when people had time for drawing and painting and the care of flowers. In particular, Wilhelm Grimm appears here in a very human and pleasing light. Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff was the elder sister of the poetess, and subsequently became Freifrau von Lassberg and the mistress of the Meersburg on the Bodensee. It is not difficult to infer that her interest in Grimm was something more than friendship. There is not much of literary interest in the letters, few of which have been hitherto published. About Annette herself there is little; she does not appear to have been on the best of terms with Wilhelm Grimm. J. G. R.

From among the contributions to the *Dankesgabe für Albert Leitzmann* one of the co-editors, Dr F. Braun (the other being Dr K. Stegmann von Pritzwald), has issued as a separate offprint his *Briefe von R. Rask an J. H. Halbertsma, Mit einem nordfriesischen Glossar* (Jena: Frommann. 1927. 76 pp.). In an informative and well documented introduction Dr Braun traces Rask's ever-growing interest in Frisian from 1817 onwards, when it was stimulated perhaps by his Anglo-Saxon studies. The excerpts from Rask's library catalogue show among other titles those of works by Japicx, Hoche, Wiarda, Hetterne, Posthumus' West Frisian translation of the *Merchant of Venice*, the *Lapekoer*, and J. P. Hansen's *Gidtshals* (in the Sylt dialect). From 1824 we see a more specific interest in North Frisian awakened by the MSS. of B. Bendsen's grammar (1824) and fed upon dissatisfaction with Outzen's dictionary (1832). Rask's own *Frisisk Sproglære* appeared in 1825. In the two letters in English to Halbertsma (subsequently the author of an unfinished diction-

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ary of modern West Frisian), written in 1830 and here reprinted, Rask pleads for a less 'barbarous' spelling of Frisian than in Epkema's vocabulary to Japicx and suggests that the repellent doublings and digraphs might be replaced by accented letters using the acute, grave and circumflex. He refers to the glossary of North Frisian he had in hand, but which was left unpublished at his death and has been rescued from his papers in the Royal Library at Copenhagen by Dr Braun. The latter has presented us with a text disposed alphabetically in accordance with Rask's own plan. The work appears to have been conscientiously carried out by the editor to whom we are grateful for making this material so easily accessible. As to the glossary itself we must resist the temptation of alluding to more than a few points. It is of interest that Rask renders *fàz* by the Danish 'uartig, kälen,' seeing that there was an older Danish *fat*, e.g. 'mig er intet fat.' Dr Braun has inserted an interjection mark after Rask's German rendering of *krükk* as 'Kruke'—does this mark simply draw attention to *Kruke* being a Low-German form? The German for *käjt* is given as 'Art Unkraut,' but the Danish *kidike* (cf. O.E. *cedelc, cerlic*; L.G. *kiddik*) is more specifically 'sinapis arvensis.' The Danish translation of *lürk* is given as 'hydike' with a question mark; one might suggest that Rash wrote 'tredækker' (solitary snipe), for his German translation is 'kleine Schnepfe.' Finally we direct the attention of English philologists to *vövve* 'to get married,' as the *New English Dictionary* does not adduce any parallels to the verb '*to woo*,' O.E. '*wógian*.'

W. E. C.

The handsome volume of the *Poems of Henrik Wergeland*, translated by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, Jethro Bithell and I. Grøndahl, which has been published by the Gyldendal Norsk-Forlag in Oslo and Messrs Hodder and Stoughton in London (liii + 203 pp.), will be welcome to all lovers of Norwegian literature in this country. The translation—no easy task in the case of Wergeland—is admirably done, the best testimony to its faithfulness being the fact that, in spite of the several hands engaged on it, the stamp of the one poetic mind remains throughout. In the case of one poem, *Langeleiken*, the translator has perhaps exceeded his legitimate function by not merely rendering it in Scots but also localising it in Scotland as *To the Bonniest Lass in Teviotdale*. The volume is provided with an excellent and ingratiating introduction to Wergeland by Mr Gathorne-Hardy. He puts the much discussed and much misrepresented Wergeland-Welhaven affair in the right light; he does well, too, to temper those rather injudicious parallels with English poets of which the late Sir Edmund Gosse was so fond. Wergeland has little kinship with either Wordsworth or Shelley. 'Much poetry that we read,' says Mr Gathorne-Hardy, 'gives us the impression of a work of art as detached from its creator as a painting or a sculpture: Wergeland always conveys the illusion of the spoken voice—he seems to be talking to us.' But I am not sure that Mr Gathorne-Hardy is right in drawing the inference that this explains Wergeland's continued influence in Norway.

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The English reader may find in it a reason for the fact that so much of Wergeland's poetry is 'occasional,' attached to far-off and forgotten persons, things and events. It should be added, however, that the present collection also includes verse from *Den engelske Lods* and specimens from Wergeland's great epic *Skabelsen, Mennesket og Messias.*

J. G. R.

In February the Committee of the Modern Humanities Research Association resolved to issue a *Year Book* of Modern Literary and Linguistic Studies. Such a work, if produced on a plan that would economically permit its regular appearance each year, and if duly supported by members of the Association and others interested in Modern Humanities, should help to coordinate studies, to guide specialists who are in need of information beyond their own range, and to present to librarians of universities and learned societies a reliable annual conspectus of the progress of literary, historical and linguisitc research in Europe. It would furnish a statement of results, tendencies and values complementary to those furnished by the Year Books issued by the Classical and English Associations, and complementary also to this Association's highly valued *Bibliography of English Language and Literature.*

The Committee instructed Professor W. J. Entwistle of the University of Glasgow to approach the authorities competent to deal with research in the principal European studies, and it is now possible to state that the *Year Book*, while generally commended in the abstract, has received a sufficient measure of active support to justify its issue. The Association is deeply indebted to the following experts, who have promised to contribute summaries of research within their own fields of study: Mediaeval Latin, Mr F. J. E. Raby. Romance: French, Dr E. G. W. Braunholtz, Miss Claudine Wilson, Professor F. J. Tanquerey, Professor E. Eggli; Provençal, Rev. H. J. Chaytor; Catalan, Professor I. G. Llubera; Spanish, Professor Llubera, Mr W. Atkinson; Portuguese, Professor E. Prestage; Italian, Professor C. Foligno, Professor P. Rébora; Rumanian, Mr Marcu Beza. Germanic Studies: German, Professor R. A. Williams, Mr M. D. I. Lloyd, Professor G. Waterhouse, Professor L. A. Willoughby; Scandinavian Languages, Professor J. G. Robertson and others; Dutch, Professor P. Geyl. Celtic, Mr J. Macdonald, Mr G. J. Williams, Mr M. Dillon. Slavonic Studies, Mr N. B. Jopson. An attempt is being made to give the collection proportions corresponding to the actual research interests of the Association's membership, yet without sacrificing fullness of statement in fields which are none the less important because they commonly receive too little attention. The *Year Book* will, it is hoped, be issued in December and will be obtainable at a reduced price by members of the Modern Humanities Research Association.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

March—May, 1930

GENERAL.

DEMPE, H., Was ist Sprache? Eine sprachphilosophische Untersuchung im Anschluss an die Sprachtheorie K. Bühlers. Weimar, H. Böhlau. 5 M. 60.

FARAL, E., La Légende arthurienne, I. (Bibl. des Hautes Études, 255–7.) Paris, H. Champion. 120 fr.

KRAPPE, A. H., The Science of Folk-Lore. London, Methuen. 10*s.* 6*d.*

MCMAHON, A. PH., Seven Questions of Aristotelian Definition of Tragedy and Comedy (from Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, xl).

Italian.

CELLUCCI, L., Le leggende francescane del sec. XIII nel loro aspetto artistico. Milan, Soc. editr. Dante Alighieri. L. 10.

DELLA VALLE, F., La Reina di Scotia. Tragedia. A cura di B. Croce. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 25.

DE MARCHI, E., C. M. Maggi. Saggi critici. Milan, A. Vallardi. L. 8.

MEOZZI, A., La vita e l' opera di G. d'Annunzio, I. Pisa, Vallerini. L. 13.

PETRINI, D., La poesia e l' arte di G. Parini. (Bibl. di Cultura moderna.) Bari, Laterza. L. 12.

Politici e moralisti del Seicento. A cura di B. Croce e S. Caramella. (Scrittori d' Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 25.

ROCCO, G. A., Carmi latini editi e inediti. A cura di N. Coppola. Milan, Soc. editr. Dante Alighieri. L. 25.

ROSSI, V., Scritti di critica letteraria. 3 vols. Florence, Sansoni. Each L. 50.

ROTUNDA, D. P., A Tabulation of Early Italian Tales. (Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philology, xiv, 4.) Berkeley, Cal., Univ. of California Press. 25 c.

SCOLARI, A., L. Ariosto: la vita e le opere. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 10.

SHAW, J. E., Essays on the Vita Nuova. (Elliott Monographs, XXV.) Princeton, N.J., Univ. Press. $2.

TASSONI, A., La Secchia rapita. A cura di G. Rossi. (Scrittori d' Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 30.

Spanish.

The Comedia Ypolita. Ed. by Ph. Earle Douglass. Univ. of Pennsylvania Thesis. Philadephia.

SOLÍS RIVADENEYRA, A. DE, Amor y obligación. Ein ungedrucktes Jugendwerk. Herausg. von W. Fischer und R. Ruppert y Ujaravi. Giessen, Roman. Seminar. 8 M. 75.

Provençal.

FASSBINDER, K. M., Der Trobador Raimbaut von Vaqueiras Leben und Dichtung. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 6 M.

KJELLMANN, H., Étude sur les termes démonstratifs en provençal. (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, xxxiv, 2.) Göteborg, Weltergren och Kerber. 10 kr.

PARWULSKI, O., Victor Gelu. (Romanistische Arbeiten, xiv.) Halle, Niemeyer. 9 M.

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French.

(*a*) *General* (*including Linguistic*).

BOILLOT, F., Le français régional de la Grand'combe. Paris, Presses universitaires.

BRUNOT, F., Histoire de la langue française, VI. Le 18e siècle. Paris, A. Colin. 90 fr.

DARMESTETER, A., et D. S. BLONDHEIM, Les gloses français dans les Commentaires talmudiques de Raschi, I. (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, cclv.) Paris, H. Champion.

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THIRTEEN VOLUMES OF SHAKESPEARE: A RETROSPECT

As I look back to the day eleven years ago when what came to be called 'The New Shakespeare' was first projected, I am amazed at the lightheartedness of those concerned. 'A handy, inexpensive Shakespeare in forty volumes, each volume to contain a critical introduction, some few textual and bibliographical notes, and possibly a very brief glossary.' Such were the original proposals for an edition, six volumes of which were expected to appear annually! The truth is, of course, that none of us knew what we were in for, least of all perhaps the textual editor. And I should like to take the opportunity of this truant excursion to express my gratitude to both publishers and fellow-editor for much long-suffering and great kindness. The former without a murmur saw their little thin volumes padded out to twice the contemplated length with notes and a full glossary, neither of any commercial value, and the pace of production correspondingly slowed down to one or two plays a year. The latter, once he perceived that he was launched on a south sea of discovery with a hare-brained mate on board, threw himself into the enterprise in the spirit of a true Cornishman. Any other captain, seeing the direction of the ship, would have put back to port or at the least ordered the mate to keep the stipulated course; this one bade clap on all sail and run before the wind.

At the best of times a complete recension of the text of Shakespeare, with a full apparatus criticus, is a hazardous undertaking; for the lines of such a recension must be laid down in general terms at the outset, and yet the 'moving finger' of Shakespearian scholarship 'writes, and having writ moves on'—from month to month and year to year—so that the principles of the hapless editor may be outmoded before he has completed half his task. And never surely were such risks greater than in 1920, when 'The New Shakespeare' was taking shape.

Within this last decade—so the Textual Introduction began—the study of Shakespearian texts has been given a new trend by three distinct though closely related discoveries. The first is that of Mr A. W. Pollard, originator of a new scientific method—critical Shakespearian bibliography....The second, originally made by Mr Percy Simpson, affects the vitally important question of the stops in the Folio and Quartos. ...The third and most sensational of all came to light in 1916, when Sir Edward Maunde Thompson boldly claimed, in his *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, that one of

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several hands found in the...manuscript play *Sir Thomas More*, was that of Shakespeare himself....In short we believe we know how Shakespeare wrote; we have a definite clue to his system of punctuation; we feel confident that often nothing but a compositor stands between us and the original manuscript; we can at times even creep into the compositor's skin and catch glimpses of the manuscript through his eyes. The door of Shakespeare's workshop stands ajar.

It was all delightfully thrilling, alluringly adventurous, but also—for those committed to the production of forty volumes—terribly dangerous! We were about to put forth upon an uncharted ocean with a set of brand-new instruments, which had never been used for such a voyage before or, indeed, for editorial seamanship of any kind. Until the edition was well under way it was impossible to tell how these instruments would work, whether the voyage would be one of real discovery or of shipwreck. Thirteen volumes do not bring us in sight of land, it is true, but the adventure is no longer haunted by fears of immediate or ultimate disaster; and though every fresh text we take up presents us with new problems, and as experience accumulates we tend to emphasise certain factors at the expense of others which, at the outset, seemed of greater importance, we are still steering by the chart outlined in the first volume and grow increasingly confident that the basic principles of the edition, drawn for the most part from the work of Dr A. W. Pollard, are impregnable. In what follows I propose to make certain observations upon these principles, indicating where subsequent investigation (my own and that of others) has led me to modify them, and arranging my remarks under the headings found in the 'Textual Introduction' to the *Tempest* volume (1921). It will be obvious that within the space of a single article only matters of a general character can be dealt with.

Classification and Selection of Texts: Definition of the Copy.

The classification of the Quartos into 'good' and 'bad' has been reinforced by everything that has been written upon the subject since Dr Pollard first drew the distinction. But there are, of course, many species of the genus 'good.' Whether we shall ever be able to make a sub-classification for them is not yet certain, though no one, for instance, who has studied *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1598, and *The Merchant of Venice*, 1600, can have failed to notice the great differences between the two. I should myself be inclined to label the former 'probably autograph' and the latter 'probably not.' Miss Greta Hjort has, however, complicated the question by an important article on 'The Good and Bad Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labour's Lost*' which appeared in this *Review* in April 1926, and in which she claimed that both the 'good' Quartos in

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question were printed from copies of the corresponding 'bad' Quartos, to which additions had been made by some scribe working from the playhouse manuscript—a theory which seems at first sight very plausible in regard to *Romeo and Juliet*, but which I have never had time to test carefully either for that text or for *Love's Labour's Lost*. On the other hand, the spellings and misprints of *Love's Labour's Lost* are not only extraordinarily similar to those found in *Hamlet*, 1604–5 (which Miss Hjort might perhaps claim to have originated from the 1603 text in like fashion), but also to those in Folio texts such as *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, where there can be no question of a previous 'bad' Quarto. Some common factor, I am convinced, lies behind all these texts; and if so, it follows that the sub-classification, whatever it may be, will apply to Folio as well as Quarto plays.

As regards the genus of 'bad' Quartos, the whole question has been placed on a new footing by the publication of Dr Greg's *Alcazar and Orlando* in 1923, the influence of which is very evident in recent work such as Mr Peter Alexander's *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*. There are still some corners of the subject that need clearing up, but an editor with the three parts of *Henry VI* before him may well rejoice at the progress already made, and is not without hope that when he reaches that great textual jungle, half-way along the road through the Folio, he may find the track blazed if not actually made up. Meanwhile, the list of five 'bad' Quartos given in the 'Textual Introduction' must be extended to include *A Shrew* (1594), *The First Part of the Contention* (1594), *The True Tragedy* (1595), and possibly other quasi-Shakespearian texts, while the problems they raise must now be considered in connexion with similar non-Shakespearian 'bad' Quartos like *Orlando Furioso* (1594) and *Doctor Faustus* (1616).

It is a cardinal principle of the edition that the text it presents is, where two or more (Quarto or Folio) versions exist, the result not of collation but of selection, i.e., of a decision as to which of the available versions is the most authoritative or, if you will, the nearest to Shakespeare's manuscript. Such a choice involves a close examination and analysis of *all* the contemporary editions. In other words where, for example, an editor is faced with both a 'good' Quarto and a Folio version, it is not enough for him to take one as the basis of his text, and to give general reasons for so doing; he must also attempt to show what relation the rejected version bears to Shakespeare. When drafting the 'Textual Introduction' I had not fully appreciated the importance of this. But it became obvious directly I began editing my first Quarto play, which was

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Much Ado, and when I reached *The Merchant of Venice* I found myself obliged to discuss the provenance not merely of the Quarto of 1600, but of two other texts as well, viz., the Quarto of 1619 and the Folio of 1623. The most exhaustive enquiry of this kind is Dr Pollard's masterly introduction to *King Richard II: a New Quarto* (1916), in which the whole history of the text is traced from the first Quarto of 1597, through the four reprints of 1598 (two), 1608 and 1615, to the Folio edition of 1623. For an editor, committed to the 'complete works,' to attempt such elaboration is of course out of the question. Nevertheless, however confident he may be that he has selected the best text as his basis, he cannot or ought not to feel secure unless he has demonstrated to himself and to others that the remaining contemporary texts lack direct Shakespearian authority. With some plays, no doubt, he will be unable to do so, though what his course should be with two texts both authoritative on his hands I am not yet sure, since I have so far not had to face such a situation. Dr Greg, with his usual acumen, has perceived the difficulties in this direction, and has deliberately emphasised them in the most important treatise on Shakespearian textual problems of recent years, his Shakespeare Lecture before the British Academy, 1928. He seeks to press the point home most particularly in regard to the Second Quarto and the Folio texts of *Hamlet*, by suggesting that the variants in the latter comprise a number of Shakespeare's 'second thoughts.' I believe it may be possible to evade the issue here, but I feel pretty certain that it will have to be faced in dealing with some other plays, and we must all be grateful to Dr Greg for raising it in terms at once so lucid and comprehensive.

But having selected his text and delivered his views upon the alternatives, if they exist, the editor is only at the beginning of his task, which is the 'editing,' that is to say the altering, of his chosen text with the object (i) of making it easier for the modern eye to read, if he is producing a modernised text, and (ii) of removing misprints and other departures from Shakespeare's original intention which have accumulated in the process of transmission. This means, of course, that he must frame some idea of what the original Shakespearian manuscript was like, and discover if he can what relation the printed text bears to that original. It is a difficult, in some cases an almost impossible, enterprise. But my experience has convinced me not only that it is always worth attempting, but that it is really inevitable. In this I have the welcome support of Dr Greg, who in the British Academy lecture just referred to declares: 'The central point at which I am aiming is this: that no emendation can, or ought to

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be, considered *in vacuo*, but that criticism must always proceed in relation to what we know, or what we surmise, respecting the history of the text.' If under the term 'emendation' be included alteration of any kind, not merely in words but also in punctuation, stage-directions and line-division, if in short we read 'editorial change' for 'emendation,' as I believe Dr Greg would allow us to do, then I may claim 'the central point' of his lecture as one of my own central principles.

Definition of the copy is a complex as well as a difficult business, and in most cases involves, or should involve, at least three different enquiries, which I am conscious of not always having kept as distinct as I should. These are:

(i) A study of the character and habits of the compositor, with a view to estimating if possible his influence upon the printed text. This I have attempted with one or two of the Quarto plays, but hardly at all with those for which the Folio is our sole authority though, as I go forward, I notice an increasing number of misprints due to 'foul case' in Jaggard's office, which seem to arise from careless distribution of the type, since the confusion is almost wholly confined to letters such as *r* and *t*, *e* and *c*, *n* and *u*, which are very similar in the Folio fount.

(ii) Definition of the copy proper, i.e., an enquiry into the nature of the manuscript handled by the printers. From this point of view the most interesting texts I have so far examined are those which I have labelled above 'probably autograph,' viz., *The Tempest*, *Much Ado*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Hamlet* (Q 2), *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*[1], and—at the opposite extreme so to speak—those strange texts which are either bare of stage-directions and have all their entries gathered together at the head of the scenes, or are patently derived from texts originally in that condition, the most conspicuous examples being *The Two Gentlemen*, *Merry Wives*, and *Winter's Tale*. The study of this latter type has recently received a fresh stimulus from the discovery by Mr R. C. Bald of a transcript of Middleton's *Game of Chesse*, 1624, at the Bodleian, in the hand of Richard Crane, scrivener to the King's Men 1619–25, which transcript displays all the characteristics of the bare Shakespearian texts. I can say nothing here in detail of this except to refer readers to Mr Bald's edition of *A Game of Chesse* (Cambridge, 1929) and to a review of it in *The Library* for June last. But I would draw the attention of those who dislike or disagree with the explanation of these texts put forward simultaneously by Mr Crompton

[1] I include the last three because though they have not been yet edited in 'The New Shakespeare' I have had to examine them for other purposes.

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Rhodes and myself, to the fact that more important than any explanation is the classification it implies, a classification which is now seen to be relevant to other than Shakespearian plays.

(iii) A conjectural textual history of the play before it got into print. In the eyes of some critics, this seems to constitute the most important, if not the only significant, feature of the edition. It is true that the enquiry often extends over several pages of the 'Note on the Copy'—the development of a complicated hypothesis requires space, if it is to be intelligible; but I claim no finality whatever for these conjectural histories. On the contrary, they were never intended to be more than provisional findings, to be revised and sorted out in the light of the fuller experience which will come (perhaps) when the edition is complete. What I do claim is that they raise problems and elucidate facts for which explanations will sooner or later have to be found. In other words, the chief business of a textual editor at the present juncture is to set the right puzzles; the solutions he himself offers are of minor importance. And if someone asks: why then waste our time and yours by offering solutions at all? my reply is that it is only by framing hypotheses that one comes fully to perceive the puzzles or even all the facts. In a word, the method pursued is the method of science. Francis Darwin writes in the *Life* of his father:

> He often said that no one could be a good observer unless he was an active theoriser. This brings me back to what I said about his instinct for arresting exceptions: it was as though he were charged with theorising power ready to flow into any channel on the slightest disturbance, so that no fact, however small, could avoid releasing a stream of theory, and thus the fact became magnified into importance[1].

So much for the value of theorising. On the value of the theories themselves I may be allowed perhaps to quote the words of a great living scientist from a different field:

> I have dealt [writes Professor Eddington in a characteristic peroration] mainly with two salient points—the problem of the source of a star's energy and the change of mass which must occur if there is any evolution of faint stars from bright stars. I have shown how these appear to meet in the hypothesis of the annihilation of matter. I do not hold this as a secure conclusion. I hesitate even to advocate it as probable, because there are many details which seem to me to throw considerable doubt upon it, and I have formed a strong impression that there must be some essential point which has not yet been grasped. I simply tell it you as the clue which at the moment we are trying to follow up—not knowing whether it is false scent or true[2].

Before leaving this section, I should like to say a word on the subject of dramatic revision, which has played a large part—some of my critics

[1] *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 2nd ed., 1887, I, p. 149. I owe this quotation to my friend Sir Percy Nunn.

[2] A. S. Eddington, *Stars and Atoms*, p. 121.

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say 'much too large a part'—in these hypothetical structures. I have contemplated the possibility of revision of two kinds: (i) revision by Shakespeare of 'old plays' by pre-Shakespearian writers, and (ii) revision by Shakespeare of his own plays when 'revived' by his company. The first possibility, which has been postulated as a factor in Shakespeare's early work since the time of Malone, has been recently challenged by Dr Smart and Mr Peter Alexander in two of the most interesting books that have appeared on Shakespeare for many years. I think that, like most advocates of a new cause, they tend to press their arguments over-hard, but I am certain it is all to the good of Elizabethan scholarship that hoary assumptions, too little examined in the past, should be thus called in question. This does not of course mean that I believe Shakespeare never worked over another man's play, though I do think we have all been too ready to credit other men with the original drafting of his plays without adequate evidence.

The other type of revision, which is not as I understand touched by Mr Alexander's thesis, is a different matter. Indeed, from the *a priori* point of view, I do not see how it is possible to account for the existence of the Shakespearian canon in any other way. From 1594 to about 1610 Shakespeare was not merely the chief writer for his company, but, as far as our evidence goes, almost the only writer. His output was enormous and, considering its level of achievement, miraculous; but would the thirty or more plays which lie between the two dates just mentioned have been enough to keep an Elizabethan repertory company going with a small and more or less fixed public which demanded constant variety of entertainment? Only, I think, if the company followed a policy of constantly reviving plays which the public had not seen for some time and had therefore forgotten. And that such revival would often mean revision will surely be clear if we remember the changing exigencies of the cast and the necessity of providing fresh topical matter. Sir Edmund Chambers, who dislikes the notion of revision, does not seem to have envisaged the theatrical conditions under which Shakespeare probably had to work. His two 'reasons for thinking that the amount of revision in the canon is not likely to be very great[1]' leave me cold. One is the practice of the Admiral's Men as revealed in the pages of Henslowe's *Diary*. Henslowe's policy was to employ a number of literary men, all more or less in debt to him and down on their luck, to write for his company. At the Globe there was no Henslowe and no need for 'employing' poets or dramatists at all, since a dramatist was a member of

[1] *The Disintegration of Shakespeare* (Brit. Acad. Shakesp. Lecture, 1924), pp. 20–2.

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the company. Henslowe's way would make for 'new plays,' and the fact that he notes their advent so carefully suggests that he prided himself upon them. The Globe way was, and had to be, entirely different. But there was only one Shakespeare, and after his retirement the King's Men were obliged to turn to the literary gentlemen for their copy, and in some measure, therefore, adopted Henslowe's methods, though the length and stability of their connexion with Beaumont and Fletcher indicate the superior character of their dealings. It is interesting to discover from Sir Henry Herbert's notes—and this is Sir Edmund Chambers' second point—that out of a hundred and thirty licences between 1622 and 1642 only fifteen were for old plays, and in only seven is there any record of revision. But what bearing has this upon the practice of an actor-dramatist who died in 1616?

Far more pertinent and helpful, as it seems to me, is the line of criticism which would test the deductions drawn from an analysis of the printed texts of Shakespeare by a study of the extant manuscripts of Elizabethan and Stuart plays. Dr Boas first, I think, drew attention to the importance of this in his *Shakespeare and the Universities*, but the most serious attempt to deal with it so far is a valuable article by Professor Charles Sisson in vol. 1, no. 4, of *The Review of English Studies*, which it is much to be hoped will be followed up by further studies of the same kind by him and other scholars. But even here it is, I think, legitimate to insist that the dramatic manuscripts of an acting member of a company are likely to differ in more than one respect from playhouse copy provided by poets brought in from without.

Whatever be the final conclusions of scholarship upon the textual history of Shakespeare's plays, of one thing I am firmly convinced, viz., that textual history and dramatic criticism are two quite distinct enquiries, which should not be confused, though both must be employed in the work of editing. There is a school of Shakespearian criticism to-day which seems to have no aesthetic—or, at any rate, dramatic—principles at all, but seeks to explain *and appraise* everything in Shakespeare by reference to historical causes. Thus when they come upon passages, scenes, or characters which perplex them—as well they may, seeing that these critics often possess rather rudimentary notions of dramatic art, generally derived from the conditions of the modern theatre—instead of asking themselves what Shakespeare's purpose might have been or what artistic function such passages, scenes, or characters might conceivably possess in a play written for the Elizabethan stage and for an Elizabethan audience, they label them 'relics of an old

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play' and talk of the stubbornness of Shakespeare's material. This is indeed to place the cart before the horse! Shakespeare's plays are, I believe, full of 'relics of old plays' (his own and perhaps others), but they are nevertheless, with one or two possible exceptions, artistic unities and to be judged as such. It is interesting to pry into the processes of creation, to study the autograph alterations in the draft of a poem by Keats, Shelley or Tennyson, but we do not, if we are sane, build our aesthetic judgments upon study of this kind. And when the processes of creation are invisible and a matter of inference, as they are in Shakespeare, there is grave danger—a danger members of the historical school have not altogether escaped—of fastening upon some 'necessary point of the play,' the significance of which has entirely eluded them, and 'excusing' Shakespeare for it on the ground that he was incapable of moulding his original material satisfactorily.

I have endeavoured to make clear my own position in this matter in the British Academy lecture for 1929[1], but am glad to be able to say something about it here also, since a textual editor, whose duty it is to concentrate upon the history of his texts, has little or no scope to deal with the aesthetic implications of his findings, and is therefore liable to be misunderstood.

Since this article was set up in type, I have been reading the British Academy Shakespeare Lecture for 1930 by Professor Lascelles Abercrombie, and rejoice to find that its main theme emphasises (apparently quite independently) the very point I had striven to make the previous year from the same desk. The matter is so important, and the coincidence of view so striking, that I may perhaps be allowed to quote a short passage from each lecture:

> It is (or should be) a cardinal principle in the criticism of plays belonging to this period that the dramatist who last handles a text must accept full artistic responsibility for it.... To show, for instance, that *Hamlet* had been rehandled once or even twice by Shakespeare is not surely to injure it in any way as a work of art. Nor, provided that one dramatist had the revision in his complete control, is it reasonable to refuse the title of artistic unity to a play because it happens to be composed of strata written at different times or by different hands. For, what Shakespeare rewrote he presumably imagined he was improving, and what he left alone he presumably thought good enough for his purpose (1929, p. 4).

> For if Shakespeare did take over other people's work and convert it to his own use, he thereby made himself responsible for it: he made it his, and as his we may justly criticise it.... Supposing, to save himself trouble, or whatever the reason was, he took over a *Hamlet* from Kyd. This, then, was his material, and as such it is no concern of ours. It does not matter to us what Kyd made of *Hamlet*; whatever was

[1] This lecture has given rise to a controversy between Mr J. M. Robertson and myself, which the curious in such matters may follow in *The Criterion* for January and July 1930.

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Kyd's has become Shakespeare's. Our business is with the effect Shakespeare produced, and in that effect, everything he uses participates. Conceivably, it might have suited his purpose to leave Kyd unaltered here and there, but, even if these passages could be detected, that would make no difference. They belong now to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*; the purpose they serve now is Shakespeare's; he has taken them over and he must be responsible for them. Aesthetic criticism ought not to allow itself to be in the least perturbed about them. And it would be merely evading its duty, besides allowing improper weight to internal evidence, if it sought to dispose of difficulties of interpretation or apparent inconsistencies in *Hamlet* by indicating lumps of undigested Kyd (1930, p. 18).

Not the least interesting feature of these passages, so similar in tenor, is that while the second was written in 'plea for the liberty of interpreting' Shakespeare by the aesthetic critic, the first was part of an equally emphatic assertion of the claims of freedom for the scientific critic. And is there not hope in their coincidence that aesthetic and scientific criticism may come to respect each other as distinct lines of enquiry, with different spheres and different principles, and may perhaps combine to slay the common foe, that muddle-headed criticism which confounds the two and, at the present moment, distracts the world of Shakespearian studies?

Act and Scene Division.

I have seen no reason to change my opinions under this head since they were first expressed in 1921, though they have developed to some extent under the stimulus of an article by Sir Mark Hunter which appeared in *The Review of English Studies* (vol. II, no. 7). Readers desirous of pursuing the matter further may be referred to this article and to later articles by myself and Dr Greg in vols. III and IV of the same review, while they may be reminded that Mr Granville-Barker has shown much interest in the problem, and has written upon it in the second series of his *Prefaces to Shakespeare.*

Punctuation and Stage-directions.

This section of the 'Textual Introduction,' together with the 'Note on Punctuation' which also appeared in the opening volume of the edition, was penned in high hope. Mr Percy Simpson's impressive *Shakespearian Punctuation* (1911), followed by Dr Pollard's cautious but optimistic treatment of the same theme in his introduction to *King Richard II: a New Quarto* and in the second edition of his *Fight with the Pirates* (1920), made it abundantly clear to scholars of open mind that 'dramatic punctuation' was not only a reality but also a factor of considerable

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importance in Shakespearian texts. A careful study of *Hamlet*, Q 2, confirmed me in the faith, since the pointing of that text, a miracle of subtlety and dramatic appositeness, could not possibly be ascribed to the compositor, whose crudity and inexpertness were evident in every line of the play. Further, when I came to examine the earlier Folio plays I found nothing to shake this confidence. *The Tempest* presented a punctuation, different indeed from that of *Hamlet*, Q 2, but scarcely less exquisite, while that found in the next four plays, which included such poor texts as *Merry Wives* and *Measure for Measure*, was quite good of its kind, a kind however which suggested the playhouse rather than the dramatist. It is true that the stops in the 'Shakespearian Addition' to *Sir Thomas More* are scanty, but it should not surprise us to find that the writer, who had left one passage of More's speech in a hopeless tangle, has also omitted a good many stops—he was clearly in a hurry, or had intended to return to the manuscript, an intention never fulfilled. Nevertheless, there *are* stops in the Three Pages, and enough I think to enable the players (or, for that matter, an expert compositor) to interpret the author's purposes without going far astray; the occasional use of the semi-colon in the long speeches is especially noteworthy, as conforming to the style of *Hamlet*, Q 2[1]. Altogether, I felt fully justified in writing ('Note on Punctuation'):

> In the main, the punctuation of the old texts is Shakespeare's, or at worst that of the playhouse. No doubt the compositor had his share too; in plays hurriedly written perhaps a large one, in others such as *Hamlet* or *The Tempest* a small one—probably little more than the addition of certain commas. In either event the framework is Shakespearian.

But Shakespearian texts differ; and if I am not feeling quite so happy about punctuation to-day, that is due to the fact that I have recently had some depressing experiences. The trouble began, remarkably enough, with the good Quarto texts. The light pointing of *Much Ado*, 'frequently ambiguous and sometimes palpably incorrect,' was obviously largely supplied by the compositor. Capell described that of *Love's Labour's Lost* as 'enormous bad,' and he cannot be gainsaid. Even the punctuation of an otherwise beautiful text like the Fisher *Midsummer-Night's Dream* leaves a good deal to be desired. The only one, in fact, of the four Quarto plays yet edited which is satisfactory from this point of view is *The Merchant of Venice*, a text I find it hard to believe derived from Shakespeare's manuscript direct. The four Folio plays which followed have not tended to clear the matter up, since while two (*As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*, both I fancy printed from transcripts) possess punctuation

[1] The punctuation of the Addition merits more attention than it has yet received.

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of what I call the good playhouse variety, that of the others (*The Shrew* and *All's Well*) is mediocre.

It is yet too early to generalise, but the direction in which the evidence seems to be going at the moment is that, except in special cases, which I take *Hamlet* and *The Tempest* to be, Shakespeare punctuated his own drafts very lightly.

Dramatic punctuation existed in order to guide the actors in the speaking of their lines; and provided the dramatist could be certain that the players spoke them in the way he desired he would not greatly care about the stops in the prompt-book. When he wrote slowly and with deliberation, as he would in 'set speeches,' he might find it convenient to punctuate as he went along, but otherwise, if he was himself proposing to supervise the rehearsals, he could trust to getting the pointing right then.

Thus I wrote in the 'Note on the Copy for *Much Ado*, 1600,' following a hint of Dr Pollard's (*Fight with the Pirates*, p. xix). If I now add that the players would naturally be anxious to preserve the author's intentions and advice, and could best do so by means of dramatic punctuation in playhouse transcripts and players' parts, especially the latter, that will take us about as far as it seems possible to go at present.

As to stage-directions—I mean those due to editorial invention—I remain unrepentant, even in regard to those defining locality, which have been the most criticised. What Mr Granville-Barker, I think, first called the 'alocality' of the Elizabethan theatre must, of course, always be borne in mind, and I hope has been; but its relevance differs as between comedy and tragedy, or perhaps it would be safer to say, as between the earlier and the later plays. Here, as in the case of historical consistency and time-sequence[1], I fancy Shakespeare made more and more a virtue of necessity as the years went by and brought him an increasing mastery of his instrument, the theatre. But 'alocality' is often a nuisance in comedy, and I think he found it so. Anyhow, the dialogue of most of the comedies is so full of precise references to 'the place where' that an editor (i) has little difficulty in framing his localising direction at the head of the scene, and (ii) cannot justly be accused of running contrary to Shakespeare's real intentions in so doing. Whether he ought to act in the same way with *Antony and Cleopatra* is a different question, which may be left for later decision.

Further, the word 'stage-directions' is a most misleading one: 'helps to the reader' would be better, if a little clumsy. The truth is that modern editors, all editors indeed from Rowe downwards, have to treat the plays in a fashion and for a purpose not contemplated by Shakespeare at all: they have to prepare them for a reading public, a point insufficiently

[1] Cf. British Academy Shakespeare Lecture, 1929, p. 9.

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appreciated I fancy by actors whose imagination, highly trained to move in the atmosphere of the theatre, makes it almost impossible for them to understand the ordinary reader's difficulties in grappling with a dramatic text. Perform a play in the bare conditions of the Elizabethan stage, and a modern audience, even though their imaginations may be thoroughly 'debauched' by a life-long acquaintance with realistic back-cloths, will be able to follow—after half-an-hour or so may even forget that the stage is bare. Why? Because the actors are there, in costume and make-up, moving about, doing things and talking all the time: the scene may not be 'localised,' but what does that matter? it lives. The reader, on the other hand, has nothing of all this to help him. 'The layman,' writes Mr Granville-Barker frowningly, 'must remember that he is reading a play, and should be imaginatively translating it into performance as he reads[1].' This 'translation' is no doubt easy enough for an actor-manager and a dramatist, but the 'layman' cannot even guess how to begin it without assistance. When Mr Granville-Barker is writing, not as a Shakespearian critic, but as a dramatist appealing to the reading public, he knows this well enough, and takes good care to aid the process of 'translation' by every means in his power, i.e., by frequent, lengthy and elaborate 'stage-directions.' He knows too that the 'localisation' of the scene by means of such directions is half the battle; he gives us, for instance, over a page of it before Act I of *The Voysey Inheritance* and two pages and a half in Act II. Rowe introduced his 'geography' into Shakespeare, not because painted scenery had become the fashion, but because he, like Mr Granville-Barker, wanted to ease the path of his readers. And he was right[2].

Spellings, Misprints, and Emendation.

This heading brings us back to the question of the relation between the compositor and his copy, a question which lies behind most of what I have been saying hitherto, though I have so far only glanced at it once in direct fashion. It is a large question, on which a good deal of work has been done in the last ten years and on which my own views have naturally grown with increased experience. I say 'grown' not 'changed,' because though I found the field practically unexplored in 1920 and therefore took great risks in laying down principles, which had for the most part to be reached *a priori*, those principles have stood the weather as well as I could have expected. The chief of them are:

[1] *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Second Series, p. 133.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 130 f.

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(i) That expert compositors 'normalised' their authors' spelling, i.e., changed it into the spelling they had themselves learnt in the printing-house.

(ii) That, nevertheless, even expert compositors, when tired or when they came upon a word difficult to read or to understand, might let a certain number of authors' spellings through, while the inexpert compositor who clung close to his copy might let through a considerable quantity.

(iii) That quite a large proportion of misprints in a printed text might be explained as misreadings by the compositor of ill-written words in the author's manuscript.

It cannot be claimed that any of the three has yet been proved, but experience shows that they work, while Miss Byrne's 'Anthony Munday's Spelling as a Literary Clue' (*The Library*, June 1923) and Dr Greg's 'An Elizabethan Printer and his Copy' (*The Library*, September 1923) offer very welcome corroboration on the side of spelling, as the latter's two articles on 'Massinger's Autograph Corrections' (*The Library*, December 1923, June 1924) do on the side of misreading. If I may quote from Dr Greg:

> It is, I think, distinctly encouraging to find that over two-thirds of the printer's errors [in *The Duke of Milan*, 1623] were (on the author's own showing) due to causes readily discernible by the critical eye, and almost half to well-recognised graphic confusions, some of which can be definitely connected with known peculiarities of the author's hand; while of the remainder all but three or four are obvious even to a casual inspection. If modern bibliographical and palaeographical methods of analysis in textual criticism stood in any need of further support, I think they would find it in ample measure in Massinger's corrections.

I confess that I read this passage with jubilation. It was comforting too to find that the cautious Dr McKerrow gave tacit support to two of the three principles in his chapter on 'The Compositor and his Copy' in his *Introduction to Bibliography* (1927), although refusing to enter 'into the question of errors caused by misreading the author's MS.' I had hoped to strengthen my own foundations by printing the lists of misprints and abnormal spellings which I compiled from the 'good' Quartos before beginning the work of editing and which have proved of the greatest possible service since, but I have come to see that some of the Quartos were more authoritative in this respect than others, while to be really comprehensive the lists should comprise a number of Folio texts also. In a word, the publication of such lists waits upon the completion of that provisional definition of the copy for all Shakespearian texts referred to above. Meanwhile, it was possible to work out lists for single texts, and a beginning was made of this in an article on 'Spellings and Misprints in

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the Second Quarto of *Hamlet*' (*Essays and Studies*, English Association, 1924), while an attempt was made to use spellings and misprints as clues to authorship in the volume entitled *Shakespeare's Hand in 'Sir Thomas More'* (1923).

The mention of this book leads me to say a word concerning its theme. When the earlier volumes of 'The New Shakespeare' were being prepared for press the world of scholarship was eagerly discussing Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (1916). His arguments, together with the bibliographical clues just spoken of, convinced me that the Three Pages in *Sir Thomas More* were in Shakespeare's autograph, and nothing that has since appeared has in any way shaken that conviction. On the contrary, Professor R. W. Chambers' brilliant essay in the 1923 volume just mentioned on the political ideas of the Three Pages, recently followed up by Professor Caroline Spurgeon's article on the imagery they contain (*Review of English Studies*, VI, July 1930), has greatly strengthened it, while eleven years' work on original Shakespearian texts and speculation on a thousand and one points in the manuscripts from which they were printed have only strengthened it still further. What I owe to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's book cannot be told or even estimated. From the day when I first learnt to write the hand of the Three Pages and began to study the *More MS.* as a whole, it has shaped my imagination and prompted all my enquiries. Yet let no one suppose that 'The New Shakespeare' stands or falls by the claim for Shakespeare's authorship of the Addition, as some critics have suggested. That claim with all it involves has been an inspiration of incalculable force; but it is not the foundation of the edition, which is the work of Dr Pollard and my collections of spellings and misprints. If Dr Tannenbaum or Professor Schücking succeeded in convincing the world that the Addition had nothing to do with Shakespeare, those foundations would remain untouched. Rather, the argument runs the other way, for I have hopes that the edition, when finished, will itself be counted worthy to rank as one more piece of evidence in favour of Maunde Thompson's thesis, surely the most thrilling and courageous adventure of any septuagenarian of modern times.

'As I practised conjecture more, I learned to trust it less,' wrote Johnson in his Preface. And Aldis Wright echoes him in the famous 'After a considerable experience I feel justified in saying that in most cases ignorance and conceit are the fruitful parents of conjectural emendation.' In spite of these awful words editors will, and indeed must, continue to go on guessing, and though I distrust my own guesses more

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with each new volume, I grow increasingly aware of the possibilities of corruption. There is the compositor perpetually prone to inversion and the omission of small words, which may not perhaps impair the sense in prose but which will work havoc with metre or rhythm in verse. There is the press-corrector who, when the compositor has gone astray, attempts to restore sense or metre by the light of nature—a factor for which I have perhaps allowed too little.

> For my own part [writes Dr McKerrow], I may say that I believe that a large number of the greatest puzzles in early dramatic texts are due not to the compositor but to correctors who have forcibly wrested to an impossible sort of half-sense passages which in the beginning probably contained merely one or two literal errors which reference to the MS. or even a little thought would have sufficed to put right[1].

There is also, I fear, in not a few texts the careless copyist to reckon with. Lastly, Shakespeare himself not only misformed his letters but also as Dr Greg has reminded us, probably sometimes himself set down the wrong word, as we all do. The most stubborn type of corruption is that which, in Dr McKerrow's words, makes 'an impossible sort of half-sense,' for it at once becomes the rallying point of the stupid critics whose only canon is conservatism. Indeed, it would be hard to find any reading however impossible in the Folio or the Quartos which is without its defender, so that 'ignorance and conceit' can be as fruitful a parent of obscurantism as of emendation. Let me, however, conclude this section by giving an instance of vaulting ingenuity o'er-leaping itself, since it is ingenuity and not conservatism, I am assured, that is my own besetting sin.

It concerns the well-known advice of Polonius to Laertes, which in modern texts, following the Folio, runs thus:

> But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
> Of each new-hatch'd unfledg'd comrade.

Here both the Quartos (Q 1 and Q 2) give 'courage' for 'comrade,' and those who have studied the relation between F and Q 2 can feel fairly certain that 'comrade' is a makeshift reading of the players who found the word in the copy either illegible or unintelligible. Reverting therefore to the 'courage' of the Quartos, and taking it to be the word which the compositor (erroneously) thought he saw in Shakespeare's manuscript, I evolved in 1918[2] the emendation 'cockney,' which possessed the double attraction of (i) following the graphical formation of 'courage' almost stroke for stroke, if the not impossible spelling 'cocnaye' be assumed, and (ii) fitting the context perfectly, seeing that 'cockney' (orig. = cock's

[1] *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 259.

[2] See *Times Literary Supplement* (Correspondence), Nov. 14, 1918, Dec. 5, 1918, Jan. 2, 1919.

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egg) was finely suited with 'new-hatch'd, unfledg'd.' It ran the gantlet in the *Literary Supplement*, and I believed in it for over ten years. But in 1918 I did not possess the *N.E.D.*, and recently having occasion for another purpose to look up 'courage' in the copy I acquired in 1920, I discovered to my shame that there are well-authenticated examples of the word being used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to denote persons, much as we speak now of 'sparks' or 'braves,' and that one of the examples came from Hoby's *Castiglione*, a book on which Shakespeare is most likely to have drawn for the character of Polonius. Thus the reading of the Quartos is completely vindicated, and my 'ignorance and conceit' are alike humbled to the dust.

Notes and Glossary.

The foregoing sad story of the critic who neglected to consult the *N.E.D.* makes an apt introduction to this last section of an already overlengthy disquisition. One of the greatest surprises that awaited me as an editor was to find how much yet remained to do in the field of exegesis, and as volume followed volume the matter claimed an increasing share both of my time and my space. The truth is that the significance of the *N.E.D.* as an incomparable editorial instrument has even yet been insufficiently recognised, partly because the great enterprise has only just been finished, partly because editors have tended to turn to it for help in the last resort, instead of cultivating the habit of seeking illumination in its pages on all sorts of passages which seem at first sight to be perfectly plain.

'A quibble,' wrote Johnson, 'was to Shakespeare the fatal Cleopatra for which he lost the world and was content to lose it.' The relationship seems to me to have been at once more intimate and more respectable, while as for 'losing the world,' the quibble, or at least the double meaning, was one of the commonest features of his expression, and was often a kind of communication cord which connected together his train of images. Take an instance from the second scene of *The Tempest*:

> The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
> But that the sea, mounting to th' welkin's cheek,
> Dashes the fire out.

The word which here holds the whole image together is 'cheek,' and yet it is easy enough to overlook this—indeed all editors have done so—if you take 'cheek' only in its ordinary and obvious meaning. Recollect, however, or discover from the *N.E.D.* as I did, that 'cheek' also meant to the Elizabethans the side of a grate, and how wonderfully is the

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passage illuminated! I quote that because it came to me as an early revelation of what Shakespeare could do in that kind, and since then examples have multiplied a hundredfold. A play like *Love's Labour's Lost* is, of course, a succession of quibbles from beginning to end, many of them indecent, while more than half the point of Shakespeare's clowning has been lost because editors have not been sufficiently on the look-out for the double meaning. And this look-out must be kept in serious passages quite as much as in the comic ones.

Yet this is but one way out of many in which the *N.E.D.* may be useful to an editor in the most important of all his duties, the elucidation of the poet's meaning.

J. Dover Wilson.

London.

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SHAKESPEARE'S KNOWLEDGE OF ARETINO'S PLAYS

In 1588 John Wolfe published in London a volume containing four of Aretino's comedies—the *Marescalco*, *Talanta*, *Cortigiana* and *Hipocrito*. He apologises to the reader for not including in the volume the *Filosofo*, Aretino's fifth comedy; he had been unable to secure a copy of that somewhat rare volume. Wolfe's edition seems to have been intended primarily for the Italian market, since by 1558 all Aretino's works were on the *Index*[1]. Yet the book was regularly licensed on September 20, 1588, and copies of it seem to have been sold in London. There are three copies in the British Museum, one having translations of a number of words written in a contemporary hand, in the last three Acts of the *Marescalco*. The book would be easily accessible to Shakespeare.

It is the purpose of this paper to try to show that Shakespeare was very probably familiar with the five comedies of Aretino mentioned, and with his one tragedy, the *Orazia*, either at first hand, through his own knowledge of Italian, or indirectly through some friendly interpreter: so far as we know, the comedies were not translated. Whatever weight verbal reminiscence may have as evidence tells, of course, against the hypothesis of an interpreter, since it is rather unlikely that words and phrases from a language with which one is very slightly acquainted would rise naturally to one's mind in the course of composition. On the other hand, the weight of such evidence bears decidedly on the side of Shakespeare's indebtedness as soon as evidence of more substantial borrowing is forthcoming; such evidence, the present writer believes, is indicated in Sections I and II below.

As to the first hypothesis, that Shakespeare knew Italian, it is difficult to discover what kind of proof the objectors would like. It is admitted that Jonson, Chapman, Daniel and many others knew Italian; that there were many Italians in London, and that Italian was one of the languages practised at Court; that Shakespeare himself uses many Italian and Italianate words and phrases; and that he shows knowledge of Italian works of which—so far as it is possible for us to know—translations into English had not been made when he was writing. The natural conclusion from the last-mentioned evidence would appear to be that—so far as it is possible for us to know—Shakespeare knew Italian.

[1] See H. Sellers, *Italian Printed Books in England*, *The Library*, 4th Series, v, No. 2.

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It has been thought best, for convenience of reference, to divide the evidence of borrowing into sub-divisions: (I) Situations and Devices; (II) Ideas; (III) Verbal Reminiscences. Only to one or two of the items in (III) does the writer attach importance; the others, which could be augmented, become significant only when the force of the evidence of (I) and (II) is admitted. It is inevitable that as between (I) and (II), and (II) and (III), there should be some slight overlapping.

The references are to the 1588 Wolfe edition for four of the comedies, the 1546 Giolito de Ferrari edition for the *Filosofo*, and the 1546 edition for the *Orazia*.

I. Situations and Devices.

(*a*) In Act IV, Sc. i, of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, it will be remembered, Valentine, banished from Mantua and in very low spirits, encounters a band of outlaws who, after some questioning, try to persuade him to become one of them.

> *Second outlaw.* Are you content to be our general?
> *To make a virtue of necessity,*
> And live, as we do, in this wilderness. (ll. 61-3)

Speed, for his part, held that it was 'an honourable kind of thievery,' and urged his master to become one of them (l. 40).

In Act III of Aretino's *Filosofo* (p. 26 verso) is a situation very similar. Boccaccio, robbed and thrown out of the courtesan Tullia's house, meets two thieves who tell him he has done well to get off so lightly, and ask him to join them.

> *Boccaccio.* Le grazie di santa lepre son le mie tu quinci, la quale, nel romperglisi de la spalla, levava le palme al cielo, poi che non aveva fiaccato il collo.
> *Ladro I. Fa virtù de la necessità!*
> *Ladro II. Vientene con esso noi per terzo,* con noi dico che siam *maestri di quella cosa, che a farla bene ci si richiede destrezza,* accortezza, fortezza, leggerezza, etc....
> *Boccaccio.* Dunque di mercatante debbo diventar ladro?
> *Ladro.* Tu non muti mestiere.

Cf. *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Sc. i, 68: *And to do that well craves a kind of wit*, etc.

(*b*) In Act I, Sc. ii, of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Lucetta delivers Proteus' letter to Julia. Her mistress at first hands it back to her unread, but soon recalls the maid, who lets the letter fall to the ground; Julia commands that it be left there. When Lucetta continues to urge Proteus' suit, Julia in pretended rage tears the letter to pieces, and later, when the maid has departed, gathers these together, exclaiming, 'O hateful hands, to tear such loving words.'

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This incident, along with some others and with the general outline of his plot, Shakespeare is usually supposed to have taken from Yong's translation of Montemayor's *Diana Enamorada*. But the situation described above might equally well have been taken from Aretino, and there are certain details, such as *the tearing up of the letter and the piecing of it together again*, which are common to Aretino and Shakespeare, and are not in Montemayor or in Yong's translation. The relevant passage in Aretino is in the Prologue to the *Marescalco*, which is otherwise rich in Shakespearian suggestions. The speaker of the Prologue, asking his audience to believe for the moment that he has to present in his own person various characters in turn, proceeds to tell how he would do each one, and arrives at

Madonna schifa il poco, che facea de la ciriegia due bocconi, e di quella cosa una. Tosto che la sopradetta Ruffiana mi ponesse la lettera in mano, la guarderei prima a questa foggia, e in cotal modo, e poi dandole d' una vecchia poltrona nel capo, le direi con le dita in su gli occhi, io io, ti paio una di quelle an? incanta nebbia, beve bambini, caccia diavoli; e *squarciata e calpesta la carta, la sospignerei giù per la scala, e appena toltomela dinanzi, ripigliati i pezzi di essa, e ricongiuntogli insieme, e inteso il tener suo,* m' apprenderei al partito che pigliano le savie, etc.

It seems most probable that both Montemayor *and* Shakespeare knew this passage.

In the same Prologue are to be found suggestions for (1) Costard's rebuke to Sir Nathaniel (*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v, Sc. ii, 582: '*A conqueror, and afeard to speak!* run away for shame, Alisander'); (2) Costard's excuse for him (*ibid.*, ll. 587–8: 'but, for Alisander,—alas, you see how 'tis,—*a little o'er parted*'); (3) Bottom's desire to try *all* the parts. The speaker of the Prologue apologises for the fact that the actor who plays the Marshal is not furnished with a horse; he is not a good actor, for he is afraid *even to speak to the audience*, and *the other actors have given him too heavy a part*. The speaker then goes on to say that it would have been no mistake at all to turn over *all* the parts to himself, since he is better than any of the actors.

Hora se si pecca mortalmente a non dare un cavallo a quel venerabile castrone, che non ha paura di essere un cujum pecus, *e teme di favellare nel cospetto vostro*, ditelo voi; anzi lo meritebbero gli stregoni, volli dire istrioni, *che gli diedero cotal carico.* E sappiate, Signori, che non era error niuno a far *che, trasformato in ogni persona, io solo v' appresentassi tutto quello che i miei sotii tutti insieme vi reciteranno, e che sia il vero, che io vaglia più di loro,* udite me, e udite poi essi, giudicate de' nostri meriti.

It is perhaps worth while to point out that the method pursued by Don Felix of Vandalia in wooing Celia, in Montemayor's story, seems to be based on a passage in the same Prologue to the *Marescalco*, where the speaker described how he would act the part of 'uno assassinato d' Amore.'

Non è Spagniuolo, nè Napolitano, che mi vincesse di copia di sospiri, d' abbondanza di lagrime, e di cerimonie di parole; e tutto pieno di lussuriosi taglietti, verrei in

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campo col Paggio dietro, vestito de colori donatimi da la Diva, et ad ogni passo mi farei forbire le scarpe *di tertio pelo*, e squassando il pennacchio con voce sommessa, *aggirandomi intorno a* le sue mura, biscanterei.

'Ogni loco mi attrista ove io non veggio.'

Farei fare madrigali in sua laude, e dal Tromboncino *componervi suso i canti*, etc.

This is not very remote from Viola's account of how she would woo—'*Make me a willow cabin at your gate*,' 'Write *loyal cantons of contemned love*,' '*Halloo your name* to the reverberate hills,' etc. (*Twelfth Night*, Act I, Sc. v, 287 ff.). The phrase 'di tertio pelo,' it should perhaps be noted, is repeated three times in one page (57 verso, ed. Venice, 1574) in the Spanish at this point ('de terciopelo amarillo,' etc.), but is not translated by Yong; Shakespeare uses it elsewhere.

(*c*) In Act III, Sc. ii and Sc. iv, of *Twelfth Night*, Sir Toby and Fabian, when Sir Andrew finds he has a rival in Cesario, urge him to send the youth a challenge in writing, and later endeavour to induce the trembling and unwilling antagonists to cross swords.

In Aretino's *Talanta*, Messer Vergola and the Capitano are rivals in love. In Act II, Sc. xvi (pp. 159–60), Fora, M. Vergola's servant, advises his master to challenge the Captain, without any intention that a duel should follow.

Fora. Mandategli un cartello in istampa, come si usa tra coloro che vogliono esser tenuti valenti, col finger di voler combattere.

M. Vergola. Consigliami pur d' altro.

Fora. Mandisigli, dico; e senza punto dubitare, lasciate poi fare a me.

M. Vergola. Come vuoi tu che io non dubiti, havendo paura? e ch' io lasci fare a te, se ho a combatter io?

.....

Fora. Dico che, venuto al quia, potete esser certo, che il vostro nemico, havendo l' eletta, vi produrrà qualche arme da sbarrarvi le coscie, o da legarvi le braccia, talchè potrete con vostro scarico ricusarla; caso mò che l' haviate, voi potrete fare, che ancor egli la rifiuti.

[Cf. *As You Like It*, Act v, Sc. iv, 48–108.]

.....

M. Vergola. Bè che fa il cuore, innanzi che venga a le strette?

Fora. Strologa. *M. Vergola.* Per che conto? *Fora.* Che so io?

M. Vergola. E quando le punte vengono a la tua volta, che pensier fan le gambe?

Fora. D' arendersi, perchè *tanto è mostrato a dito chi perde, quanto chi vince, et è altra saviezza quel de la vergogna che resta viva, che quel de l' honore, che riman morto.*

[Cf. 1 *Henry IV*, Act v, Sc. iii, 61 ff.: 'I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath; give me life: which if I can save, so: if not, honour comes unlooked for, and there's an end,' and II (*a*), *infra*.]

(*d*) *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act I, Sc. i, 166 ff.

Claudio. Is she not a modest young lady?

Benedick. Do you question me, as an honest man should do, *for my simple true judgment*; or would you have me speak after my true custom, as being a professed tyrant to their sex?

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Cf. *Marescalco*, Act II, Sc. v (p. 12 verso). The Marshal asks his servant's advice about taking a wife.

Marescalco. Tolgola o non la tolgo? Consigliami, in coscienza.
Ambrogio. Eh, quando?
Marescalco. Tu fai un gran masticare.
Ambrogio. Ho io a dire il mio parere per la verità, o per sodisfarti?

(*e*) *Winter's Tale*, Act IV, Sc. iv. The use of Autolycus as a vendor of knick-knacks and ballads.

Twice in his comedies Aretino introduces a ballad-monger and trinket-seller. In the *Cortigiana*, Act I, Sc. iv (p. 56), Furfante passes along the street shouting:

Alle belle historie, storie, storie, la guerra del Turco in Ungheria, le prediche di fra Martino, il Concilio, historie, historie. La cosa d' Inghilterra, la pompa del Papa, e dell' Imperadore, la circuncision del Vaiuoda, il sacco di Roma, l' assedio di Fiorenza, l' abboccamento di Marsilia, con la conclusione, historie, historie.

In the *Marescalco*, Act III, Sc. i (p. 20), a Jew is the vendor.

A chi le vendo, a chi le vendo, le bagattelle, le cose belle, le mie novelle, a chi le vendo, a chi le vendo?

II. Ideas.

(*a*) *Honour.*

Can honour set to a leg? No.... *What is honour?* a word... *what is that word, honour?* Air... *Doth he feel it?* No, etc. (*1 Henry IV*, Act v, Sc. i, 137 ff.)

In the *Hipocrito* (Act v, Sc. vii, pp. 273*b*–274), Liseo refuses to take seriously the flight of his daughters with their lovers—let the latter worry!

Guardabasso. Io per me tengo l' honestà per una schifa il poco.
Liseo. Che cosa è l' honestà, che forma è la sua, che uffizio tiene in corte?
Guardabasso. Niuno.
Liseo. Adunque *ella non è niente*; che s' ella fosse qual cosa, ce ne havria mille, saria scalca, massera di casa, secretaria, cameriera, scudiera, bertona, ganimeda, e favorita.
Guardabasso. Messer sì mi....
Liseo. Anche la utilità è tale.
Guardabasso. Questo è qual che dico anch' io.
[Cf. Parolles' 'Right, so say I,' *All's Well*, Act II, Sc. ii, 15.]

See also under I (*c*), where 'living shame' and 'dead honour' are contrasted.

(*b*) *Gilded Tombs.*

Gilded tombs do worms enfold.
(*Merchant of Venice*, Act II, Sc. vii, 69. Johnson and Capell reading.)

M. Plataristotele. Una femina bella e impudica simiglia *una sepoltura di fuor dorata, e di dentro verminosa.* (*Filosofo*, Act v, Sc. viii)

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(c) *God-like Mercy.*

Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods?
Draw near them then in being merciful;
Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge.
(*Titus Andronicus*, Act I, Sc. i, 117–19)

And earthly power *doth then show likest God's*
When mercy seasons justice.
(*Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Sc. i, 196 ff.)

In Aretino's tragedy, *Orazia* (Act v), Publio appeals to the crowd for mercy for his son.

la clemenza
Di cui popol sei vaso: *perchè a Dio*
Si avvicinan color, che ogni hor pietosi
Si rivolgan inverso i falli altrui.
Tal che *chi sta nell' atto di perdono*
D' huom diventa Iddio. (p. 51)

(d) *Stallion and Mare.*

Venus and Adonis, ll. 259–324. The passage is too long to quote in full. The situation described, so far as the animals are concerned, is the same, and the following lines have fairly close equivalents in the Italian.

And forth she rushes, snorts, and neighs aloud. (262)
Imperiously he leaps, he neighs, he bounds. (265)
The bearing earth with his hard hoofs he wounds. (267)
his braided hanging mane
Upon his compass'd crest now stands on end:
His nostrils drink the air. (271–3)
Anon he rears upright, curvets and leaps. (279)
He sees his love and nothing else he sees,
For nothing else with his proud sight agrees. (287–8)
As they were mad, into the wood they hie them,
Out-stripping crows that strive to over-fly them. (323–4)

In *Orazia*, Act v, Publio pleads that his son is young and rash, and should therefore be forgiven for killing his sister.

La Gioventù debbe scusare Horatio,
Quando ch' egli abbia pur commesso errore.
La Gioventù, furor de la natura,
Che in l' esser suo *un caval fiero* sembra,
Da i legami disciolto in un bel prato,
Che in sè ritroso la *giumenta vista*
Ne i campi aperti, *alza su i crini folti,*
Le nare allarga, e la bocca diserra,
Fremita, ringe, calcitra, e *vaneggia,*
Poi, *dopo alcuni salti e forti e destri,*
Mosso il gagliardo e furioso corso,
Nè precipitio, u' traboccar si possa,
Nè tronco, dove dar di petto debbia,
Nè sasso o altro ivi in suo danno guarda. (p. 47 verso)

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(*e*) *The Good Effects of Drink.*

A good sherris-sack hath a two-fold operation in it. It ascends me into the brain; dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudy vapours which environ it; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble fiery and delectable shapes; which, delivered o'er to the voice, *the tongue*, which is the birth, *becomes excellent wit*. The second property of your excellent sherris is, *the warming of the blood*; which, before cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it *and makes it course from the inwards* to the parts extreme: *it illumineth the face*, which as a beacon gives *warning to all the rest of* this little kingdom, man, *to arm; and then the vital commoners and inland petty spirits muster me* all to their captain, the heart, who, great and puffed up with this retinue, doth any deed of courage, etc.

(2 *Henry IV*, Act IV, Sc. iii, 103 ff.)

In the *Filosofo*, Act IV, Sc. v (pp. 33–4), Salvalaglio tells how he overheard a description of the proper mode and the good effects of drinking. After considerable detail as to the method of decanting, addressing, and swallowing the liquor, he arrives at the effects:

Per la qual dolcitudine il ventricchio, il polmone, il fegato, la milza e le budella *dando a l'arme vengono suso a galla*. In questo i sensi de gli spiriti e gli spiriti de i sensi *mostrano la faccia del bevente rubiconda*, fumante, gaia, altiera, *lucida*, pacifica, e vigorosa. Per la qual gratia *la lingua ingagliardisce*, gli occhi sfavillano, il fiato risuscita, le vene gonfiano, i polsi bollono, la pelle si stende, e i nervi rinforzano.

(*f*) *Satire of the exaggerated politeness and hackneyed phrases of courtiers.*

In *All's Well*, Act II, Sc. ii, the clown makes fun, through some twenty lines, of the phrase 'O Lord, sir!' much in use by courtiers. In the following scene Parolles repeats even more frequently, in uncomprehending agreement with Lafeu, the phrases, 'So I say,' '*Right, so I say*,' 'So would I have said,' etc. Shakespeare uses the same device in *Hamlet* (Act III, Sc. ii, 391 ff.), where he has Polonius see a camel, a weasel, and a whale in turn, in the shape of the same cloud. He returns to the attack on both manners and speech in the scene between Osric and Hamlet (Act V, Sc. ii, 51 ff.), where the former is at a loss as soon as '*all's golden words are spent*.'

In the same way Shakespeare pokes fun at such people as Sir Andrew Aguecheek, who collect fine words like 'odours' and 'vouchsafe' (*Twelfth Night*, Act III, Sc. i, 97–102) to deck their would-be fine speeches.

Aretino more than once ridicules the same failings.

In the *Filosofo*, Act II, Sc. iv (p. 15 verso), Radicchio, the servant of Polidoro, a very elegant young man, tells his master that others should learn the arts of love and courtesy from him, especially

I cortigianetti di sugaro simili a la spelatoia, con che si lograno gli arnesi di dosso, *danno il maggior de i trionfi tosto che dicono: Sì a fè, giuro a Dio, bascio la mano.*

In the *Cortigiana*, Act I, Sc. iii (p. 55 verso), Messer Maco, who has come

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from Siena to Rome to make himself a Cardinal, is taught to pick up fine phrases:

M. Maco [to Sanese, his servant]. Che cicali tu?
Sanese. Dite la Signoria vostra. Non udiste il maestro che disse: mi raccomando alla Signoria vostra?
M. Maco. Mi raccomando alla Signoria vostra. Con la berretta in mano, è vero?
Sanese. Signor sì. Tiratevi la persona in su le gambe, acconciatevi la veste adosso, sputate tondo, o bene. Passeggiate largo, bene, benissimo.

In the scene from *Marescalco* (Act III, Sc. i) quoted in I (*e*), Aretino has a pert boy mockingly salute the Jew, as 'molto ben venuto, Abram reverendissimo'; to which the Jew replies, 'Tu fai il debito tuo, Giannicco, a farmi di beretta!'

The speaker of the Prologue in the *Marescalco* tells how he would play the part of parasite with a patron; Polonius and Osric might serve as objects of the satire.

Se egli mi dicesse: Sono io bello? gli risponderei, bellissimo; Sono io valente? valentissimo; Sono io liberale? liberalissimo...il Re non mi ama? vi adora...Che ti par del mio volteggiare? miracolo, etc.

Cf. also II (*a*), above, where Guardabasso's '*Messer* sì mi' and '*Questo è qual che dico anch' io*' are quoted from *Hipocrito*, Act v, Sc. vii.

III. Verbal Reminiscences.

(*a*) *Negatives—Affirmatives.*

So that, conclusions to be as kisses, if *your four* negatives make your two affirmatives. (*Twelfth Night*, Act v, Sc. i, 24)

Il poeta, che lambicca il verbo in ultimo de le clausule, usando gnaffe perchè anche Virgilio usò gazza, saria per torvi il capo per provarvi, che *due negative fanno una affermativa*, etc. (*Hipocrito*, Act I, Sc. iii, p. 220 recto)

(*b*) *Corroborate.*

His heart is fracted and *corroborate.* (*Henry V*, Act II, Sc. i, l. 130)

Il petto de la femina è *corroborato* d' inganni. (*Filosofo*, Act I, Sc. v, p. 7 verso)

(*c*) *Turns our swords*, etc.

Turns our swords
In our own proper entrails. (*Julius Caesar*, Act v, Sc. iii, 95-6)

In the *Hipocrito*, Act III, Sc. xv (p. 253), Corebo and Tranquillo, unhappy in love, condole with one another.

Corebo. Essendo così nel fato, bisogna che sia anche in noi, ma chi ci vieterà *il rivoglier del ferro nel proprio sangue*?
Tranquillo. Le stelle, dico, le quali ci destinano per sustantia di una strana passione.
Corebo. Sfoghinsi dunque.
Tranquillo. Diffinitione tanto vera quanto nuova fu quella...di Cromuello in Inghilterra, disse la sorte non essere altro che *humori de pianeti*, e *capriccio de cieli*, e il mondo isciagurato il pallone de le lor bagatelle.

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Cf. *King Lear*, Act I, Sc. ii, 128–45 and *passim*—'drunkard's, liars... by an enforced obedience of planetary influence,' etc.

(*d*) *To make a virtue of necessity.* (See I (*a*) *supra.*)

(*e*) *Ward.*

Thou knowest my old *ward*; here I lay, and thus I bore my point.
(1 *Henry IV*, Act II, Sc. iv, 215)

Recandomi con lo stocco in questa *guardia*.
(*Talanta*, Act III, Sc. xii, p. 169 verso)

(*f*) *Three-piled.* (*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V, Sc. i, 407; *Measure for Measure*, Act I, Sc. ii, 33; *Winter's Tale*, Act IV, Sc. iii, 14.)

Ad ogni passo mi farei forbire le scarpe *di tertio pelo*.
(*Marescalco*, Prologue)

(*g*) *Occupied.*

Occupy the argument no longer. (Obscene.)
(*Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Sc. iv, 105)

The word 'occupy,' which was an excellent word before it was ill-sorted.
(2 *Henry IV*, Act II, Sc. iv, 161)

Se io havessi a farvi l'Argomento...me ne verrei via togato e laureato (caso che il lauro non fosse sì *occupato* intorno a le hosterie, che non mi potesse servire).
(*Marescalco*, Prologue)

(*h*) *Et cetera.*

An open *et cetera*. (Used obscenely.)
(*Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Sc. i, 38 (Q. 1)

Come we to full *points* here; and are *et ceteras* nothing.
(2 *Henry IV*, Act II, Sc. iv, 198)

Hor hora, in questo *punto*, mi asconderei in uno *et cetera*.
(*Marescalco*, Prologue)

In the *Talanta*, Act III, Sc. xii (p. 169 verso), Tinca, a braggart soldier, wishes Branca to praise his prowess.

Tinca. Mi do ad intendere, che tu lo possa, non che altro, giurare.
Branca. Armorum et cetera.
Tinca. Che vol dire *armorum et cetera.*
Branca. Non so sì volgarezzarlo.

IV. Further Suggestions.

(*a*) In Act III, Sc. x of the *Hipocrito* (p. 248 verso), Guardabasso, a servant, enters the scene singing a song which is in spirit the same as Feste's 'When that I was,' and which might, one feels, be sung to the same tune.

Tempo fu, che bene andò:
Vissi lieto senza pene,
Bene andò, che l' andò bene,
Hor va mal quanto la può.

(In the original the song is printed as prose.)

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(*b*) *Julio Romano.* How Shakespeare came to make Julio Romano a sculptor and say of him that 'had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, (he) would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape' (*Winter's Tale*, Act v, Sc. ii, 103–8), is still a subject for controversy. It seems to the present writer just possible that, in running rapidly through a somewhat uninteresting passage of the *Marescalco*, Shakespeare's careless reading left him with the impression that Julio Romano was a sculptor and that he was, like Titian, 'emulus naturae.' The passage occurs where the Pedant holds out to the Marshal the prospect of famous offspring.

Pedant. Sì pittoribus, un Titiano emulus naturae. Immo magister, sarà certo fra Sebastiano de Venitia divinissimo. Et forse Julio Romano curie, et de lo Urbinate Raphaello allumno. Et ne la marmorarea facultate, che dovea dir prima (benchè non è anchora decisa la preminentia sua). Un mezo Michel Angelo, un Jacopo Sansavino speculum Florentie. (Act v, Sc. iii, p. 40 verso)

JOHN M. LOTHIAN.

SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE CONTINENTAL DRAMA ON LYNDSAY'S 'SATYRE OF THE THRIE ESTAITIS'

LYNDSAY'S *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* is of peculiar interest in that it is not only the one complete text of a mediaeval play which has survived in Scotland, but that it is our only evidence for the fact that the morality type was developed north of the Tweed. The 1471 Aberdeen *Ludus de bellyale*[1] may well have been a moral play on the lines of the *Castle of Perseverance*, but no details remain; and the 'clerk plays' of the Ayr and Edinburgh records[2] were probably miracles or mysteries. The 'moralitie' played by John Inglis and his companions at the time of the marriage of James IV with the Princess Margaret[3] was in all likelihood of English provenance.

Elsewhere I have ventured to question the opinion of Professor Gregory Smith and others that the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was a kind of literary sport in Scotland[4]. But the lack of other texts and fuller records is unfortunate. The religious plays, developing as they did from the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church and treating of Biblical themes, tended to be cast in similar mould all over western Europe. But within the more elastic frame of the secular plays there was possibility of growth along national lines. The French morality is distinct from the English morality. Any attempt to reconstruct the dramatic background of Lyndsay's play must therefore be largely conjectural.

Both in its setting and in its clear development of the Vice rôle the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* is in the tradition of the English moralities. Yet scholars have constantly suggested kinship with the continental, particularly the French, drama. In this paper I propose to examine the evidence for such kinship.

I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

His long residence at the Scottish court and his important official appointments undoubtedly afforded Lyndsay peculiar opportunities of contact with French culture. 'Unus vocatus Lyndesay' appears in the Exchequer Rolls in 1508 as Groom of the Stable to the young Prince

[1] See my *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*, St Andrews University Publications, 1927, s.v. Aberdeen.
[2] *Ibid.*, s.v. Ayr, Edinburgh.
[3] Leland, *Collectanea*, IV, p. 300.
[4] *Mediaeval Plays*, pp. 101 ff.

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James[1]. And certainly from 1511 onwards David Lyndsay was definitely attached to the court with a pension[2]. The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland for this period demonstrate in a remarkable way the reality of the 'Auld Alliance.' The Scottish court was penetrated by French customs, and French artisans and minstrels were in the employ of the Scottish king. The governorship of John Duke of Albany and the power of Mary of Guise helped to establish a specially close relationship between the two countries. Diplomatists came and went between the courts of Scotland and France.

Dr George Mackenzie, whose inaccuracy is proverbial, informs us that Lyndsay 'had his education at the University of St Andrews, where, after he had finished the course of his studies in philosophy, for his further improvement his parents sent him abroad; and having travelled (as he himself tells us) through England, France, Italy and Germany, he returned to his native country about the year 1514[3].' There is some evidence that Lyndsay was registered at St Andrews, but the remainder of the statement is, in Laing's phrase, 'nothing but bold assertion[4].'

The first satisfactory indication of foreign travel on the part of Lyndsay is in the early summer of 1531 when he was entrusted with a mission to the court of Charles V, his credentials being stated in a letter from James V to the Emperor dated May 25[5]. Laing's statement that Sir John Campbell was appointed by the Scots Parliament of April 27 to return to Flanders is incorrect[6]. Campbell was simply instructed to deliver a recent contract with the Emperor[7]. This was handed over to Lyndsay, who was thus in charge not only of the marriage negotiations between James and Marie of Hungary but of Campbell's commercial treaty ratified on July 24[8]. From Lyndsay himself, in a letter from Antwerp dated August 23, we know that he had arrived in Brussels by July 3 and that he remained there for over seven weeks[9]. He returned to Scotland in October, having spent over three months in Flanders[10].

On March 26, 1532, Lyndsay set out with the Marchmont Herald, Sir Thomas Erskine, and the Bishop of Ross on a mission to the court of the King of France[11]. They awaited the pleasure of the King first at Tours,

[1] *Exchequer Rolls* (*E.R.*), XIII, pp. lxxxii, 127.
[2] *L.H.T. Accounts*, IV, p. 269, and later entries.
[3] *Lives of Scots Writers*, 1723, III, p. 35.
[4] Laing, *Works of Lyndsay*, 1879, I, pp. x, xi.
[5] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 21,505, f. 12, cited in Bapst, *Les Mariages de Jacques V*, p. 173.
[6] Laing, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii. [7] *Acts Parl. Scott.*, II, p. 333.
[8] Brit. Mus. Harleian 4637, vol. c, fol. 17, cited in Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
[9] Brit. Mus. Cotton, Calig. B.I. fol. 313, cited in Laing, *op. cit.*
[10] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, p. xliv. Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
[11] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, p. 44. The Introduction, p. xlvi, gives the date incorrectly as 1533. Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 182. *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, p. 14.

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then at Angers, and finally at Paris[1]. We hear of them still in France in August[2]; and they apparently returned home through England in November[3].

During the year 1533 Beaton seems to have had sole charge of the negotiations at the French court. But in February 1534 a fresh mission consisting of Erskine and Beaton, together with Sir David Lyndsay, left Scotland for France, the expenses being registered in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer[4]. Francis received the ambassadors at Compiègne and sent them to Paris to await his answer[5]. There is an additional payment from the Scottish Treasury to the Lord Secretary on May 26 towards his expenses in France for the space of another half month[6]. It is not clear, however, how long the embassy remained abroad. In a letter from Chapuis to the Emperor dated August 11, 1534, the King of Scotland is said to have made representations to his ambassadors that they should return forthwith[7]. A despatch from the Emperor to Hannart in Paris, dated August 31, suggests a response to be made to the ambassadors of Scotland 's'ils sont encoires là[8].' It is probable, therefore, that the embassy returned some time in August.

It is not easy to trace Lyndsay's share in the 1535 embassies. On July 29 a commission was given to four ambassadors, the Earl of Moray, William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Erskine and Sir Thomas Erskine, to go to France to demand the hand of Marie of Bourbon for the Scottish King[9]. Lord Erskine, however, was deputed by the King to go first to Windsor to receive on his behalf an order at the Chapel of St George[10]. On August 23 at Windsor plate was delivered to Lord Erskine and £20 to the *Lion King of Arms*[11]. The difficult question of Lyndsay's appointment to the position of Lion King has been discussed at length by McNeill, the editor of the Exchequer Rolls[12]. He points out that while the first official record of the appointment occurs in 1543 yet there is considerable evidence for assuming that for some years previous

[1] Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
[2] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, p. 46.
[3] Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, V, No. 1543, p. 496. *E.R.*, XVI, p. 1. Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 186, gives the length of the French visit as six months; while Sir William Fraser, *Memorials of the Earl of Haddington*, 1889, I, p. l, gives the contents of a letter-book recently discovered at Tynninghame, one letter to the King of France stating that 'David Lindsay, Lyon Herald who had been sent to France, was delayed by contrary winds...in his return to Scotland in the month of July 1532.'
[4] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, pp. 231, 232, xlix. Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 204, cites the articles given to the ambassadors and gives the date of departure from Scotland as February 19.
[5] Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 210, from a despatch dated April 24, 1534.
[6] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, p. 231.
[7] Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 250. But see *State Papers*, V, No. 283.
[11] Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IX, No. 151, p. 44; No. 165, p. 48.
[12] *E.R.*, XVI, pp. xlvi ff.

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to that date Lyndsay was performing the duties of Lion King and was known as such at foreign courts[1].

If, then, we may identify the Lion King of Arms who was present at Windsor with David Lyndsay, it would appear that Lyndsay proceeded from England to France, where the other members of the embassy were waiting, having left Scotland on August 5[2]. They sought the King of France in Champagne at Bar-sur-Seine or Bar-sur-Aube, left him at Dijon, and, early in November, retired to Paris[3]. In December Thomas Erskine returned to Scotland but seems to have been sent back to France again immediately to rejoin his colleagues in Paris[4]. In March 1536 they repaired to Lyons[5]. In April 1536 the Earl of Moray returned to Scotland[6], but his colleagues apparently stayed on until James himself came over to France in the autumn of this year.

In November 1536 there is a definite reference to Lyndsay in France when he receives payment on the 6th and again on the 8th for his expenses in connexion with King James's horses at the French court at Amboise (?)[7]. He may have gone then with his royal master to Paris and was probably present at the royal entry on December 31, and at the marriage of James and Madeleine on January 1, 1537. On January 14, he received a gown of velvet[8] and on January 20 his expenses 'to pas in Scotland' are inscribed in the accounts[9].

Lyndsay does not seem to have been sent to France with Beaton in 1537–8 in connexion with the negotiations for the hand of Mary of Guise, and there is no trace of any later French visit. Nor are details available regarding other continental missions for which there is some evidence[10]; but in any case these fall after the date of the first known performance of the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* in January 1540.

[1] This seems to be borne out by one important entry which McNeill has overlooked. In an account rendered in 1538 for expenses incurred in connexion with the 'saull mas and dirige' of Queen Madeleine, a powpenny is delivered to 'David Lindesay, Lyoun herald' (*L.H.T.A.*, VI, p. 423). But, as is pointed out in *E.R.*, XVI, p. xlvii, the title of Lyon Herald is found attached to the name of Thomas Pettigrew in the Acts of Council and Session, March 10, 1538/9, and again later in 1542 in the Register of the Great Seal.

[2] Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IX, No. 178, p. 53. *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, p. 18. But there is some confusion in the dates here.

[3] Bapst, *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 258. A letter from Hannart to the Empress, November 10, 1535, apparently refers to the return of the Abbot of Kinloss to consult James, after which the embassy seems to have moved to Paris. Bapst cites also, 'Le Nonce en France à Ambrogio, 7 novembre 1535: "Li Ambassatori di Scotia se ne vanno a Parigi per aspettare con più commodità nuove del loro Re e il tempo per poter condurre la sposa, se puo si concludere."'

[4] Bapst, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff.

[5] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, p. lviii.

[6] Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[7] *L.H.T.A.*, VI, pp. 455, 456.

[8] *L.H.T.A.*, VII, p. 16.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Chalmers, *Works of Lyndsay*, I, p. 30. *Hamilton Papers*, II, 1543–90, p. 716. *L.H.T.A.*, IX, pp. 259, 347.

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To sum up then: In 1531 Lyndsay was in Flanders for three months (Brussels, Antwerp). In 1532 he spent six or seven months in France (Tours, Angers and Paris). In 1534 he spent a similar period in Paris. In 1535 he probably accompanied the August embassy, which, apparently, did not completely break up until after the marriage of the Scottish king in January 1537 (Dijon, Lyons, Paris); or, though not enumerated in the list in the *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, he may have been included in the personal retinue of the King of Scots who landed in France in September 1536. At all events, he spent at least the autumn of 1536 and the first three weeks of 1537 in France, and probably over two months of that time in Paris.

So far no particulars have been unearthed as to the festivities at the imperial court in Brussels during the summer of 1531. Writing to the Lord Secretary from Antwerp on August 23, Lyndsay mentions 'the triwmphis that I haiff sein,' but goes on to define these in terms of 'triwmphand justynis,' 'terribill turnements,' 'feychtyn on fut in barras[1].' It is improbable, however, that during his three months' residence in Flanders Lyndsay did not have frequent opportunities of witnessing regular plays. At this time the Low Countries were a centre of dramatic activity, and not only Brussels and Antwerp but every little town had its Chamber of Rhetoric[2]. The 'Possenspiele' of Cornelius Everaert, which date round this period (the extant plays range from 1512–28) and deal mainly with matrimonial life, were extremely popular[3].

It is still more unlikely that during his several visits to the French capital and other parts of France, Lyndsay as an actor, if not a dramatist, of many years' standing[4] did not avail himself of every opportunity to come into contact with the dramatic life of the country[5]. Mr J. A. Lester suggests that Lyndsay may have met Gringore, the leader of the *Enfants sans Souci*, when he was negotiating at the French court. But although Gringore did not die until about 1539, his connexion with the court at Paris ceased in 1518, when he departed to Nancy to act as *héraut d'armes* to the Duke of Lorraine[6]. Any such meeting between the Scottish Lion King of Arms (depute) and Gringore would have been full of interest; for Gringore was not only the chief contemporary exponent of the political

[1] Laing, *Works of Lyndsay*, I, p. xxv.
[2] Vander Straeten, *Le Théâtre Villageois en Flandre*.
[3] Stecher, *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique*, p. 194; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, III, p. 459.
[4] *L.H.T.A.*, IV, p. 313.
[5] *Some Franco-Scottish Influences on the Early English Drama*, Haverford Essays, 1909, p. 143.
[6] Oulmont, *Pierre Gringore*, p. 16.

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drama in France, but in his official capacity acted as organiser of spectacles. There are, however, few traces of Gringore's movements in his later years; and there is perhaps more evidence in favour of Lyndsay's meeting Jean de Pont-Allez, Gringore's famous colleague in the Enfants sans Souci[1].

I have not been able to get any exact date for the 'danses, morisques, mommeries et autres triomphes' ordered by King Francis I to be made by the Clercs de Galilee for the delectation of the Queen in 1532[2]; but it may have been at their festival of the Epiphany before the arrival of the Scottish embassy in France. Lyndsay, however, was probably in Paris in 1532 and again in 1534 for the May festival of the Clerks of the Basoche and perhaps witnessed their annual *montre* at the beginning of July. Unfortunately no details are extant regarding dramatic representations on these particular dates. During 1536 he may have participated in the various festivals of all three sections of the Clerks of Parliament—at the Epiphany, Shrove Tuesday, May Day, and the July celebrations[3]. Nor were the *sociétés joyeuses* and the dramatic *puys* confined to the French capital. At Tours, Angers, Compiègne, Dijon, Lyons—to mention only those places which we have some reason to suppose were visited by Lyndsay during the course of his several embassies—there were famous corporations of *clercs* or *écoliers*. The entry of James V into Paris does not appear to have been accompanied by dramatic shows organised by the municipality; and the records of the after-supper marriage festivities on January 1, 1537, mention only 'force danses et masques somptueux[4].' But, as always at this period, one must bear the fact in mind that lack of record is not final. Dramatic shows were the order of the day.

II. Internal Evidence.

Turning now to internal evidence let us consider first the proclamation of the *Auld Man and his Wife* which appears in the Bannatyne Manuscript[5] though not in the 1602 edition of the play.

[1] Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, p. 172, cites a payment made to 'Jean de l'Espine de Pont-alletz, dict Songecreux, qui a par cy devant suivy le dict Seigneur (le Roi) avec sa bende et joué plusieurs farces devant luy pour son plaisir et recreation.' There seems to be no indication of the place or of the date beyond the year 1534.

[2] Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, p. 94; *Répertoire*, p. 378. Fabre, *Les Clercs du Palais*, p. 101, seems to derive the entry from 'le compte de l'ordinaire.'

[3] Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, pp. 90 ff.

[4] *Le Cérémonial françois*, II, pp. 748 ff., extracts quoted from the *Registres de la Cour de Parlement de Paris*. The same entry is found in the *Registres de l'hostel de Ville de Paris*.

[5] *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III, S.T.S., 1928.

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A. *The Proclamation.*

The banns or proclamation was a regular part of the mediaeval play and took the place of the modern playbill. It is strange that in Scotland the only other dramatic text which survived from the late mediaeval period, Dunbar's fragment, the *Droichis Part of the Play*[1], is a banns for a May play. The Hammermen's records of Edinburgh for 1500 mention the expenses of 'ye proclamyne of ye summyr bringin haym[2],' and the minutes of the Faculty of Arts of St Andrews University for 1514 record measures taken by the authorities to prevent the 'scurrillitates' and 'infamationes' in 'ludis et proclamationibus ipsorum' at the time of the feast of St John[3]. Proclamations were thus part of the routine even in Scotland.

The French *cry* seems to have served a double purpose—to invite the townspeople to undertake rôles and to give publicity to the forthcoming performance[4]. The *cry* of the *Actes des Apôtres*, performed in Paris in 1541, took place with great solemnity on December 16, 1540, all those who intended to take part being invited to assemble on St Stephen's day when officials would attend 'pour ouir les voix de chascun personnage[5].' The *cry* of Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz* summons all the 'sots,' that is, the whole population, to the Halles of Paris on Mardi-Gras, 1511/12[6]; and other pieces of a similar nature have been preserved[7].

In England towns which supported miracle plays would send round the corporation officers to read the proclamation[8]. The Chester town-crier recited the banns; and vexillatores or banner-bearers proclaimed the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament* and the *Ludus Coventriae*. The early morality plays too had their banns. The vexillatores announce the performance of the *Castle of Perseverance* a week before the event.

In the proclamation of the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* the essential features of the English banns are reproduced. The Nuntius announces the date, hour, and place of the play 'gif weddir serve and we haif rest and pece,' and invites the audience to be present on that day. But the *Auld Man and his Wife* is, so far as I know, unique in the whole range of mediaeval drama in western Europe in that in itself it comprises a com-

[1] *Works*, S.T.S., II, pp. 314–20.
[2] *Mediaeval Plays*, s.v. Edinburgh.
[3] *Ibid.*, s.v. St Andrews.
[4] Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, p. 65; Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène*, p. 248.
[5] Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, p. 65.
[6] *Œuvres Complètes*, I, pp. lxix, 201.
[7] See Édouard Fournier, *Le Théâtre français avant la Renaissance*.
[8] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, p. 114.

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plete short play with action[1]. The Nuntius having delivered the orthodox pronouncement, the henpecked cottar makes an unexpected entry; and he in turn is interrupted in dramatic fashion by his nagging wife. Various other stock characters then contribute their quota to a crude and disjointed plot, and the piece ends with a formal reminder by the Nuntius.

Though distinct in its function as a *cry*, yet the piece itself, beginning with the well-worn *mal-marié* theme and incorporating the love intrigue of the wife with the fool, is reminiscent of the French contemporary drama.

I have not found an exact parallel for the stratagem whereby Bessy slips a shirt over her husband's head, ostensibly to test its width but actually to give her lover an opportunity to restore the stolen key to its place. It is perhaps to be regarded as a variant of the trick in the French farce of *Le Bon Payeur et le Sergent*. Here the wife, surprised with her lover, pretends to have dreamt of the cure of her husband's blind eye. To prove the truth of her dream, 'elle luy clost l'œuil de quoy il voist,' while the lover makes his exit unobserved[2]. This *motif* can be traced back to the Sanskrit *Hitopadésa*, where the unfaithful wife Lilavati seizes her husband by the hair and embraces him heartily, during which time the gallant escapes[3]. The commonest form in which the story reappears in the mediaeval *novella* or *conte* is similar to that of the French farce cited above—the husband blind or wounded in one eye, and the wife, with one pretext or another, covering up the sound eye. Examples are found in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Pierre Alphonse[4]; the *Gesta Romanorum*[5] (where a large plaster is used); the *Heptameron*[6]; the *Novelle* of Bandello (where, as may be seen from the title, 'Astuzia d' una fanciulla innamorata per salvar l' amante ed ingannar la nutrice', the trick is performed on the old nurse[7]); *Le Porretane* of Sabadino degli Arienti[8]; the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*[9]; *Les Serées* of Guillaume Bouchet[10]; Sieur D'Ouville's *Élite des Contes*[11]; and elsewhere. A somewhat different version is given by Straparola in his *Piacevoli notti*[12]. The wife pretends

[1] I have not been able to see the text of *Lyon Marchant* (1541), but apparently the ten characters of the piece appeared in the 'cry des monstres.' There is no indication, however, of any plot. (Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 79.)

[2] Le Roux de Liney, *Recueil de farces*, III, 52.

[3] Ed. by M. Édouard Larcereau, pp. 40 ff. A bibliography of the subject is given, pp. 217 ff.

[4] *Hitopadésa*, p. 218.

[5] Ed. by Swan, No. cxxii.

[6] Translated by Walter K. Kelly, First Day, Novel vi.

[7] Ed. by Gioachino Brognoligo, I, Parte Prima, Novella xxiii.

[8] Ed. by Giovanni Gambarin, Novella ii.

[9] Ed. by Le Roux de Liney, xvi, *Le Borgne Aveugle*.

[10] Ed. by C. E. Roybet, III, Seizième Serée, p. 147.

[11] Ed. by Paul Ristelhuber, No. xxi.

[12] French trans. by Louveau et Larivey, I, *La V Nuict*, Fable iv.

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to have learned a charm to preserve the poultry from destruction. During the recital of her incantation she makes her husband lie flat on the floor, his face covered with a white cloth. The second example given by Guillaume Bouchet provides another variant[1]. Lyndsay's adaptation of this favourite mediaeval stratagem by the use of the homely 'sark' is characteristic of his flair for realistic effects.

The 'miles gloriosus' is a popular figure in mediaeval drama both religious and secular[2]. Again and again the French farces, notably *Les Trois Gallants et Phlipot*[3], *L'Avantureulx*[4] and *Colin fils de Thevot le Maire*[5], furnish the type of the *fanfaron* or boasting soldier. The English *Thersites*[6], itself an adaptation of one of the Latin dialogues of the French professor, Ravisius Textor, may have contributed a useful hint to Lyndsay for his *Fynlaw of the Footband*. Thersites boasts of his exploits and ranges himself above the great champions of antiquity (cf. *Fynlaw*, ll. 238–47); he will go to hell to encounter the devil (cf. *Fynlaw*, l. 179—'owt of hell the divill I dar ding owt'); he can never get his fill of warlike deeds (cf. *Fynlaw*, ll. 131–3); and in the end he flees ignominiously from the field (cf. *Fynlaw*, l. 269).

But perhaps a more direct source of inspiration for Lyndsay was the famous monologue of the *Franc-Archer* of Bagnolet who fears nothing but danger and fights with a scarecrow[7]. This piece was probably written about 1470 and appeared in the works of Villon, whose authorship is disputed, in 1532[8]. It must thus almost certainly have come under the notice of Lyndsay—in print, if not on the stage. The sketch of Fynlaw is slight in comparison with the Franc-Archer, but the main features are similar—the preliminary vaunt and challenge, with complete capitulation at the first sign of danger. The Franc-Archer is in the regular line of tradition of the comic monologue where the champion brags of his feats and proceeds to corroborate these by citing instances of cowardice. The same thing is to be found in Thersites. But the less subtle Fynlaw is a braggart pure and simple.

Le Franc-Archier de Cherré, written *c.* 1524 for the theatre of Angers[9], is a satire on Francis I's attempt in 1521 to re-establish the Franc-Archers. From the fact that it was printed as late as 1554, we can judge

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. H. Graf, *Der Miles Gloriosus im englischen Drama.*
[3] Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil*, IV, 71.
[4] *Ibid.*, III, 55.
[5] Viollet-Leduc, *Ancien Théâtre françois*, II, 47.
[6] Gayley, *Representative English Comedies.*
[7] Viollet-Leduc, *op. cit.*, II, 43.
[8] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 268.
[9] Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, XIII.

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that this monologue was a popular one. It may well be that Lyndsay, who visited Angers in 1532[1], had an opportunity of witnessing its performance, although the similarity between the two following passages may be accidental:

> Vienne cy monstrer sa vaillance
> Qui veult jouster trois coups de lance
> Pour sa dame? (p. 34)

> Will na man for thair ladyis saikis
> With me stryk twenty markit straikis,
> With halbart, swerd, or speir? (ll. 119–21)

And for the rest the *Franc-Archier de Cherré* is a mere recital of heroic exploits with no action on the stage.

There is no information as to when and where was acted a specimen of the same *genre* which has come down to us from the Netherlands. The *Lansknecht en zijn schaduw*, which is described as 'een tafelspel (interlude) van een Lansknecht die teghen zijn eyghen schaduwe vocht[2],' is clearly an imitation of the *Franc-Archer de Bagnolet* and must not be omitted from a consideration of possible influences on Lyndsay's play.

B. *The Main Play as a 'Morality-Farce-Sottie.'*

Professor Saintsbury has described the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* as a 'morality-farce-*sottie*.' This literary type, though unknown in the whole range of English moralities, is common in contemporary French drama. François and Claude Parfaict tell us that the plays of the *Enfants sans Souci* were composed of three pieces—a *sottie*, a morality, and a farce—and cite in support of this statement Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz* and the morality *Mundus Caro Demonia*[3]. M. Émile Picot accepts this statement with a slight modification. The representation in its complete form, says Picot, comprised also a monologue[4]; and in support of his view he quotes from the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*[5] the instance of 'certains jeux et moralitez' staged at Paris—'c'est assavoir sottye, sermon, moralité, et farce.' Picot also refers to 'une moult belle moralité, sottie et farce' which, according to the historian Jehan de Roye, was played at Paris in 1482. He questions, however, the order of the items and believes that the *sottie* would normally precede the *moralité*. The *sottie* was to attract the public; the representation proper began with the monologue or *sermon joyeux*; then followed the *moralité*; and the entertainment concluded with a *farce*[6].

[1] *Supra*, p. 426.
[2] Van Vloten, *Het Nederlandsche Kluchtspel*, I, pp. 60–5.
[3] *Histoire du Théâtre françois*, III, p. 106.
[4] *Recueil général des Sotties*, p. xii.
[5] Éd. par M. Ludovic Lalanne, Paris, 1854, p. 13.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

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This point is perhaps overstressed by Picot, whose main evidence rests on the *Jeu* of Gringore—unless there is good reason for believing that the testimony of the 'bourgeois de Paris' is to be regarded as more literally exact than that of Jehan de Roye. While allowing some latitude for the position of the farce, Picot affirms categorically that a *sottie* would not have been placed at the end of a serious piece. But in *Mars et Justice*[1] the morality in Part I is followed by a *sottie* in Part II. Further, without entering into the vexed question of the nature of the Flemish *sotternie* or *sottie factie*, which regularly followed the morality at the Antwerp festivals, one may note that even Picot is forced to concede the marked resemblance to a *sottie* in the single case of the *Alven-factie* which concluded the piece represented by the Bois-le-Duc Chamber of Rhetoric at Antwerp[2].

In Lyndsay's *Satyre* the lines of demarcation, though not so clearly indicated, may yet be traced. Part I, though it contains some farcical episodes, is really a complete morality of the temptation and repentance of a human soul. This is followed by the farce-interlude of the Pardoner and the Pauper, which, though by no means self-contained, is devoid of pure morality features. It might be contended that the whole of Part II is really a *sottie* in which the fools disguised as Spirituality are on trial. When they are 'spulȝied' of their ecclesiastical robes their true garb is discovered underneath—'Now men may see, ȝe ar bot verie fuillis' (l. 3726)[3]. Certainly at the close of the deliberation of the Three Estates, after the Acts of Parliament have been proclaimed and justice has been meted out to the wrongdoers, a definite *sottie* is enacted (ll. 4272–end). Folly with his bairns, Glaiks and Stult, enters to make his plaint on a sow. He carries a 'creill' of folly hats, hangs them round the pulpit, and engages on a 'sermon joyeux' on the theme *Stultorum numerus infinitus*. Claiming kinship with his 'tender maits' among each of the Three Estates, he proceeds to enumerate the different types of hats and the various classes of fools for whom these are intended. The sermon is not an isolated monologue but is worked skilfully into the *sottie*. Our morality-farce-*sottie* then concludes with a request for prayers for Good Cacaphatie (whose identity unfortunately is unknown), but not before the audience has appropriately been commended to Gillymowband, presumably the fool of that name who enjoyed court patronage[4].

[1] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 81 ff.
[2] M. J. Stecher, *La Sottie française et la Sotternie flamande* p. 410; Picot, p. xxiv.
[3] Lyndsay's *Works*, IV (E.E.T.S.).
[4] *L.H.T.A.*, V, p. 320.

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C. *Influence of the French 'Sociétés joyeuses.'*

Fool literature was not unknown in England. The brotherhood of asses founded by Nicholas Wireker in his *Speculum Stultorum* was followed by Lydgate's *Order of Fools*. In the early sixteenth century fresh stimulus came from Germany with Barclay's translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff*. But in spite of the extraordinary popularity in England of the *Ship of Fools*, the English morality was comparatively uninfluenced by this fool literature.

Lyndsay, however, had no need to go either to the English moralities or farther afield to the contemporary German *Fastnachtspiele* for hints as to how to adapt the idea of the order of fools to his dramatic requirements. The French *sociétés joyeuses* could provide adequate inspiration. *Stultorum numerus infinitus* ran the motto of the Paris *Enfants sans Souci*[1]. *Numerus stultorum infinitus est* was the variant on the seal of the *Mère Folle* of Dijon[2]. Similar devices graced the standard of the Amiens *Prince des Sots*[3] and of many other like dignitaries.

The *Narrenkappen* of the German fool literature were also commonplaces of the French and Flemish tradition. In 1498 their St Innocents' bishop distributed 'chaperons à longues oreilles' to the inhabitants of Tournay[4]. On the standard of the *Mère Folle* of Dijon is depicted the Roi des Fous distributing 'chaperons' and 'marottes' to his subjects[5]. In the *Alven-factie* all the fools group themselves round Folly, donning their hoods ('Kaproen') and shaking their bells[6]. And in the *Sottie des Béguins* 'chaperons' are made from the chemise of Mère Folle[7].

No English specimens of the *sermon joyeux* are extant; nor is there any reason to suppose that this form of literary exercise attained to the same popularity in England as across the Channel. Whether Lyndsay had any definite French model in mind is doubtful, though Mr J. A. Lester has pointed out certain resemblances between Folly's sermon and parts of a French specimen quoted by Viollet-Leduc[8]. Certainly of the numerous extant *sermons joyeux* scattered through the various collections of French mediaeval drama this is the only one from which Lyndsay can be said to show signs of having borrowed.

[1] A. Fabre, *Les Clercs du Palais*, p. 230.
[2] Du Tilliot, *Mémoires sur la Fête des Foux*, Plate No. 3.
[3] Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, p. 234.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[5] Du Tilliot, Plate No. 5.
[6] Stecher, p. 419.
[7] Cf. also the *Sottie du Monde*, which is a continuation. Both in Picot, *op. cit.*, II.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

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D. *French Models for the Main Part of Part II.*

According to Mr J. A. Lester[1], Lyndsay's *Satyre* is 'clearly drawn from French models' and the work which 'directly gave him a model' was Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz* performed at the Paris Halles in 1512[2].

Now although, as we have seen, the *Satyre* can be readily analysed as a morality-farce-*sottie*, one must not press too far the resemblance between its more homogeneous form and Gringore's work with its clearly defined and independent sections of *sottie*, *moralité* and *farce*. If we consider Gringore's preliminary *sottie* by itself, however, there is some force in Mr Lester's contention. I quote his summary:

> Louis XII, the 'prince des Sotz,' is to hold his court and mete out justice to all comers. Many characters arrive, representing the multitudinous vices and follies of mankind, Ignorance, Le Paillardise (cf. Lindsay's Sensuality), La Seigneur Joye (cf. Lindsay's Wantonness), La Manque de zèle Apostolique. Then enters La Commune, representing the people, and lodges complaints against the oppression of the seigneurs and the clergy. Last of all comes in the Mère Sotte, clad in the robes of Papacy, supported by her adherents. She preaches to the Seigneurs and the Clergy, advocating treason and rebellion against the king. A quarrel is provoked, and, in the scuffle, below the garb of the Pope is found the face of the fool.

Thus in outline the plot is not unlike that of Part II of the *Satyre* with its summoning of the Estates, complaint of John the Commonweal, and exposure of the Spirituality.

The law-court *motif* ranks however, as Professor Herford has said[3], among the *idées mères* of the modern drama. Court-scenes were common in the German *Fastnachtspiele*, and, in particular, in the plays of Lyndsay's contemporary, Hans Sachs. The Court of Love literature is also to be reckoned with as a factor in popularising this type of *mise en scène*. Lyndsay would naturally interpret any such hint in the light of his own personal experience of the Three Estates sitting as a judicial body. But he may have found more direct literary inspiration. The idea of a king assembling his Estates to consult them on certain questions is found already in Scottish literature in the first tale of the *Thre Prestis of Peblis*, dated by its most recent editor as between 1484 and 1488[4]. Further, the actual summoning of the Estates or of a court by the chief 'sot' is a common enough incident in the contemporary 'sottie' and is not peculiar to Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz*. Thus *Folle Bombance*: 'Je veulx

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
[2] *Œuvres complètes*, I.
[3] *Literary Relations between England and Germany*, p. 58.
[4] Scottish Text Society, 1920, pp. xiv, 6.

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tenir mes troys estas[1].' And 'Le Roy des Sotz' in the piece of that name declares:

> Je suis des sotz seigneur et roy
> Pourtant je veuil par bon arroy
> Maintenant icy ma court tenir
> Et tous mes sotz faire venir
> Pour me faire la reverence[2].

An assembly of fools is summoned in the *Alven-factie*[3]. In the *Sottie Nouvelle des Trompeurs*[4] Mère Sotte summons all the 'sotz,' her children. Most notable, perhaps, is the *Sottie Nouvelle de l'Astrologue*[5]. The 'Prince des Sots' summons his adherents. After a consultation in which the Astrologer plays the main rôle, the King agrees to relieve the injustices which press on the poor people and cause loss to 'Chascun':

> Pour ton alligement
> On tiendra les estas en France. (ll. 434–5)

The famous *causes grasses* of the *Enfants sans Souci*, regarding which little detailed information seems to have survived, may also have furnished some suggestions to Lyndsay.

Again, most of the 'parallel in detail' between Gringore's *Jeu* and Lyndsay's *Satyre* which Mr Lester considers so striking seems to me rather trivial. Certainly an 'impeachment of the morality of the clergy'; a 'denunciation of plurality and sale of benefices'; 'complaints by the representative of the people of distraint and confiscation of property by the church'; 'satire against the abuse of pardons'—matters touched on but lightly by Gringore—were commonplaces of mediaeval literature and can be paralleled elsewhere in the dramatic work of the time. Indeed a more intensive study of the period leads me to doubt whether Lyndsay had any definite model before him and to believe rather that his mind was richly stored with general impressions of French contemporary drama, and, in particular, of the *sotties* performed by the *sociétés joyeuses*.

E. *French Influence on Characterisation.*

Brandl sees traces of French borrowing in the characterisation of the *Satyre*[6]. Now many of the characters are either in the convention of the English moralities or are common to French and English moralities. As in the English *Magnificence* the central figure of Mankind—the pivot of the developed morality play—is narrowed down to Rex Humanitas or King Humanity, representative of a limited class. Covetice is the only

[1] Viollet-Leduc, II (40), p. 265.
[2] *Ibid.*, II (38), p. 223.
[3] *Supra*, p. 436.
[4] Viollet-Leduc, II, 39.
[5] Picot, I, p. vii.
[6] *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, pp. lviii, lix.

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representative of the Seven Deadly Sins, the backbone of the English morality. Sensuality is a stock character who appears in *Mary Magdalene* and *Nature*, and in the *Four Elements* as Sensual Appetite. Chastity is one of the seven keepers of the *Castle of Perseverance*, but is not found elsewhere in the early English moralities. The character appears, however, in the French *Bien Avisé, Mal Avisé* and in *L'Homme Pécheur*. Solace is another name of Mirth, the Messenger in *Pride of Life*. If we may rely on the 'Nootes of the interluyde,' it was Solace who acted as messenger and herald in the original version of the *Satyre* at Linlithgow[1]. Verity is one of the traditional Four Daughters of God—Misericordia, Pax, Justicia, Veritas—who took part in the familiar debate of the Heavenly Graces (cf. *The Salutation and Conception*, Coventry, XI; *Castle of Perseverance*). But she is also a favourite character in the *Kampfdramen* of the Reformation, and Lyndsay may have borrowed from *Pammachius* (1538), where Verity laments that there is no place for her. *La Vérité Cachée*, where 'Vérité descend sur la terre pour prêcher l'Évangile,' though dated *c.* 1550 was apparently an older play brought up to date[2].

Other characters are drawn from the *Roman de la Rose* and the Courtly Love school. Diligence appears in *Bien Avisé, Mal Avisé* and *L'Homme Pécheur*, but with conscious moral concept. Lyndsay may rather have had in mind the Diligence who acts as guide to the court of Loyalty in the *Assembly of Ladies* (cf. also *Court of Love*). Danger, in Lyndsay a female figure, is in the line of *Roman de la Rose, Court of Love, Honneur des Dames*, Chartier's *Parlement d'Amour* and Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. Falset and Flattery (and Dissait) suggest Fals and Favel in *Piers Plowman*. Their flight at the end of Part I of the *Satyre* to the Spirituality and the merchants and craftsmen (ll. 1514–31, 1634–46) and the King's threat against them (ll. 1867–71) are reminiscent of the dispersal of Mede's company at Westminster when Fals flees to the friars and Gyle to the merchants. The Pardoner is in the lineage of his namesake in Langland and Chaucer, though he may owe something to *Le Pardonneur, Le Triacleur et La Tavernière*[3] either directly or indirectly through Heywood's Pardoner. Lyndsay's Pardoner has 'the gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow.' The French 'Pardonneur' declares:

> Je vous ay apporté le groing
> Du pourceau monsieur sainct Anthoine.

Otherwise the various lists of relics are different.

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, III, pp. 279.
[2] *Catalogue Soleinne*, III, No. 3720.
[3] Viollet-Leduc, II, p. 26. Cf. also *Les Friponniers et Friponnières* in Montaiglon-Rothschild, *Recueil de poésies françoises*.

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The Sowtar and Taylor, favourite butts in the flytings of the Scottish makaris, have their counterparts in such French farces as *Farce Nouvelle de deux jeunes femmes qui coifèrent leurs maris*—'à cinq personnages, c'est à scavoir: Le Cousturier, Le Chaussetier, La première femme, La seconde femme, Maistre Antitus[1],' and in the various farces in which the 'Savetier' or the 'Cousturier' appears[2]. Divine Correction may be taken, as Mr Lester suggests, from Pugnicion Divine in the *Moralité* of Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz* and Good Counsel from his *La Vie de Monseigneur Saint Loys*, though Bon Conseil appears in *Paix et Guerre* and Bon Advis in *Les Enfants de Maintenant*. Placebo may be borrowed, as Brandl thinks, from the French Monologue of that name rather than from Chaucer. John the Commonweal had already been used by Lyndsay himself in his *Dreme* and may owe something to Lady Publike Wele, who had appeared on the English stage in 1526[3]. Mr Lester, however, believes that he was borrowed from Gringore's Sotte Commune in the *Jeu du Prince des Sotz*. Pauper is of the *Roman de la Rose* school and is also a favourite character in the continental moralities. Le Povre occurs in *Bien Avisé, Mal Avisé* and in *Charité*, and Pouvre Peuple in *Pauvre Peuple, Bon Renom*. We are reminded too of the complaint of the 'vigneron' in the *Satyre pour les habitans d'Auxerre* by Roger de Collerye[4]. In the Brussels play of *The Seven Joys of Mary* (1444) appears 'Bitter Ellende op crucken, ermelic gecleet[5].' One of Cornelius Everaert's plays has 'Schamel Gemeente,' and elsewhere are found 'Groot Labuer' and 'Dürftiges Volk[6].'

Mixed as is the lineage of the foregoing list of characters, it seems to me that the introduction of the Three Estates as *dramatis personae* must be regarded as a mark of definite borrowing from French sources. The earliest known use of the Three Estates in the English drama is in Bale's *King John* which was completed about 1561 and is supposed to have used Lyndsay's play as a model[7]. The *Quadrilogue Invectif*[8] (1422), in which the nobles, the clergy and the people defend themselves before La France, was probably known in Scotland at least from the date of Alain Chartier's visit in 1428 to the Scottish court. It has been shown that certain parts of the *Complaynt of Scotlande* are direct borrowings from Chartier[9]; and Lyndsay's own connexion with the *Complaynt* may con-

[1] E. Picot et C. Nyrop, *Nouveau Recueil de farces françaises*.
[2] Viollet-Leduc, II, 31–4; Le Roux de Lincy, I, 20; IV, 73.
[3] *Magnificence*, E.E.T.S., cxi.
[4] Picot, II, xviii.
[5] Creizenach, I, p. 340; Moltzer, *De Middelnederlandsche dramatische poëzie*, p. 364.
[6] Creizenach, III, pp. 488, 489.
[7] Brandl, p. lvi.
[8] Éd. E. Droz, 1923.
[9] W. A. Neilson, *The Original of the Complaynt of Scotland* (*Journ. Germ. Phil.*, I, 4).

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ceivably be closer than some recent authorities have been willing to admit[1]. But Lyndsay's debt to French sources may well have been more direct. It was in France that the idea of the threefold division of mediaeval society into 'oratores, defensores, labradores,' those who pray, those who fight, and those who work[2], was most frequently pressed into the service of the drama. As early as 1458 we hear of 'ung homme représentant les trois Estatz du mondit seigneur, c'est assavoir sur la teste comme homme d'Église, du costé dextre d'une robbe longue de drap de soye, le costé senextre comme laboureur des champs' in the pageant at the entry of Monseigneur de Bourgoyne into Ghent[3]. In 1483 at the entry of Margaret of Austria into Paris there were various scaffolds on which were represented 'Labour, Clergé, Marchandise et Noblesse qui tous dirent un couplet a icelles entree[4].' The figure of 'Tous Estatz' must thus have been as familiar to the citizens of Paris as Justice and Policy were to the burgesses of sixteenth-century Edinburgh. In the 1505 edition of *Les Folles Entreprises* there was a vignette of 'Tous Estas—un personnage symbolique qui porte à la main les attributs, et sur le corps les vêtemens caractéristiques des diverses positions sociales[5].'

Unfortunately many of the French *sotties* and moralities are still undated; but a citation of the following plays shows to how great an extent this social and political classification was employed in the drama of the sixteenth century and earlier. 'Tout le monde,' who appears in the title rôle of the piece of that name, wears a robe which represents the Three Estates:

Le deuxieme: Y porte l'estat de noblesse
De marchant, labeur et d'eglise.
Tout le monde: En tous estas je me desguise[6].

In *L'Église et le Commun* each of the Three Estates voices its grievances[7]. *L'Église, Noblesse et Pauvreté qui font la lessive*[8], where the people is portrayed as groaning under the impositions of Church and nobles, was represented in *tableau* form in 1541 by the *Conards* of Rouen but may have been known before that date[9]. The same idea underlies the bitter satire of the *Jeu du Capifol* or *Le Ministre de l'Église, Noblesse, Labeur*

[1] J. A. H. Murray, *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, pp. cxiii–cxvi.
[2] Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, pp. 14, 61 ff. A bibliography of mediaeval poems dealing with the subject is given by P. Meyer, *Romania*, IV, 1875.
[3] Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, cited in Stuart, *Stage Decoration*, p. 162.
[4] *Chronique de Jean de Troyes*, ed. Buchon, cited in Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 345.
[5] Gringore, *Œuvres Complètes*, I, p. 47.
[6] Le Roux de Lincy, III, 48.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 14.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 23.
[9] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 55.

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et le Commun[1]. Here the functions of the Three Estates are defined by Le Ministre:

> Comme rien ne nous doibtz seler,
> Car nous sommes les trois estas,
> Et sans nous mal yroyt ton cas.
> Tu vois noblesse qui te garde,
> Qui tient espee et halebarde
> Pour debeller tes ennemys:
> Tu voys labeur qui te regarde,
> Qui vin et ble te contregarde,
> De peur qu'en terre ne soys mis;
> Puys en l'eglise suys commys
> A porter sacres vestemens,
> Pour te donner tes sacremens.

Gringore's *La Vie Monseigneur Sanct Loys* has 'Chevalerie,' 'Populaire,' 'les Prelats,' 'l'Eglise[2].' Two of the Estates are represented in *Folle Bombance* (*c.* 1500), where 'Mère Sotte' seduces 'Le premier fol gentilhomme, le second fol marchand, et le tiers fol laboureux[3].' The Clergy appear in *Heresie, Simonie, Force, Scandale, Proces, L'Eglise*[4], and in *Le Pape Malade*[5]. 'Peuple' is found in *Excellence, Science, Paris et Peuple*[6]; *La Vérité Cachée*[7]; *La Foi, L'Espérance, La Charité et le Peuple* (1513)[8]. 'Peuple pensif' laments along with 'Plat Pays' in *Bergerie Nouvelle...de Mieulx que Devant*[9]; and a Provençal morality entitled *Poble commun* was represented at Die in 1493[10].

Thus Lyndsay had the Three Estates as stock characters ready to his hand and had merely to make the necessary adjustments to the political situation in Scotland.

However definite, then, our reservations may be along certain lines, however much we may concede to the influence of the English morality, however unwilling we may be to pin down Lyndsay's indebtedness to specific French models, it is almost impossible to resist the inference that the 'Auld Alliance' was responsible for a dramatic as well as a political *rapprochement* and that the author of the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was steeped in the conventions of the contemporary French stage.

ANNA J. MILL.

DUNDEE.

[1] Le Roux de Lincy, II, 1.
[2] *Œuvres Complètes*, II, pp. 29 ff.
[3] Viollet-Leduc, II, 40, pp. 264–91.
[4] Le Roux de Lincy, III, 56.
[5] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 92.
[6] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 63.
[7] *Catalogue Soleinne*, III, No. 3720.
[8] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 362.
[9] Viollet-Leduc, III, 57.
[10] Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 310.

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GOODMAN'S FIELDS THEATRE

RECENT years have seen much research on the literature of the early eighteenth century, and on the drama of the period in particular. In both England and America there has sprung up a band of enthusiastic scholars, who have worked assiduously, each in his own way, to unearth to us of the present day the secrets of an age with which we have at bottom a great deal in common. Professor Ernest Bernbaum has examined the development of sentimental comedy and domestic tragedy, while Professor Allardyce Nicoll and Dr Leslie Hotson have chronicled the theatrical history of the period. The annals of Covent Garden Theatre have been published by Mr Saxe Wyndham, and many of the Drury Lane chronicles have also been made public, but of the several playhouses existent in the capital during the first half of the eighteenth century none has been so persistently neglected as that which stood in Goodman's Fields, very near to the site of the original theatre of Burbage. True it is that it was by no means the most important of playhouses, nor was its life a long one, but from at least two points of view it is of decided interest. It gave direct occasion to the Licensing Act of 1737, and was the scene of the début of the great actor, David Garrick. If only for these two reasons its history is worthy of further study.

Goodman's Fields was the name given to an area of land covering about two square miles, situate in Whitechapel in the county of Middlesex, and abutting on the City of London at Aldgate. It is now occupied by Whitechapel High Street, Commercial Road, Leman Street, and Aldgate East Underground Station. From Beazley's *Historical Account of the London Theatres* we learn that as early as 1703 there existed in this neighbourhood some kind of a theatre where plays and exhibitions of dancing were given periodically. Beazley thus quotes from an old periodical, *The Observator*, of that year:

> The great playhouse has calved a young one in Goodman's Fields, in the passage by the Ship Tavern betwixt Prescott and Chambers Street.... It is a very good place in the Rosemary Lane precincts, and I know no reason why the quality at both ends of the town should not have the same diversions. This will be a great ease to the ladies of Rag Fair, who are now forc'd to trudge as far as Lincoln's Inn Fields to mix themselves with the quality[1].

From this extract it would appear that the theatre in question had only recently been opened. For how long it existed, or exactly what kind of

[1] It is unfortunate that the journal from which Beazley quotes seems no longer to be extant. It is certainly not in the Burney collection at the British Museum, and so far as I am aware a copy is not known to exist anywhere else.

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a building it was, we do not know, for no other reference to it has ever been traced; nor do we hear of any plays being performed there. It certainly did not advertise in the public press, and from these facts it would appear that it was probably but a kind of booth, such as was frequently to be seen at the fairs, or a small room similar to Hickford's in the Haymarket, where musical pieces were performed for a few years before 1739. At all events, it is fairly certain that it had no connexion with the later venture.

Amongst all classes the Augustan age witnessed a rapid growth in the popularity of the playhouse. Two patent houses had catered for the needs of the fashionable audiences of the Restoration, but with the passing of Restoration society, and the gradual democratisation of the theatre, symbolised in the establishment of the footmen's gallery, audiences grew, and new theatres were built to accommodate them. The year 1705 saw the building by Vanbrugh and Congreve of a new house in the Haymarket; on November 18, 1714, John Rich opened a second theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, while a second Haymarket theatre was opened in December, 1720, by a company of French comedians. The demand for stage entertainments was obviously considerable. In 1729 Thomas Odell, an actor from Dublin and himself a dramatist, alive to the business possibilities of play-production, bought an old workshop in Ayliffe Street, adjacent to the City of London, and converted it into a theatre. No doubt he incurred heavy expenses in his enterprise, but he was optimistic, and expected good returns. In his *History of the Stage* Chetwood suggests that though Odell was a good actor and an excellent producer, he was manifestly lacking in business qualities, the realisation of which fact led him to sell his rights to Giffard in 1731; but judging from the foresight he displayed in the choice of a site for his house we should be inclined seriously to question Chetwood's opinion. Whitechapel, even in those days, was fairly populous, and could easily supply an audience to fill a moderate-sized theatre. There was not another house near, so that any theatre in the district was almost certain, under normal conditions, to pay its way. But this was not the only sign of Odell's sagacity. The City of London authorities were becoming troublesome. Several times during the preceding few years they had interfered and imposed their regulations upon unwilling managers, while only a few months before, Gay's *Polly* had been banned upon political grounds. Odell therefore built his theatre in the county of Middlesex, out of the reach of the London authorities, yet near enough to the city to attract the artisans and the middle classes.

Materials for a history of Goodman's Fields Theatre are scanty. Oldys

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claimed to have seen a manuscript history of the house written by Odell himself shortly before he died, but if such a manuscript ever existed it has never come to light. Dr Burney collected together a number of play-bills relating to the place, which are now deposited in the British Museum, and a few facts about its early history can be gathered from the petition of Giffard presented to Parliament while the Licensing Act was pending[1]. For the rest we are forced to piece together scraps of information from a variety of sources.

If Odell's theatre was conveniently situated from one point of view, from another its position was distinctly unfavourable. Goodman's Fields had never been a reputable district. The erection of a theatre in the vicinity brought together crowds of people; many lewd houses grew up around, and disorders were constantly threatening. The eyes of the authorities were consequently always upon the watch. From its very inception it met with opposition from merchants and citizens, who feared that their apprentices would suffer corruption by frequenting the place, while the clergy of the district also preached against it, declaring that it was a menace to public morals and well-being. The Mayor and aldermen were approached, but though they concurred with the agitating citizens they were unable to take any direct steps as the house did not fall within their jurisdiction. The obvious course was to ask for State action. Accordingly they approached the Lord Chamberlain and were successful in persuading him to issue an order for the suppression of the house; but Odell showed a fighting spirit. He challenged the legality of the order, took legal advice, and threatened to bring an action, whereupon the authorities abandoned their protest and retreated before they were beaten. Thus Giffard summarises the case:

> Representation was made by the then Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to his Majesty, in order to suppress the same (i.e., Goodman's Fields Theatre) whereupon an order was sent by my Lord Chamberlain for shutting up the said house.
>
> Hereupon Mr Odell took the opinion of several of the most learned lawyers concerning the said order, and the legality of the said theatre; who having advised that the said Mr Odell had a right by the law of the land to proceed in his said undertaking, he continued to carry on the business of the said theatre a year and a half without complaint or interruption[2].

Odell's initial victory was only the prelude to further success. Opposition had been as valuable to him as an advertisement; it had brought his theatre within the public eye and had assured him of crowded houses during the first few months of his venture at least. According to the *Biographia Dramatica* the average proceeds during the first year amounted

[1] *The Case of Henry Giffard, Proprietor of the Theatre in Goodman's Fields, in Relation to a Bill now Depending in Parliament for Restraining the Number of Playhouses.*

[2] *The Case of Henry Giffard*, etc.

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to well over a hundred pounds a week[1], a beginning truly encouraging. But his very success was only stirring up trouble for the unfortunate proprietor. The management of the other theatres, who found their audiences diminishing in proportion as those of Goodman's Fields grew, were by no means amicably disposed towards this new rival, and were only looking for the opportunity to strike a blow at it. For that opportunity they had to wait several years, but when it presented itself they were quick to seize it and take swift vengeance for their old injury.

The company during the first season was a distinguished one, of which any manager might be proud. Odell acted as director[2]. Henry Giffard, later the proprietor of the house, and his wife made their appearance constantly and were greeted with great applause. Penkethman had already made a name for himself at Drury Lane, while only the previous year Walker had created the part of Macheath in the *Beggar's Opera* at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Bullock, Huddy and Smith were all well known as low comedy characters, whose very names were sufficient to attract a considerable audience, and Haughton and Collet were both players of no mean ability. A better company could not have been wished for, and so far as actors were concerned, Odell could rival any playhouse in London.

With this cast Goodman's Fields Theatre was opened on October 31, 1729. The play on the first night was Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*, with Giffard in the part of Plume. It ran for two nights, and was then followed by the same author's *Beaux' Stratagem* and Otway's *The Orphan*, both of which met with a fair success. Throughout the season a number of 'old favourites' were presented. *Love for Love* appeared on November 5, and was frequently revived after; *The Old Bachelor* was given on November 17, when Bullock, fresh from his success at Lincoln's Inn Fields, played Wittol to Penkethman's Fondlewife, while Baker's *Tunbridge Walks*, which, since its first appearance in 1703, seems always to have attracted audiences, filled the boards several times. Mrs Centlivre was well represented by *The Busybody* and *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, Dryden's *Spanish Friar* and Rowe's *Jane Shore* were both enthusiastically received, while the ever-popular *Earl of Essex* was repeatedly called for. But the most notable success of the season was undoubtedly Farquhar's *Constant Couple*, which enjoyed an uninterrupted run from December 20 to January 3[3], and was several times revived after 'at the express command

[1] See *Biographia Dramatica* (edition of 1782), vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

[2] A manuscript note by Burney in the collection of playbills, already referred to, says Ozell; but this must be an error. Although Ozell wrote several plays as well as classical translations, he appears never to have been associated with the theatre either as actor or manager.

[3] It was not, of course, performed on Sundays, nor on Christmas Day.

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of certain persons of distinction.' Farquhar, indeed, seems to have been particularly popular at this period. Not only were his plays well received at Goodman's Fields, but other audiences also applauded them vociferously. The explanation of this popularity is probably to be sought in the changing taste and outlook of the age, which was steadily veering away from manners towards a sentimental bias. Art is usually a step in advance of society; thus the audiences of this time were hardly prepared to accept whole-heartedly the moral preaching of Steele (as witness the noticeable absence of his plays from the Goodman's Fields list), but Farquhar, who could present lovable, sound-hearted, rakish adventurers like Sergeant Kite or Sir Harry Wildair, and yet never preach any direct morality, was sure to win their sympathy.

If Odell was obliged to rely mainly upon tried favourites to maintain the revenues of his house, he did not forget the plays of Shakespeare, and was even venturesome enough to risk new pieces by contemporary authors. January 9 and 10 saw Giffard in the title rôle of Hamlet, while Mrs Giffard played Ophelia. The same play was revived on February 1 and April 20, on which last date Giffard, apparently, was unable to play, and his place was taken by 'a Gentleman who has never appeared on any stage before.' *The Merry Wives of Windsor* appeared on March 17 and April 24[1], *Othello* on June 3, and *Lear* (in Tate's version, of course)[2] on June 18. New works were represented by Fielding's *The Temple Beau* (January 26, 1730), Thomas Walker's ballad-opera, *The Fate of Villainy* (February 24), Ralph's *The Fashionable Lady* (April 2), and a farce, *The Widow Bewitched* (June 8). Taken as a whole, the season had been a highly successful one. The bill of fare had been varied, audiences had been well maintained, and the company, a good one at the commencement, had been augmented by several well-known actors whom Odell's successful venture had attracted away from other theatres[3]. The first season, which closed on June 19 with *The Fair Quaker of Deal* and the pantomime *Flora*, augured well for the future.

The second season may be passed over in cursory survey. It opened on October 2, 1730, with *The Spanish Friar*, which gave place two days later to *The Devil of a Wife*, which ran, with intervals, well into November. *The Beggar's Opera* appeared several times, though it does not seem to have been so loudly applauded as one would have expected in view of its

[1] Ford was played by Giffard.

[2] Nahum Tate recast *Lear* as a tragi-comedy, restoring the king to his throne and saving Cordelia. This version was acted throughout the eighteenth century.

[3] Besides Bullock from Lincoln's Inn Fields, whose appearance is noted above, Burney from Drury Lane joined the company on November 25, and Huddy came from the Haymarket on December 8, when he played Horatio in *The Fair Penitent*.

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reception at Lincoln's Inn Fields only two years previously. But the eighteenth-century audience was nothing if not fickle, and what pleased 1728 could never be calculated to please 1730. On March 15 Addison's *Cato* and Fielding's *Tom Thumb* (note the strange combination) were acted for the benefit of Giffard and his wife, while Mrs Giffard was accorded another benefit performance at the same theatre on March 22, when *The Double Gallant* was given[1]. The perennial *Busybody* again found a place, as did it, indeed, in the repertoire of most companies for the next ten or twelve years, and Farquhar, represented by *The Recruiting Officer*, *The Beaux' Stratagem* and *The Constant Couple*, was once again in evidence. To the last of these plays a grotesquely humorous touch was added when it was presented on February 20 'with an epilogue by Mr Morgan riding on an ass,' a device which only a few days later was introduced also into *The Beggar's Opera*, and seems to have been highly appreciated by the audience. It was the first sign of the deterioration of the theatre. Up to this time Goodman's Fields had managed to keep itself free from tricks and Harlequinades, but like all the other theatres it at last succumbed. Morgan's exhibition was but a prelude to a much wider extension of similar practices. *Lear* (October 9, 1730), *Othello* (October 19), *The Merry Wives* (October 30), and *Hamlet* (February 19, 1731) once again formed the Shakespeare repertoire, while new plays were represented by Gataker's *The Jealous Clown* (December 16, 1730), Mottley's *The Craftsman* (February 15, 1731), and *The Stage Coach* (February 22). It is also worthy of notice that it is in connexion with this theatre, and during this season, that we find the first mention of Thomas Havard, the future author of the bombastic tragedy of *Scanderbeg*. He came from Dublin in November, and played Fenton to Giffard's Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* on December 10, 1730[2]. The next six months brought nothing eventful. On June 4 was presented *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* and a farce, *The Biter Bit*, which *The Daily Advertiser* announced would be the last performances of the season, but for some reason the management extended the time limit, and the theatre actually closed for the summer months on June 9 with *Aesop, or the Politick Statesman*[3].

The 1730–31 season was the last which saw Odell as manager. Why he should have given up his venture as he did has never been made clear.

[1] Giffard himself had previously been given a benefit on March 8, with *The Careless Husband* and *The Merry Throwster*.

[2] Another distinguished actor during this season was Fielding, who on May 5 spoke a prologue, written by the boy actor Master Woodward, to his burlesque *Tom Thumb*.

[3] The reason for this extension was probably to allow two urgent benefit performances to take place. The closing play was for the benefit of Smith, while that on the previous day was 'for the benefit of Mr Bullock, in confinement.'

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Chetwood's suggestion that it was due to the recognition of his incompetence will hardly bear examination, for it is quite evident from press reports and the testimony of contemporaries that the house was still popular and audiences well sustained. A reason far more likely is that he had other irons in the fire, and feeling that he was never really safe from year to year at Goodman's Fields, since the authorities, in the manner of those times, might descend upon him any day, interdict and close up his theatre, and perhaps even arrest him in person, he chose to follow a calling less precarious. At a later date he certainly occupied a government post which only a long-standing influence with those in high places could have gained for him. We shall probably not be greatly mistaken in assuming that during his last year of managership his attention was really engaged elsewhere. The leading actor, and the actual, if not the nominal, ruler of the place was Henry Giffard, and to him Odell sold his rights towards the end of the year. The transactions had already taken place, apparently, and the theatre had changed hands before the press was able to get even an inkling of the business. Then in *The Daily Advertiser* of June 2, 1731, there appeared an announcement to the effect that

> we hear Mr Odell, the master of the Playhouse in Goodman's Fields, intends to decline to concern himself any longer with the management of that theatre; and that Mr Giffard, an eminent comedian, is about to publish Proposals to raise a sum of Money for the building a new one in that neighbourhood, and is like to have the assistance of several reputable and wealthy Gentlemen to accomplish his design.

Opening on September 27 with Lillo's *London Merchant* in 'a house newly fitted up and made more commodious and warm,' Giffard made a promising beginning. With Mrs Roberts, an actress from Drury Lane, as Millwood, the play achieved an uninterrupted run of a week, and was revived several times throughout the season. Howard's *Committee* and Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* were both popular successes, while a variation from the conventional Shakespeare programme in the introduction of the First Part of *Henry IV* also attracted considerable attention. But even more notable is the influx of Irish actors. On November 16 the part of Gomez in *The Spanish Friar* was taken by Norris from Dublin, 'son of the late famous comedian of that name[1].' Soon after followed Delane, of the same city, who played Chamont in Otway's *Orphan* (November 24, 1731) and Othello in Shakespeare's play (November 30), while the part of Falstaff in *Henry IV* was taken on January 20, 1732, by 'a gentleman lately arrived from Ireland.' Giffard, no doubt, was in search of talent, and like Rich, his fellow-manager of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and later of Covent

[1] The Irish comedian, Henry Norris, had died at York in February 1731.

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Garden, was always ready to give a fair trial to anyone who seemed to promise success.

The most important event of this year in the history of the theatre has yet to be noticed. In 1731 Giffard leased from Sir William Leman a plot of ground in Leman Street for a period of sixty-one years, and opened a subscription list for the erection of a new theatre. The subscribers, who included several merchants, numbered twenty-three. Each contributed one hundred pounds, and according to the agreement entered into each was to receive one shilling and sixpence profit for every acting day on which the theatre was opened[1]. At first sight the investment does not seem a particularly lucrative one; but with a normal season of eight months it would represent a dividend of about 12 per cent. on the capital—not really a bad profit. The investors at least were satisfied, and the contract having been placed in the hands of Shepherd, the architect of the new house in Covent Garden, the work proceeded throughout the summer of 1732, so that the theatre was ready for opening with the 1732–3 season.

The next few years hold little worth chronicling. The new house opened on October 2, 1732, with the First Part of *King Henry IV*, Giffard playing the part of Prince Hal. This was followed two days later by *The Beaux' Stratagem*, when Giffard again took the lead in Archer, which he acted to the Cherry of a Mrs Hamilton from Dublin. Amongst the outstanding successes of the season may be mentioned Congreve's *Mourning Bride*, which, put upon the boards on October 18 with Mrs Thurmond as Almeria, ran for well over a week, and *Julius Caesar* which had an uninterrupted run of a fortnight from December 1. Others met with a good reception, but none sustained so long a life as these. Benjamin Martyn's heroic and bombastic play *Timoleon* appeared on February 20, while Havard's *Scanderbeg*, which, so the story goes, broke the heart of one of the female spectators when it was presented at York by Tate Wilkinson some years later, was produced for the first time on any stage on March 15, though it only lived out two performances. So an uneventful season closed on May 24, 1733.

Giffard had a talent worthy of a better theatre and a better audience than he could ever hope to command at Goodman's Fields. He himself realised it, and in 1733 came the opportunity for which he was looking. Drury Lane was at this time ruled by the triumvirate, Robert Wilks, Barton Booth and Colley Cibber. In 1733 Booth died, and his widow sold

[1] These particulars are gathered from the document, *The Case of the several Persons upon whose subscriptions the Theatre in Goodman's Fields hath been built* (1735).

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his share to Giffard for the sum of one thousand five hundred pounds. From now onwards Giffard's attention was divided between his own house and the west-end theatre into which he had entered, and Goodman's Fields tended to suffer through neglect and lack of careful attention. The quality of the exhibitions began to decline, music and pantomimic effects rapidly usurped the place of true drama, and it looked as though the house would take its place beside Sadler's Wells and places of like repute. There is but one event of importance to record in the season 1733–4. The impending marriage of the Princess Royal with the Prince of Orange called forth a patriotic outburst from poets and dramatists alike. At Goodman's Fields it was celebrated by two musical entertainments, *The Happy Nuptials* (November 12, 1733) and *Britannia* (February 2, 1734), for the former of which the music was composed by Henry Carey. The next season was more eventful. Opening on September 9 with Mrs Centlivre's comedy *The Wonder, A Woman keeps a Secret*, the theatre very soon fell a victim to the reigning craze for pantomime. On September 25, and several nights after, was presented 'a new pantomime call'd *Harlequin in the City*,' only a month later was staged there also *The Necromancer*, while January 23, 1735, saw the magnificent and spectacular *Jupiter and Io*. Of this last the following account appeared in the press the next day:

> The new entertainment of *Jupiter and Io* was performed last night at the Theatre in Goodman's Fields to a crowded audience with universal applause. The scenes and decorations, for grandeur and magnificence, far exceed any of that exhibited in any of our Theatres.

Show and spectacle, evidently, were much appreciated, and impelled by the success of *Jupiter and Io*, Giffard proceeded to even greater lengths. Shakespeare fell a victim. *Hamlet* had always formed an item of the Goodman's Fields repertoire. Accordingly it was brought forward once again, interspersed with grandiose pantomime effects, reinforced with pompous scenery and machines, and presented on February 28, 1735, as a combination of tragedy and the heroic play. In the press advertisement a special footnote was added to the effect that 'to prevent any obstruction in the movement of the machines, no person whatsoever can possibly be admitted behind the scenes.' Of the reception with which this new version met we are not informed, but from the calibre of the average audience of the day, and from the applause elicited by other plays of the same style, one can judge that it was received enthusiastically. It may or may not have been this new departure which brought the theatre before the notice of the 'quality,' but certain it is that only a few weeks later Goodman's Fields, which formerly had been a plebeian and middle-class theatre, was

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visited by nobility and Parliament men, who were, by all accounts, delighted with what they saw there. This was on March 22, and the plays presented were *The Provok'd Husband* and *Jupiter and Io*, the latter of which was no doubt made more splendid than ever for the occasion. Thus is the performance noticed in the press on the following Monday:

> Last Saturday night several persons of quality and members of the House of Commons were at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, and saw *The Provok'd Husband, or a Journey to London*, with the entertainment of *Jupiter and Io*, which met with universal applause.

This, however, was not the only honour bestowed upon Giffard and his company during the season. April 10 saw a special Freemasons' night, when members from a number of well-known lodges in the capital assembled to support Penkethman, for whose benefit the performance was being given; on April 17 a company of Italian singers, the first to perform at Goodman's Fields[1], appeared for Mrs Woodward's benefit, while on May 20 it was announced that 'A Company of French Comedians, who never appear'd on any stage before,' would present *L'Embarras du Richesse* and *Harlequin Hulla*. They acted according to the announcement, and continued at the theatre until June 4, the end of the season, when they returned to their own country, having first diverted the English public with the comedy *The French Cuckolds*, 'with several entertainments of dancing by Lilliputians.'

We have arrived now at a critical year in the life of the theatre. The next season opened early, on September 2, 1735, with Mrs Centlivre's sentimental comedy, *The Gamester*, followed a few days later by *Woman's a Riddle*. No play of great interest was produced until November 3, when Carey's ballad-farce *The Honest Yorkshireman* was transferred from Lincoln's Inn Fields, where its performance had been suddenly and unexpectedly stopped. The piece in itself is of no significance, but a certain interest attaches to its chequered history, which shows clearly the tricks and wiles of theatre managers of the day, who brow-beat authors and forced them to accede to demands which were often far from just. From the preface to the printed edition of the play it appears that Carey had originally offered the piece to Drury Lane, but Fleetwood, the manager, had kept the copy for nine months and then returned it at a time when it was almost too late to place it with any other company. The author carried it to Lincoln's Inn Fields, which for the first time in its history

[1] West-end theatres had employed them for several years past. They had been introduced in the last few years of the previous century, and soon became so popular that Italianism became an obsession amongst society. Handel established an Italian opera at the Haymarket in 1729 under the direction of Heidegger, and in 1733 a rival company set up in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

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had remained open during the summer season, and here it was accepted by the management and put in rehearsal; but misfortune, which ever dogged poor Carey's footsteps, confronted him once again. After only one night's acting, to use the author's own words, 'the theatre was interdicted and shut up.' Carey was furious. He fulminated against Fleetwood, he lampooned him, he held him up to ridicule in the press, until Giffard, who, as we have seen, had a few years before become a shareholder in Drury Lane, took the play under his protection, and promised to produce it at Goodman's Fields. It proved very popular, and amply repaid Giffard's generosity[1].

On February 9, 1736, was again presented the inevitable Shakespearian tragedy, *Hamlet*, 'with the ceremony of lying in state, after the manner of the Duke of Buckingham'; but by far the most important play of the season was *The Golden Rump*, a satirical piece in which ministers were held up to ridicule and openly abused. It was sent anonymously by the author to Giffard, who, probably out of consideration for his own safety and reputation rather than from any patriotic motives, carried it to Walpole, and was rewarded by him with a thousand pounds for his loyalty. It was this incident that gave rise to the Licensing Act, by which Goodman's Fields Theatre was closed, and a much more strict system of censorship and licensing was instituted than had ever existed before. Lord Chesterfield strongly opposed the measure, but with no avail. It passed both houses of Parliament and was placed on the Statute Book[2].

Giffard never anticipated that his 'loyalty' would have so far-reaching an effect. He had succeeded in putting the sum of a thousand pounds into his pocket, but he had succeeded also in depriving himself of his principal source of income. Something had obviously to be done, so, since his own theatre was closed down, he and his company went to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they acted for one season till May 20, 1737, when they removed to Drury Lane, which had just been vacated by Rich in favour of the new house in Covent Garden. But Giffard was not the

[1] As a result of his treatment at Drury Lane Carey wrote the epistle to Lord Chesterfield, *Of Stage Tyrants* (see *The Poems of Henry Carey*, edited by F. T. Wood, 1930, pp. 104–8). Carey's trouble, however, did not stop here. The play was pirated and published at the end of 1735 as *A Wonder, An Honest Yorkshireman*. The authentic edition appeared in January 1736.

[2] Odell was made deputy-licenser of plays. In *An Apology for the Life of Theophilus Cibber, written by Himself*, the author, whoever he was (for it certainly was not Theophilus Cibber, though it may have been Fielding), suggests that *The Golden Rump* incident was 'a put-up affair' between Giffard, Odell and the government, and that the play in question was concocted by Giffard himself, with Walpole's knowledge. See *An Apology for the Life of Theophilus Cibber* (1741), pp. 93–4.

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man to be easily daunted. Never was there law so carefully worded as to close all loopholes for evasion, and Giffard was not long in finding a way to evade the Licensing Act. On October 15, 1740, it was announced that at the late theatre in Goodman's Fields would be given a concert of vocal and instrumental music, for which the usual charges would be made. The concert was to be divided into two parts, and in the interval was to be presented a play 'free of charge, by persons for their diversion.' As a matter of fact the interval was about two hours in duration, and the play occupied the major part of the programme, the concert being restricted to merely one or two items; but the charge was nominally for the concert, and that was enough to put the performance outside the meaning of the act. In this surreptitious manner plays were produced almost every day until May 7, when the season closed with Farquhar's *Constant Couple*.

The next season opened on September 14, 1741, with the same play, but there is nothing of importance to record until October 9. On that date it was announced that

> At the late theatre in Goodman's Fields will be performed a concert of vocal and instrumental musick, divided into two parts. Between the two parts of the Concert will be presented an Historical Play call'd THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD, the part of Richard by a Young Gentleman, who never appeared on any stage[1].

The 'young gentleman' was no other than David Garrick, destined to become the greatest actor of the century. It was his first London appearance, though the claim that he had 'never appeared on any stage' was not strictly accurate, since he had made his début a short time before at a provincial theatre in Ipswich, when he took the part of Dick in *The Lying Valet*[2]. On coming to London he had applied unsuccessfully to both Covent Garden and Drury Lane for employment. Both rejected him without trial, and perhaps Giffard's offer was made more out of gratitude than from any conviction that the young man would justify the generosity extended to him. Garrick's farce *Lethe* had been produced

[1] The play here referred to was not the original version of Shakespeare, but the adaptation by Colley Cibber, which held the stage throughout the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth. First produced in 1700, this version was pre-eminently an actor's play. By introducing new sensational elements, and focusing attention upon the central figure, it gave the actor ample opportunity to display his talents. Until 1733 Cibber himself played the King. In his *Apology* he declares that he copied Sandford's acting, but *The Laureat* (1740) says that 'he scream'd thro' four acts without dignity or decency' and in the fifth 'degenerated all at once into Sir Novelty Fashion.' Before Garrick's appearance the rôle was also played by Ryan (Lincoln's Inn Fields, March 1721) and Quin (Drury Lane, 1733, and Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1740). In the early years of his career Garrick found Quin his most formidable rival.

[2] According to an anonymous *Life and Death of David Garrick*, by an Old Actor, he then went under the name of Liddell.

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at Drury Lane on April 15, 1740, for Giffard's benefit. A few months later, on September 4 of the same year, Garrick writes to his brother Peter: 'I have received Giffard's note safe, and he returns his thanks, and will pay you ye expenses you have been at when he sees you[1].'

From this it would appear that a friendship between the two men had resulted from the Drury Lane performance, that possibly Giffard was still indebted to Garrick for monetary assistance, and that under the circumstances he could hardly refuse him his request to act on the stage of Goodman's Fields. But whatever the motive, it was soon justified by the result. Garrick's acting was entirely different from anything ever witnessed before. The audience gathered to see him on the first night was not a great one, and during the first seven nights the total receipts only amounted to a little over two hundred and sixteen pounds; but his fame soon began to spread. He threw himself into his part with zest and vivacity, giving it both life and depth. The conventional strut and posture he replaced by a naturalistic attitude which made a veritable revolution in the art of acting. In truth, he was born to his profession, and as Goldsmith declared: ''Twas only when not on the stage he was acting.' Davies accorded him high praise[2], too well known to bear reproduction here, while a contemporary said of his playing of Richard III, that 'like the sun bursting from behind a cloud, he display'd a more meridian brightness.' His success in Richard led him on to other parts. He acted successively Clodio in *Love Makes the Man*, Lothario in Rowe's *Fair Penitent*, Sharp in *The Lying Valet*, Fondlewife in *The Old Bachelor*, the ghost in *Hamlet*, Witwoud in *The Way of the World*, Bayes in *The Rehearsal*, and Lear in Shakespeare's play of that name, a variety of parts, to play which called for a man of versatile talents and character, but Garrick executed them all equally well. Goodman's Fields, however, did not keep him long. He had raised its fortunes when they were in a state of decline, he had converted it to a fashionable theatre, so that 'coaches and chariots with coronets soon surrounded that remote playhouse[3],' but in so doing he had aroused the jealousy of the managers of other houses, whose patrons the little theatre in Whitechapel was now attracting. They threatened to prosecute both Garrick and Giffard under the Licensing Act, and so pressing did Fleetwood become that the two were forced to come to an agreement with him. Garrick went to Drury

[1] Peter Garrick, who resided at Lichfield, was a close friend of Dr Johnson. He bore a close resemblance in feature to his brother, and Johnson once declared that had he been as well trained he would have made as great a man as David. (See S. C. Roberts, *An Eighteenth Century Gentleman*, 1930, pp. 85–8.)

[2] Davies' *Life of Garrick* (1780), pp. 40–1.

[3] Benjamin Victor, *A History of the Theatres of London and Dublin* (1761), I, p. 62.

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Lane with an income of five hundred pounds a year, and Giffard was left to make the best terms that he could. This was virtually the death of Goodman's Fields Theatre. It lingered on until May 27, 1742, when it closed with a performance of *The Beggar's Opera*. Giffard went once more to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he entered into partnership with Theophilus Cibber, the actor son of Colley Cibber, and deserted his own theatre, never to return there again. Some few years later, in 1751, we certainly find the mention of it in a playbill, but it was opened for a few days only by an unknown company. After that date it seems to have fallen into complete disuse.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

SHEFFIELD.

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TASSO'S THEORY OF EPIC POETRY

TASSO, like a great number of the poets of the Cinquecento, took his art very seriously—as Professor Saintsbury says—and wrote prose works, explaining his theories with regard to the heroic poem. These works act as a kind of supplement to the *Gerusalemme* itself, to guide those who would enquire in what way the influence of the ancients manifests itself in Tasso's construction of an epic poem. The *Discorsi del Poema Eroico* are later than the shorter *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica* and, to a large extent, an amplification of the shorter work; as Professor Saintsbury observes: 'The much longer and later *Discorsi del Poema Eroico* partly repeat, partly correct, partly expand the earlier work; and sometimes stand in a curious relation to it[1].' Here I only propose to deal with those parts of Tasso's theory which are most strikingly illustrated by his own practice in the *Gerusalemme* and by Vergil's practice in the *Aeneid*[2].

The first *Discorso* deals with the 'materia nuda' in which Tasso discovers five conditions which must be present in the most exalted kind of heroic poetry. These he deals with at length in both works. Tasso does not set forth these conditions at the beginning of his work, but discusses them separately, and then, having come to a conclusion in each case, he sums up the whole in these words:

Tutte queste condizioni, signor Scipione, credo io che si richieggiano nella materia nuda; ma non però sì, che mancandogliene una, ella inabile divenga a ricever la forma del poema eroico. Ciascuna per sè sola fa qualche effetto, chi più e chi meno; ma tutte insieme tanto rilevano, che senza esse non è la materia capace di perfezione[3].

It will, however, perhaps be better to enumerate the requirements first, and then show in what way they are present in the 'materia nuda' from which the *Aeneid* and the *Gerusalemme* respectively are drawn, giving examples of the method of treatment afforded by each poet.

The conditions are five: (1) The Authority of History; (2) Verity of Religion; (3) Licence of Invention; (4) Suitability of Period; (5) Nobility of Events.

AUTHORITY OF HISTORY.

Speaking of the subject matter of the heroic poem, Tasso says:

La materia...o si finge, ed allora par che il poeta abbia parte non solo nella scelta ma nella invenzione ancora; o si toglie da l' istorie. Ma *molto meglio è, a mio giudicio, che da l' istoria si prenda*[4].

[1] *History of Criticism*, II, p. 93.

[2] The citations are from the *Prose diverse di Torquato Tasso*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1875).

[3] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, I, p. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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His own practice in this matter need not detain us long. His argument comes directly from the chronicles of the first Crusade, as, for example, the *Gesta Dei per Francos* and, more particularly perhaps, from the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* of William of Tyre. The argument of the *Aeneid* comes from the traditional history of the Romans and is compared in part by Tasso himself with Livy and with Dionysius of Halicarnassus[1], to show how differently the same subject is to be treated by the poet and by the historian. Consequently both the *Aeneid* and the *Gerusalemme* conform to the rule laid down by Tasso that the argument shall, in the noblest kind of epic, be drawn from history.

The poet must not, however, treat his material after the manner of the historian, otherwise his work will become nothing but a versified chronicle. Vergil has given an excellent example of the way in which a historical subject may be treated[2]. He, while keeping in mind the 'verisimile in universale,' has paid so little attention to exact historical detail as to make Dido and Aeneas contemporaries, 'per aver occasione di mescolare fra la severità dell' altre materie i piacevolissimi ragionamenti d' amore, e per assegnare un' alta ed ereditaria cagione della inimicizia fra Romani e Cartaginesi[3].' For the first reason Tasso introduces into the *Gerusalemme* the story of Armida, for whom there is no historical warrant. An example more closely parallel however, in some respects, to Vergil's method of treating historical fact, as exemplified by his treatment of the story of Dido, may be found in Tasso's use of the story of Solimano. The details of the story, of course, present not the slightest similarity. I merely instance this story as an example of the way Tasso took liberties with exact historical fact similar to those which Vergil took with exact chronology.

Solimano, or more properly David—Solimano was really his father—was the Soldan of Nicea and was, as Tasso relates, driven from his kingdom by the Crusaders; but, far from being an ally of the Saracens in Jerusalem, he was in reality their enemy. Yet Tasso, like Vergil, deserves praise and not censure for this violation of strict historical accuracy, for, while they were violating the laws of the historian, they were preserving the 'verisimile in universale' which is the business of the poet. The fitness of one great Saracen ruler coming to the assistance of another appealed to Tasso. Not allowing himself to be bound by the fetters of accuracy in particular details, he has drawn a striking character, greatly adding to the excellence of his poem thereby; while Vergil, following in the steps

[1] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, II, p. 24; *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, III, p. 131.
[2] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, II, pp. 24–5. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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of Ennius and probably of Naevius, has given a heroic origin to the hatred which existed between Rome and Carthage.

Tasso concludes his list of the deviations made by Vergil from strict history in these words:

così anco alterò la morte di Turno, tacque quella d' Enea, v' aggiunse la morte d' Amata, mutò gli avvenimenti e l' ordine de' conflitti, per accrescer la gloria d' Enea, e chiuder con un fine più perfetto il suo nobilissimo poema[1].

One cannot help feeling, when reading these words, how aptly they would apply to the end of the *Gerusalemme* as well as to the end of the *Aeneid*.

Tasso also changes the 'events and order of the battles[2],' and maintains silence with regard to the death of Goffredo. The maintenance of silence with regard to the deaths of their respective heroes on the part of Vergil and Tasso may at first seem rather strange. Was not Aeneas destined to become a god at his death? Would not his glory be increased rather than diminished, if Vergil had like Ovid (*Met.* XIV, 581–608) given a description of the apotheosis of Aeneas? To Goffredo, too, death brought honour. His own words (spoken of Dudone) might be applied to Goffredo himself:

Già non si deve a te doglia né pianto;
Chè, se mori nel mondo, in ciel rinasci. (*G.L.*, III, 68)

Why, then, does Tasso say that Vergil keeps silence with regard to the death of Aeneas to increase his glory, and why, in the case of his own Goffredo, does he follow the example? In the first place, it is possible that 'per accrescer la gloria di Enea' goes merely with the immediately preceding clause and not with those before it. In any case, the maintenance of silence with regard to the death of these two heroes does increase their glory. Though Vergil does not actually describe the apotheosis of Aeneas, as Ovid does, he does not rob him of its glory. For Jupiter gives Venus a solemn promise of it:

sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean. (*Aen.* I, 259)

This prophecy enables Vergil to leave his hero at the height of his earthly glory and at the same time to leave his readers with the knowledge that, after a few years of earthly kingship, Aeneas is destined to become a god. Tasso follows exactly the same plan. Ugone in Canto XIV (in Goffredo's dream) has prophesied Goffredo's speedy reception in heaven:

'Ben,' replicògli Ugon, 'tosto raccolto
Ne la gloria sarai de' trïonfanti[3].' (*G.L.*, XIV, 8)

[1] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, II, p. 25.

[2] Unfortunately Tasso repented of this excellent course of action in the *Conquistata*, and we have the wearisome defence of the ships and the battle before Ascalon in accordance with strict historical sequence and on the pattern of the battles on the plain and at the ships in the *Iliad*.

[3] The glory awaiting Goffredo is even more apparent in the *Conquistata*, where there is also a reference to his refusal of an earthly crown (*G.C.*, XX, 46).

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So, like Aeneas, Goffredo is left in the moment of victory, with the promise of a greater reward in heaven.

Verity of Religion.

According to Tasso, the actions of pagans do not form a suitable subject for the epic. Heathen gods may be brought in, but this is injurious to verisimilitude, which the poet must strive to maintain. What, then, is he to do? He may omit them, but in that case he will lose the marvellous. In so doing, much of the attraction of the poem will be lost for the vulgar, while the learned will lose much delight. Supernatural powers must be introduced to work miracles; we have ceased to believe in Jupiter and Apollo, consequently the subject must be taken from Christian history[1]. This does not mean that there are to be no pagans in the epic, else certainly Tasso would stand convicted of wilfully breaking his own rule, but the plot must be chosen from the history of Christian times so that the working of miracles may be attributed to God and to His saints and to the devil and to his ministers.

It is not without interest to note that both the *Aeneid* and the *Gerusalemme* were written at a time when efforts were being made for the revival of religion. The spirit of the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation makes itself felt here and there throughout Tasso's works, and was, perhaps, in part responsible for his choice of subject. Augustus was most eager to foster a religious revival among the Romans; a revival which should involve a return to the old gods of Rome, and arouse interest in them rather than in the new Eastern religions which were becoming increasingly popular at Rome. In each case the reform was to a certain extent reactionary. Augustus and the Fathers of the Church alike wished to see a reform in morals going hand in hand with the religious reform, but both reformations were largely only external.

The exaltation of the Roman deities at the expense of the Eastern ones is nowhere more marked than in Book VIII, ll. 685–716. The fact that the ultimate triumph of Aeneas is the will of Jupiter is insisted upon throughout the whole poem. So Tasso, too, makes it manifest, throughout the whole of the *Gerusalemme*, that it is the will of God that the Crusaders shall be ultimately victorious, and their victory, too, is due to divine intervention.

We may compare the way in which Tasso manifests the influence of Latin poetry in the representation of the supernatural with the methods employed by Trissino, Giraldi and Francesco Bolognetti. In his treat-

[1] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, I, p. 12.

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ment of the supernatural Tasso stands somewhat alone. He does not treat marvels in the fairy-tale manner of Pulci, Boiardo and Ariosto on the one hand, nor in the pseudo-classical manner of Trissino and the like on the other. Tasso's method of treatment might perhaps be called Christian-classical; it has the restraint and dignity of the classics, but the spirit animating it is Christian. Despite the criticisms of Boileau and Voltaire, it appears to me that Tasso has undertaken a difficult task and carried it through with a large measure of success. One has but to turn to Trissino, and to consider the manner in which he has handled a similar difficulty, to appreciate Tasso's immense superiority to the others in this respect. Trissino was far more bound down by rules than Tasso was even in the *Conquistata*, yet, in reading his *Italia Liberata da i Goti*, one does not feel the spirit of classical literature in the way one feels it in reading the *Gerusalemme*.

The most striking example of the different way in which this influence manifests itself is in the management of the supernatural machinery. The angels in the *Gerusalemme* owe much, of course, to the gods of classical epics. Yet they remain angels, and the influence of the classics has been assimilated by Tasso so that it is by no means easy always to trace it to its full extent. It is otherwise with Trissino. His supernatural visitants are labelled as angels, but with the strangest names, Palladio, Venerio, Nettunio, Gradivo. For all the difference there is in them, he might as well have left them as pagan divinities; they are just a little more subservient to the Supreme Power, and that is all. They take sides like the Homeric gods, leaving the reader with an uneasy feeling that heaven in Trissino's mind must have been no more peaceful than Olympus of old. Indeed, he so far forgets himself in one place as to call heaven 'Olimpo':

> L' angel Junonio dal divin precetto
> Mosso, ridendo abbandonò l' Olimpo, (*I.L.*, Bk. xxi)

and in another place he says,

> L' eterno Re nel suo palazzo eterno
> Che fabbricolli il prottettor di Lenno. (*I.L.*, Bk. xxi)

His use of supernatural intervention is far less moderate than that of Tasso. The angels in his work seem not less but even more busy than the Homeric gods. In nearly every book, one or two angels take human form to guide or to mislead the Imperial party or the Goths. Voltaire blames Tasso for the weakness of the diabolic powers he introduces into the *Gerusalemme*; but that is surely an advantage, as it leaves the poet more scope for creating character. Tasso has seen this advantage and created Argante and Solimano, who, despite the assistance rendered them by the

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powers of darkness, are strong enough not to be overshadowed by them. Anything is certainly better than the perpetual appearances of pseudo-classical gods under the forms of angels, who leave the human beings without the slightest chance of any vestige of character.

In the *Gerusalemme*, classical influence with respect to supernatural machinery manifests itself, as it were, from within, though perfectly assimilated to the spirit of Christianity. It never really appears upon the surface. In Trissino's work, this influence is manifested imperfectly assimilated within and with many excrescences upon the surface. Take, for example, the visit of Narsete to the Sibyl in Book XXIV. The Sibyl herself, surviving in the times when Christianity had been accepted by the Empire and consulted by one who was presumably an orthodox Christian and engaged in freeing Italy from the Arian Goths, is an incongruity which would not have been tolerated by Tasso. Compare with this Tasso's use of the Christian magician to assist the two messengers on their journey to find Rinaldo. All the outward circumstances fit the times in which the event was supposed to take place. Yet the classics are not forgotten. Where is it that the magician lives? In an abode beneath a river, a place that certainly recalls the *Arcadia* of Sannazzaro, but whose ultimate source is to be found in the Fourth Georgic[1]. In Tasso, Vergil is recalled by reminiscences of the *Georgics* which are made to fit the poem in which they occur. Trissino takes a character from classical literature and sets her in a poem dealing with a subject taken from Christian history. In trying to increase the mystery of her dwelling, he robs the Sibyl of all the real mystery with which her home is endowed in the *Aeneid*.

In one or two cases, both Tasso and Trissino have been influenced by the same passage of a Latin poet. For example, *Aen.* II, 610, is the source of inspiration for a passage in the *Gerusalemme* and in the *Italia* respectively. In the *Italia* one of Belisario's knights, Traiano by name, meets an old man who tells him the story of the fall of his city, obviously modelled on the fall of Troy. In the story these lines occur:

> L' angel Nettunnio col tridente in mano
> Andava intorno, e gli angeli nocivi
> Gli tenean dietro, e con cridori orrendi
> Facean tremare, e suffocar le genti; (*I.L.*, Bk. V)

which at once recalls:

> Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
> fundamenta quatit totamque e sedibus urbem
> eruit. (*Aen.* II, 610–11)

[1] *G.L.*, XIV, 36 ff.; *Georgics*, IV, 359 ff.

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Tasso (*G.L.*, XVIII, 92–5) has made use of the entire passage from which these two lines are taken. There the reminiscences are skilfully woven into the whole picture of the warriors of the Cross, who have fallen before the final assault upon the city, coming down to assist their comrades. There is no frigid imitation, and no angel burdened with the name and appropriate weapon of Neptune makes his appearance.

Trissino was an antiquarian rather than a poet, and, seeing that he had to take his heroes to Rome, the chance was too good to be lost. Without any apparent reason, he reminds his readers that the arch of Severus is in the forum:

> Come si vide giunto in mez' al foro
> Ov' è 'l notabil arco di Severo; (*I.L.*, Bk. x)

and a little further on he mentions the baths of Caracalla. This same tendency to show archaeological knowledge appears here and there in the *Conquistata*, but there is little or none of it in the *Liberata*.

It is not, however, without interest to notice how the opening of the temple of Janus has influenced both Trissino and Tasso. Of course, it would have been quite out of the question for Tasso to have made use of it in the way Trissino has done, and yet it may serve as an example of their different methods; for it is rather typical of the difference between them. During the siege of Rome by the Goths, Trissino gives an account of how some pedantic people—surely men after his own heart—wished to open the gates of Janus:

> E fuvvi alcun, che per aver favore
> Da l' antica virtù, che vinse il mondo,
> Tentò d' aprire in quella istessa notte
> Le due porte di ferro, ch' eran chiuse
> Nel picciol tempio del bifronte Jano;
> Che così solean star quand' era pace,
> Ma ne la guerra poi soleano aprirsi
> Da l' onorato consule di Roma,
> Acciò che fuor del tempio suo d' acciale
> Il nume di quel Dio dovesse uscire,
> E ritrovarsi al campo in loro aiuto: (*I.L.*, Bk. XVII)

which recalls the opening of the temple of Janus described in *Aen.* VII, 607 ff., and the lines of Ennius quoted by Horace:

> postquam Discordia taetra
> belli ferratos postis portasque refregit. (Hor., *Sat.*, I, 4, 60)

> centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri
> robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus;
> has ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
> ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
> insignis reserat stridentia limina consul. (*Aen.* VII, 609–13)

Trissino recalls these lines to his readers by describing men after the introduction of Christianity turning again, as very likely they may have

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done, to the old customs of their forefathers. Tasso, by a simile, recalls the picture presented in the lines of Ennius and Vergil to the mind of the reader. In his description of Argante's declaration of war these lines occur:

> E 'l disse in atto sì feroce ed empio
> Che parve aprir di Giano il chiuso tempio. (*G.L.*, II, 90)

Both Bolognetti in his *Costante* and Giraldi in his *Ercole* deal with the stories of pagans; consequently, in Tasso's eyes, it is impossible for their poems to attain to the greatest height of epic dignity, seeing that they lack verisimilitude, which indeed is most true. Giraldi, like Tasso, was the author of a prose work in which he expounded and defended his own views. Unlike Tasso, he held that the Romance was a different species of poem from the epic, governed by rules of its own and unknown to the ancients. Yet he, too, borrows from classical sources, as one would naturally expect in a poem dealing with Heracles. Both Giraldi and Bolognetti commit a fault which is really the opposite of the one of which Trissino is guilty. Trissino introduces personages and customs taken straight from the classical epic without any attempt to bring them into harmony with the period of which he professes to be writing. Bolognetti and Giraldi in their zeal for prophecy bring their gods, as Tasso himself points out, into the absurd position of apparently prophesying their own downfall. That might be permissible were it not for the complacency wherewith they pronounce what are really judgments against themselves.

In the *Ercole*, Jupiter recites the great deeds that are to be done by the House of Este. Pallas has come to Jupiter to beg favour for her protégé, Hercules, the scene recalling very closely the scene in *Aen.* I, 229–96 of Venus' visit to Jupiter. After giving Pallas some comfort, Jupiter goes on to disclose to her how the House of Este shall rise, and in these words predicts the fame of Ippolito—a cardinal!

> Hippolito verrà, di virtù ardente,
> Et chiaro lume, ch' a morte, a l' oblio
> Se torrà in guisa, co' suoi fatti egregi,
> Ch' eterno fia tra Imperadori e Regi. (*Ercole*, VIII, 110)

Tasso too, following the example of Vergil, celebrates the greatness of his patron Alfonso d'Este, but he does not imitate Vergil so literally (*G.L.*, XVIII, 89). After Peter the Hermit has given the shield to Rinaldo upon which the deeds of his ancestors are portrayed, he reveals some of the future to him in a somewhat vague fashion. The only name that is mentioned is Alfonso. Tasso follows Vergil's example in giving his hero a marvellous shield, but there he stops. Perhaps he felt that a prophetic shield was straining 'il verisimile' too much in pursuit of the marvellous,

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and he adopts the method of putting a prophecy into the mouth of Peter the Hermit which he had learned from someone gifted with second sight, perhaps the Christian magician whom we have met already.

Giraldi, however, does not go to the lengths of Bolognetti in the matter of prophecy. *Il Costante* tells the story of an ancestor of Constantine the Great. In it the gods play the part usually assigned to them in the epic, but with greater unreality. There are many reminiscences of Vergil, but they do not occur very happily. Mars is rather confused with the Greek Ares in Bolognetti's mind. He is persuaded by Juno to stir up war against his own grandchildren—the Romans, and has to be reminded by Venus of his duty towards them. But, as Tasso himself has pointed out:

> Di questo modo di congiungere il verisimile col meraviglioso privi sono que' poemi ne' quali s' introducono le deità de' gentili, come l' *Ercole* di Geraldo, e 'l *Costante* del Bolognetto: nè senza molta sconvenevolezza, mi pare, introducea il Bolognetto Giove, iddio delle genti, a predire, come amico e benevolo, la grandezza de' Pontefici romani... non s' accorgendo il poeta, che niun aspetto e niuna congiunzione di Giove con Venere, niuna genealogia degli dei, niuna favola, niuna istoria faceva tolerabili queste cose nel suo poema; le quali in Virgilio sono meravigliose per l' opinione avuta da' Romani d' esser discesi da Enea figliuolo di Venere e d' Anchise[1].

Jupiter prophesies the greatness of the descendants of Costante, and tells how Constantine shall remove the seat of government to the East:

> Lasciando in Roma haver regno et soggiorno
> Di tre mitre superbo un sacerdote,
> Che in Ciel haurà possanza et ne l' inferno
> Non pur in terra et fia tal regno eterno. (*Il Costante*, v, p. 241)

Even the details of the pontiff's dress have not escaped the far-seeing eye of Jupiter! Passages like these make us feel that Tasso was right in laying down as a rule that the plot of the epic should be chosen from Christian history; while the strange beings who confront us in Trissino's efforts to combine the classics with Christian history make his readers ready to say with Boileau:

> C'est donc bien vainement, que nos Auteurs déçus,
> Bannissant de leurs Vers ces ornemens reçus,
> Pensent faire agir Dieu, ses Saints et ses Prophètes,
> Comme ces Dieux éclos du cerveau du Poëtes.
> (*L'Art Poétique*, III, 193–6)

Having been born a century or more before Boileau, none of these writers had thought out for himself the excellent precept wherewith *L'Art Poétique* begins:

> C'est en vain qu'au Parnasse un téméraire Auteur
> Pense de l'Art des Vers atteindre la hauteur.
> S'il ne sent point du Ciel l'influence secrète,
> Si son Astre en naissant ne l'a formé poëte,
> Dans son génie étroit il est toujours captif.
> Pour lui Phébus est sourd, et Pégase est rétif.
> (*L'Art Poétique*, I, 1–6)

[1] *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, II, p. 109.

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Herein lies the reason that, whether these would-be epic poets took their argument from pagan or from Christian history, and though they follow the same models as Tasso, neither their subject nor classical influence could make them what Tasso was by nature—a real poet.

Verisimilitude and the Marvellous.

Tasso's main reason for preferring the Christian religion is that, by choosing a subject from Christian history, the poet need not sacrifice verisimilitude to the marvellous, both of which elements must be present in the epic. For the purpose of introducing the marvellous, the poet may avail himself of the beliefs of unlearned persons: 'basta al poeta in questo (the use of the supernatural), com' in molte altre cose, la opinione della moltitudine[1].'

Tasso in his prose criticism seems to echo the words of Euripides' chorus of Maenads—

> τὸ πλῆθος ὅτι
> τὸ φαυλότερον ἐνόμισε χρῆ-
> ταί τε, τοδ' ἂν δεχοίμαν.

(*Bacchae*, ll. 430–2)

In his poem Tasso has put this theory into practice, as also did Vergil. We can hardly believe that the latter actually thought that there was a fire-breathing giant under Mount Etna, or that the winds were controlled by a fairy king living in a wonderful island, yet he put them in his poem and, in so doing, 'invita ed alletta il gusto degli uomini vulgari non solo senza fastidio, ma con sodisfazione ancora de' più intendenti[2].'

Great care, however, must be taken to make the marvellous appear probable. Tasso and Vergil both give us striking examples of the way of attaining this end. In the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, the events grow so naturally one from the other that, while the marvellous is ever present, verisimilitude is not forgotten and nothing in all Aeneas' journey to the other world comes as a shock to our imagination. It is probably due to his wide classical reading, and perhaps especially to his loving study of Vergil, that Tasso is likewise capable of weaving the marvellous into his story with such great skill.

To take the most striking example; in the fifteenth and sixteenth cantos of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* two messengers are sent to bring back Rinaldo. They make a journey to the far west in an incredibly short time. But how are we prepared for it? As is the case with Aeneas' visit to the underworld, so here too the events grow naturally one from the other. Aeneas is bidden by Helenus, who is himself a prophet, to seek the Sibyl

[1] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, I, p. 14. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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at Cumae (*Aen.* III, 440 ff.). She will tell Aeneas more of the future, as yet, however, there is no hint that Aeneas is himself to visit the underworld. Anchises is still alive, and Helenus does not choose, even if he is able, to give Aeneas unnecessary pain by revealing to him that he must soon lose his father. Whatever may have been the reason for this reserve, the effect is just the same upon the reader. We hear of Cumae and of the Sibyl for the first time, and this is the beginning of a gradual preparation for more wonders to come. At the end of Book V, Anchises appears in a dream and again we have a mention of the Sibyl, but this time the journey is mentioned also:

> gens dura atque aspera cultu
> debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
> infernas accede domos, et Averna per alta[1]
> congressus, pete, nate, meos. (*Aen.* V, 730–3)

Then follow the deaths of Palinurus and Misenus and the mystery of the Sibyl's abode. The chain of preparation is complete, and we are ready to make the journey to the land of Shades with Aeneas and the Sibyl.

To turn now again to the *Gerusalemme*. Of course all the details take shape from their own poem, but here, too, a chain of marvels leads up to the greatest wonder. At the beginning of Canto XIV Goffredo has a dream. He sees Ugone, one of the Crusaders who has been killed in battle, and who reveals to him that Rinaldo is to be recalled before it will be possible for the Christians to take Jerusalem. Two messengers are chosen. How are they to find Rinaldo? Here Tasso makes use of Peter the Hermit, who on account of his great holiness might be expected to know more than other folk:

> Itene, dove un fiume entra nel mare:
> Quivi fia che v' appaia uom nostro amico:
> Credete a lui; ciò ch' ei diravvi, io 'l dico.
> (*G.L.*, XIV, 30)

We are led further into the realm of the marvellous. The words are full of suggestion of greater mystery to come, and the reader is carried so naturally along with them that the meeting with the good magician by the river, the magic ship and the journey to the far west, come as a logical conclusion to the story.

In these two cases, and in many more lesser ones in the *Aeneid* and in

[1] I am aware that there is an inconsistency felt by some commentators between *Aen.* V, 730 ff., and VI, 687 ff. But might not Anchises' words there be taken, not as a question—there was no need of question, for Aeneas was present—but as an exclamation of pleasure not unmixed with surprise that what Anchises had foreseen and desired had really come to pass?

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the *Gerusalemme*, a concrete example is given of Tasso's own view expressed in the *Discorsi*:

Può esser dunque una medesima azione e meravigliosa e verisimile: meravigliosa, riguardandola in se stessa, e circonscritta dentro a i termini naturali; verisimile, considerandola divisa da questi termini nella sua cagione[1].

Licence of Invention.

The examples already brought forward show how both poets while dealing with a historical subject have not fettered their poetic imagination, but have given full play to it.

Suitability of Period.

There is much less similarity between the two poems with regard to the distance of the period dealt with from the poet's own day. Yet there is this similarity; both poets were dealing with an age which was looked upon as simpler and perhaps ruder than the age in which they were themselves living, but, at the same time, of greater religious faith and infinitely more heroic. The Turks were a menace to eastern Europe in Tasso's day. Men like Goffredo and the heroes of the first Crusade were wanted to repel the attacks of these Saracens, who were closer at hand than in the days of the first Crusade. Though there is throughout the *Aeneid* a spirit that breathes hatred of war, yet it is full of the praise of hardihood and endurance, and would awake in the minds of men, who had become pleasure-loving and luxurious, the memory of the great deeds accomplished by their fathers.

Nobility of Events.

In discussing the subjects suitable for treatment in the epic, Tasso brings the subject of his own poem into close relationship with the *Aeneid*. After having enumerated several topics which are of a nobility suited to epic dignity, he concludes:

Ma oltre tutte l' altre è nobilissima azione la venuta di Enea in Italia, perchè l' argomento è per sè grande ed illustre; ma grandissimo ed illustrissimo, avendo riguardo a l' Imperio romano ch' ebbe origine da quella, come nel principio della *Eneide* accenna il divino Poeta:

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Tale era la liberazione d' Italia da' Goti, che porse materia al poema del Trissino; tali sono quelle imprese che per la confermazion della Fede, o per l' esaltazione della Chiesa o dell' Imperio furono felicemente e gloriosamente adoperate[2].

In viewing the subject of the *Gerusalemme* side by side with that of the *Aeneid*, one is reminded of Dante's vision of the Empire and the Church.

[1] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, I, pp. 14, 15.
[2] *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, II, pp. 121–2.

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Vergil's theme of the landing of the Trojans in Italy, from which the Roman Empire was eventually to arise, finds its counterpart in the enterprise under the auspices of the Church to recover the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels. That Tasso himself was conscious of this seems a fair inference from his juxtaposition of the two themes in the part of the *Discorsi del Poema Eroico* quoted above.

The General Plan of the Two Poems.

Bearing in mind Tasso's theories as to the requirements of the 'materia nuda' and his method of observing his own rules, the next point to consider is the general plan of the *Gerusalemme* side by side with that of the *Aeneid*.

In the fourth *Discorso del Poema Eroico*, Tasso discusses the practice of invocation which, as he says, is not only observed by poets, but by philosophers alike. In studying Tasso's own invocation, two things immediately attract one's attention. In the first place, his model here was obviously Latin poetry in general and Vergil in particular. In the second place, here at least he seems to have departed from his rule that pagan divinities, if they be introduced, detract from the verisimilitude of the poem.

To take the second point first; Tasso makes invocation in these words:

O Musa, tu che di caduchi allori
Non circondi la fronte in Elicona. (*G.L.*, I, 2)

How came Tasso to bring the Muse into his poem, considering his own emphatic statement that the religion of the epic must be Christian? Let the poet make his own defence. 'Sarà dunque lecito al poeta cristiano invocar la mente e l' intelligenze, imperò che le Muse non furono credute altro che intelligenze[1].'

Tasso's use of 'intelligenze' to explain the Muses recalls the use of the word by the poets of the 'dolce stil nuovo' to mean 'angels,' as for example Guido Guinizelli in his famous canzone 'Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore.' This thought, though perhaps not consciously in Tasso's mind, may have made him more ready to accept the Muses while he rejects every other pagan divinity. These two lines and the next two are noteworthy:

Ma su nel cielo in fra i bëati cori
Hai di stelle immortali aurea corona. (*G.L.*, I, 2)

Here the Muse seems completely identified with the angels, and we are reminded again of the 'intelligenze' in the poets of the 'dolce stil nuovo,' especially of Guinizelli's 'Splende in la intelligenza de lo cielo.'

[1] *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, IV, p. 190.

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The opening of the poem at once recalls the beginning of the *Aeneid*. Tasso tells us[1] that it was the custom of the Greeks to make their invocation and the proposition of their subject together, whereas the Latins invoke first and then make the proposition of their subject. Following the example of Vergil, he discloses his subject in the first line and develops it in the succeeding lines, following very closely in tone, and sometimes recalling in actual words the opening lines of his model:

Canto l' arme pietose e 'l Capitano
Che 'l gran sepolcro liberò di Cristo:
Molto egli oprò co 'l senno e con la mano:
Molto soffrí nel glorïoso acquisto:
E in van l' Inferno vi s' oppose, e in vano
S' armò d' Asia e di Libia il popol misto;
Il Ciel gli diè favore, e sotto a i santi
Segni ridusse i suoi compagni erranti. (*G.L.*, I, 1)

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae. (*Aen.* I, 1–7)

It is interesting to notice the change that Tasso has made to suit his theme. He tells us at the beginning that the Powers of Darkness are to be frustrated. But he shows plainly from the position they occupy that they are, in any case to a certain extent, the counterpart of Juno. Although occupying a different position in relation to the other clauses, 'Che 'l gran sepolcro liberò di Cristo' must be a conscious echo of:

genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae;

and recalls the juxtaposition of the two themes in the passage from the *Discorsi*[2].

The invocation which follows, as has already been noticed, occupies the same position in the poem as Vergil's does in the *Aeneid*, and in part recalls it, but with one rather quaint addition. For Vergil's simple 'Musa, mihi causas memora' (*Aen.* I, 8), Tasso has:

Tu rischiara il mio canto, e tu perdona
S' intesso fregi al ver, s' adorno in parte
D' altri diletti, che de' tuoi, le carte. (*G.L.*, I, 2)

Here is a faint presage of the stern spirit of the *Conquistata*. Even in the *Liberata* Tasso feels his literary conscience pricking; perhaps he is not always quite as serious as is seemly for an epic poet, who should diligently preserve the dignity of his theme throughout.

[1] *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, IV, p. 190.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 121–2.

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After the invocation Tasso, like Vergil, plunges 'in medias res.' He does not tell us of the Council of Clermont from which the whole adventure sprang, but transports us straight to Palestine and to the closing days of the Holy War. The Council of Clermont is not mentioned until the eleventh Canto.

Unity.

The answer to the question how did Vergil and Tasso accomplish the task which each had proposed to himself is perhaps best found by considering what Tasso has to say about 'Unity' in the *Discorsi*[1].

After discussing the length of the poem, Tasso turns to the question—should an epic have many actions or one? Here he is faced with a difficulty. Trissino wrote his *Italia Liberata* on strict classical lines having only one action, with what result? No one reads him. Ariosto cared nothing for rules, he has many actions, but he is read by all. Tasso was either too near these two authors or too courteous to express the reason as bluntly as one would do to-day. Trissino was no poet, while Ariosto was not only a poet, but perhaps the most perfect master of style among all the Italian poets.

But, when this is said, it does not remove the difficulty which was felt by many. Strict unity of action tends to a dull poem, yet, Tasso maintains, wherever possible, unity should be observed, care being taken to introduce all the variety that is possible. To do this it is not necessary to have more than one main action. The *Iliad* serves, as Aristotle has pointed out (*Poetics*, 1459 *a*), as a model of this as of so many other excellencies in the epic. Although the action of the *Iliad* is one, the main theme being the wrath of Achilles, many episodes are interwoven which give the poem variety.

The same may be said of the *Aeneid*. The main theme is the settlement of the Trojans in Italy whence Rome is to spring; but the great wealth of episodes prevents the poem, though strictly following the rules of unity and bound together by the character of Aeneas, from being dull. So, too, the *Gerusalemme* holds continually before our eyes the main object—the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, all the episodes being made to help or to hinder the attainment of that object.

Herein lies the answer to the question: how did Vergil and, following his example, Tasso set about fulfilling the promise made in the proposition of the subject? The end must be ever kept in view and variety obtained

[1] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, II, pp. 29–30.

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by introducing episodes that help or hinder the attainment of that end, in Tasso's own words:

Nondimeno è proprio il dirizzar tutte le cose ad un medesimo fine: perciò che avendosi proposto Omero per oggetto il ritorno d' Ulisse a la patria, e Virgilio la venuta d' Enea in Italia, tutte le cose sono dirizzate a questo segno, perchè sono mezzi di questo fine, ed agevolezze, per così dire, o impedimenti e disturbi, eccettuatene alcune poche che servono per introduzione della favola. Fra i mezzi numero Minerva. ...Parimente in Virgilio chiamo impedimenti Didone, Turno, Mezenzio, Camilla; e mezzi, Aceste che gli diede aiuto per venire in Italia, ed Evandro, e Pallante, e i Toscani e gli altri che l' aiutarono a vincere, non solo a guerreggiare. Tutta dunque la varietà nel poema nascerà da' mezzi e da gli impedimenti;...Ma gli impedimenti, benchè possano dependere da vari principii, ad una cosa riguardano, cioè ad impedire il ritorno d' Ulisse in Itaca, e 'l regno d' Enea in Italia[1].

Tasso, no less than Vergil, uses his episodes as hindrances and helps to the attainment of the end of the poem. Almost all the hindrances and helps he enumerates from the *Aeneid* find a place under some form or other in the *Gerusalemme.*

The Persons of the Epic.

Like tragedy the epic must deal with noble and illustrious acts. Like tragedy, too, the persons of the epic must be of exalted rank:

Non sono però della medesima natura. Richiede la tragedia persone nè buone nè cattive, ma d' una condizion di mezzo...l' epico, a l' incontro, vuole nelle persone il sommo delle virtù; le quali eroiche da la virtù eroica sono nominate. Si ritrova in Enea l' eccellenza della pietà; della fortezza militare in Achille; della prudenza in Ulisse: e per venire a i nostri, della lealtà in Amadigi; della constanza in Bradamante: anzi pure in alcuni di questi il cumulo di tutte queste virtù[2].

Examples might equally well be taken from Tasso's own work: Goffredo of 'pietà' or perhaps of 'il cumulo di tutte queste virtù,' as indeed Tasso seems to think Aeneas himself was likewise[3]. He goes on to say that the epic allows also greater villains than tragedy, among whom he instances Mezentius[4], who seems to have made a great impression upon his mind. Mezentius has certainly influenced his portrayal of Argante, suggested the description of Osmida, 'che schernisce ogni fede ed ogni legge' (*G.L.*, XVIII, 23), and the character of Odrimarte in the *Rinaldo*[5]. Particularly is this shown in Tasso's portrayal of Solimano. Mezentius is by no means the least interesting of the Vergilian characters. He certainly might be looked upon from the description given of him in *Aen.* VIII as typical of the kind of villain

[1] *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, III, pp. 163–4.
[2] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, I, p. 19.
[3] *Discorsi del Poema Eroico*, III, p. 172.
[4] *Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica*, I, p. 19.
[5] Sen va presso costor l' empio Odrimarte,
Cui sol legge era il suo volere istesso,
Che 'l vero e i falsi Divi, a parte a parte
In odio aveva ed in dispregio espresso. (*Rinaldo*, XII, 30)

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allowed in the epic. But we owe it to the humanity of the poet that even Mezentius arouses sympathy, not to say admiration, in the readers of the *Aeneid*. This is also true of Solimano in the *Gerusalemme*.

I suppose that any outstanding character must arouse interest, and from interest it is an easy step to sympathy. This is true of historians as well as of poets; they, too, arouse sympathy for the man they wish us to consider the 'villain of the piece.' No reader of Dino Compagni's *Cronaca* can have any doubt of the fact that he viewed Corso Donati in this light, yet one cannot help feeling great interest in and even some affection for 'Messer Corso.'

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A New Manuscript of Middleton's 'Game at Chesse.'

As noted in a postscript to the preface of my edition of Middleton's *A Game at Chesse*, another manuscript of the play has recently come to light, and was sold at Sotheby's in April 1928. Through the courtesy of the Rosenbach Company, into whose hands it passed, I have obtained photostats of the manuscript, and am now able to give some account of it. The new manuscript does not seem to throw any further light on the problem of the 'assembled' texts, for it is the worst and, *ipso facto*, probably the latest of the manuscripts, but it has an interest of its own owing to the nature of its variants.

The manuscript contains seventy-eight quarto pages, and is written in three different hands. The title-page is in Middleton's unmistakable autograph, and is as follows: 'A GAME / at / CHESSE / As it was Acted Nine Dayes together. / Compos'de by Tho: Middleton. / [flourish] /.' The verso of the title-page is blank, and the Induction begins on the next page in the handwriting of the scribe (to be referred to as *A*) who has transcribed the greater part of the play. A blank verso follows the Induction, after which the five acts and the epilogue follow without any break. Two passages, however, viz. III, i, 45–59 and V, i, 1–ii, 43, are in the hand of a second scribe (referred to as *B*).

In the first of these passages *B*'s hand begins in the middle of a line with the words 'it is not yet too late...' and concludes the letter, *A*'s part of which is in italics, in the secretary hand. The last two lines in *B*'s hand are at the top of a new page; *A* then continues, but with a narrower margin. It is difficult to be certain whether the passage in *B*'s hand was inserted in a blank left by *A*, or whether it was all written continuously, although the odds seem to be in favour of the second alternative. *B* would hardly use a different margin if the rest of the page had already been filled by *A*, but the fact that *A*'s speech heading for line 60 is somewhat above, instead of alongside, the line, might possibly be taken to indicate that there was nothing above when it was written, though the new margin might also be a cause of misplacement. The second passage in *B*'s handwriting begins near the foot of a page with 'ffinit Actus quartus / Incipit Quintus' in black letter. After this *B*'s hand continues for four pages more, and then ceases abruptly at the foot of a page in the middle of a sentence. It would seem that here *B* did

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not begin where *A* had left off, as the last twenty-five lines of Act IV are spaced out much more widely than is *A*'s usual custom, and a flourish which, from its likeness to those at the end of the manuscript, is clearly *A*'s, fills in the space that was still left between the two acts. One feels that on both occasions, during some intermission, *B* took up *A*'s pen and went on with his task, so that as little time as possible should be lost in completing the transcript.

The text is divided into acts, but not into scenes, except that the last scene is headed *Scena Vltima*. Words written in italics are fairly frequent in the earlier part of the play, but become less common in the later part. At IV, i, 70, a blank has been left for the word *hint*, which was evidently illegible in the copy from which the scribe was working. This manuscript is the fullest of all the manuscripts; no other gives the full text of the play as the quartos do. Although it is the only text that omits II, i, 183, IV, ii, 89–91, V, iii, 6, 160–1, and certain occasional words and phrases, and also omits the prologue and II, i, 174, which are included by all the other texts except *M*, it is otherwise complete.

Collation with the text as given in my edition of the play revealed over three hundred and fifty variants. More than a hundred of these are to be found in one or other of the other texts and, of those that remain, many are of very minor importance. It may not, however, be without interest to give a list of some of the more significant readings peculiar to this manuscript. Not more than half a dozen of these can be regarded as genuine variants; their interest lies in the fact that they are corruptions, many of them obvious corruptions, which have found their way into the work of a careless scribe even though, as the evidence of the autograph title-page justifies us in concluding, he was, to some extent at least, working under the supervision of the author.

Ind. 79 hard *for* rare
I, i, 56 viniard *for* Worke
I, i, 159 forbid *for* sordid
I, i, 286 *omits* waye of
I, i, 327 and II, i, 229 Angelica *for* Anglica
II, i, 17 serpent *for* Seruant
II, i, 90 rather *for* gather
II, ii, 259 casts her leafe *for* casts her Flower
III, i, 66 secret *for* sweete
III, i, 116 milch Manna *for* Mirth-Manna
III, i, 129 vnkinde this sore wounded *for* Unbinde this sore wound
III, i, 233 m^{r}peice *for* Mr-prize
III, ii, 5 prauncest *for* prauncst
III, iii, 27 Emperours powerfull *for* Imperious-powerfull
IV, i, 53 mistery *for* Mastrie
IV, i, 58 offer *for* suffer
IV, i, 98 tloringe that forwards *for* to bring that forward

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IV, i, 129 shamefulst *for* bashfulst
IV, ii, 41 is to be calmed *for* is becalmd
IV, ii, 43 betimes *for* 6 times
IV, ii, 66 Nauigacon *for* inuasion
IV, ii, 70 Ilands *for* Inlands
IV, ii, 78 oyle of Cod into the phisicke *for* Oyle of toade into that physicke
IV, ii, 122 the *white howse* Queene *for* the Mayden Queene of the white kingdom
IV, ii, 132 forgiuen *for* remitted
IV, iv, 12 blott to braise *for* Bolt to bruize
IV, iv, 13 sinning *for* sunning
IV, iv, 90 forgetful *for* malitious
IV, iv, 112 stands *for* staide
V, ii, 69 Brokere *for* Brokage
V, ii, 111 dispatchd *for* dispossest
V, ii, 128 I'll play at *for* haue at
V, iii, 9 vainfull exercise *for* paynfull-Idlenes
V, iii, 13 Call Sommer, writing *for* call Summer-Whiting
V, iii, 142 hee's *for* heads
V, iii, 159 secretest *for* smoothest
V, iii, 197 bag like hells mouth *for* Baggs Mouth, like Hell
V, iii, 203 All hop's confounded *for* See, all's confounded
V, iii, 228 but I shalbe the last man that creeps out *for* But I'me sure I shall bee the last creeps out

Some curious discrepancies emerge when one arranges the readings that are also to be found in the other texts. The setting out of the text of this manuscript, i.e., the division of acts and scenes and the stage-directions, seem to bring it nearest to *B*, for these are the only two texts which have the heading 'Scena Vltima' for V, iii, and read 'Lowe Musique' in the direction at the head of V, i. It also agrees with *B* in the readings at III, i, 253, 299, 300, III, ii, 25, IV, i, 22, 38, 62, 90, 110, 113, 116, 172, IV, ii, 42, 94, IV, iv, 15, 40, 58, V, i, 3, V, iii, 202, 230[1], and with the group *B*, *I*, *II* at III, i, 134, 160, 377, III, iii, 56, IV, i.s.d., 2, 106, 135, V, iii, 76, 186, 208. Another set of readings, however, seems to relate the manuscript to the group *L*, *M*, *III*, with which it agrees at I, i, 33, 35, 41, 75, 269, 275, 308, 339, 353, II, i, 158, 252, 262, III, i, 74, 187, V, ii, 53 and 129. It also agrees with *III* alone at II, i, 155, 231, II, ii, 70, III, i, 175, 259, and V, ii, 31 (this last reading, however, is very nearly that of *L*, *I*, *II*) and in the following readings of *III* which are not recorded in the textual notes of my edition: 'made' omitted at I, i, 76, 'pleasant' for 'plyant' at II, i, 175, 'braine' for 'Skonce' at II, ii, 271, and 'attempt' for 'Attempter' at III, i, 215.

It would thus seem that the first half of the manuscript is definitely related to the group *L*, *M*, *III*, and the second half of it to *B*. The question that then arises is whether this manuscript was transcribed from

[1] The facts that both this MS. and *B* (the only texts I have before me) read 'glew' at II, ii, 26, and that I have no note of any disagreement between *B* and the other texts at this point, convince me that the 'glut' of my text is a misprint for 'glue.'

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two different sources, or whether this occurred earlier in its line of descent. It is impossible to be certain, but there is a bibliographical clue which makes it likely that the source of the manuscript itself for the first half was different from that for the second half. It will be noticed that it is in III, i, that it seems to transfer its allegiance from one group to the other. III, i, 126 is the last line of a page, which has been written with a very thick-pointed pen; III, i, 127 begins a new page which is written with a finely-pointed pen. The first reading which is in agreement with the *B*, *I*, *II* group occurs at III, i, 134, and the break in transcription indicated by the use of a new pen, occurring as it does so close to this, may well be more than a mere coincidence.

This position, however, is considerably complicated by the fact that the manuscript agrees throughout fairly closely with the quartos *I*, *II*. Even Middleton's title-page, with the line 'As it was Acted Nine Dayes together,' is much closer to those of the quartos than to those of the other manuscripts. The list of the readings in which it agrees with *I*, *II* is a long one, viz.: at I, i, 33, 278, 355, II, i, 146, 245, II, ii, 93 s.d., 176, 184, 260, III, i, 2, 165, 318, 319, 341, 351, III, iii, 11, IV, i, 47, IV, ii, 35, 46, 78, V, ii, 93, V, iii, 42, 126, 192, and in the following readings which are not recorded in the textual notes in my edition: 'come off' for 'comes of' at I, i, 218, II, i, 54–5 written as one line, 'by generall election' for 'by Election' at III, i, 37, 'walkd' for 'wakte' at III, i, 219, III, i, 250–1 written as one line, 'factious' for 'facetious' at IV, ii, 21, 'Veronics' for 'Veronicaes' at IV, ii, 51, 'pounds' for 'pound' at IV, ii, 108, and 'on fire' for 'afire' at V, i, 46. This manuscript is thus much nearer *I* than any of the other manuscripts, and it contains a number of the quarto's more striking corruptions (e.g., those at I, i, 278, II, i, 245, II, ii, 176, III, i, 37, 219, IV, ii, 35, 46, and V, iii, 126) so that the printer of *I* is not to blame for all its many errors. It is impossible, however, that the manuscript can have owed anything to the actual printed texts. It does not need a very close examination of the manuscript to prove this: it is sufficient to point out that it is the only text that is seriously astray in the Latin speech in V, i; that the quartos contain the word 'hint' at IV, i, 70, for which a blank has been left in the manuscript, and that at I, i, 327, II, i, 17, III, i, 129, III, iii, 27, IV, ii, 43, IV, iv, 12, V, ii, 69 and V, iii, 13 the quartos have the correct reading, although the scribe of the manuscript has been unable to make sense of these passages, which, in his version, contain corruptions as bad as any in the quartos.

It is a difficult problem to reconcile the faithful allegiance of this manuscript to the quartos *I*, *II* with its divided allegiance between the *L*, *M*,

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III group and *B*. One can only suggest that the transcribers of the new manuscript worked from two transcripts by the scribe who was responsible for the source of the text of quarto *I*. The transcript used as the 'copy' for the first half of this manuscript was fairly closely related to *B*, and the transcript used for the second half of the manuscript was either made from a Crane transcript or from his immediate source, which was more nearly related to *III* than to *L* and *M*. If the scribe who was responsible for the source of quarto *I* had written both the transcripts that were the source of this manuscript, its repetition of some of the errors of *I* would be explained on the ground that he would tend to repeat errors and bad readings to which he had become accustomed. This, perhaps, is a somewhat complicated and not entirely satisfactory explanation of the textual position of the new manuscript, but under the circumstances it seems to be the only one possible.

ADELAIDE. R. C. BALD.

'OUT OF HEAVEN'S BENEDICTION TO THE WARM SUN.'

No editor of Shakespeare has arrived at a completely satisfactory solution of the puzzle presented by the words of Kent in *King Lear*, II, ii, 163–5:

> Good king, that must approve the common saw,
> Thou out of heaven's benediction comest
> To the warm sun!

The problem is not to be approached lightly by a non-specialist, but it may be useful to offer a grain of information encountered accidentally in Palsgrave's *Acolastus*. Though it does not explain the origin of the proverb, it may be helpful in determining the sense in which Shakespeare employs it.

The several parallels which are regularly cited indicate that the sense is that which is conveyed by such modern expressions as 'From bad to worse' and 'Out of the frying-pan into the fire.' Both these equivalents are given by J. S. Farmer, the editor of Heywood's *Proverbs and Epigrams*, in his note on the lines,

> In your rennyng from hym to me, ye runne
> Out of God's blessing into the warme sunne.

The words of Philautus in *Euphues and His England*, 'Thou forsakest God's blessing to sit in a warme sun,' admit of the same interpretation; and that interpretation is clearly demanded by the well-known passage in Holinshed's *Chronicles*: 'This Augustine, after his arrival converted the Saxons indeede from Paganisme, but as the Proverb sayth, bringing them out of Goddes blessing into the warme sunne, he also imbued them

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wyth no lesse hurtfull supersticion then they did knowe before.' These examples make it easy to read a certain meaning into the proverb as Kent uses it. Lear, having quarrelled with Goneril, is on his way to lay his complaint before Regan, who, as Kent knows, will prove as hard-hearted as her sister. A modern observer in Kent's situation might describe the application to Regan by some such phrase as 'out of the frying-pan into the fire,' and that, it is supposed, is the sense which the 'common saw' is intended to convey.

This conclusion being reasonable in itself, and sanctioned by the authority of Holinshed, Heywood, and Lyly, there is no apparent need of further evidence; but in the *Variorum* edition of *Hamlet* the fact is recorded briefly and without comment that John Ray, in his *Compleat Collection of English Proverbs* (1768), gives *Ab equis ad asinos* as the equivalent of the proverb in question. It is here that the reference to *Acolastus* is instructive, for it lends to Ray's statement a weight and circumstance which it could not have derived from his unsupported testimony. In Act IV, Sc. vii, of the play, Acolastus accepts the offer of employment as a swineherd, in accordance with the Biblical story, but at the same moment reflects on the contrast between the luxury which he had enjoyed in his father's house and the misery to which he is now reduced. His words in the original are, 'Sequor. Vah, ab equis ad asinos.' Palsgrave translates:

> I follow (the or I come after the). Propt, or alas, from the horses to the asses, i. from the hall into the kitchen, or out of Christes blessing into a warme sonne (now I am well promoted).

The hero's complaint, it will be observed, is simply that he is humiliated, or degraded. The expression, 'Out of the frying-pan into the fire,' which usually refers to a voluntary and misguided effort to escape from an unpleasant situation, would certainly be inappropriate here. Acolastus was following the only course open to him, and following it against his will.

In an earlier scene of the play (Act II, Sc. ii) Palsgrave uses the same 'common saw' in translating a similar, though not identical, expression in the original. The villain Pamphagus, who afterwards assists Acolastus to waste his substance, encounters a young man of expensive tastes and uncertain prospects whom he proposes to train as a disciple in iniquity. Warning him of the discomforts of poverty, Pamphagus says, in the original, 'Sed turpe est nimis a bubus ad asinos transcendere.' The translation reads:

> But it is a passynge foule thing, to make a skyppe over from the oxen to the asses. i. to leappe out of the halle, into the kytchyn, or out of Chrystis blessynge into a warme sonne.

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It is probably not a coincidence that the expression *Ab equis ad asinos* is to be found in the *Adagia* of Erasmus, as also is *A bubus ad asinos* in the original form which the dramatist reverses (*Ab asinis ad boves*). If we may assume that Palsgrave recognised the hand of Erasmus in his author's work, and availed himself of this guidance, we need not depend on the context for the required definitions. They are given in the *Adagia* as follows:

Ab asinis ad boves. Ex humiliore conditione ad ditiorum partes transire.
Ab equis ad asinos. Ubi quis a studiis honestioribus ad parum honesta deflectit.

We have seen that, as Palsgrave uses it, 'Out of Christ's blessing into a warm sun' is equivalent to the first of these expressions in the opposite sense or to the second as it stands. It may, therefore, be interpreted, 'From an exalted, or honourable, state or occupation to a low or ignoble one.' In the change of fortune so depicted to the imagination there is nothing analogous to the frying-pan, or to a voluntary effort to escape from it. We are brought again to the conclusion that the meaning of the proverb approved by Erasmus and adopted by Palsgrave is not to be reconciled with the sense clearly dictated by the context in the passages quoted from Holinshed and Heywood.

The lines in *King Lear* thus present a choice of alternatives. Following Holinshed and Heywood, Shakespeare may have intended Kent to say, in effect, 'In appealing from Goneril to Regan you are going from bad to worse, or "out of the frying-pan into the fire"'; or, following Palsgrave, he may have intended something like this: 'You are destined to learn in all its bitterness the meaning of the proverb which speaks of exchanging power and dignity for impotence and humiliation.' The first alternative restricts the scope of Kent's observation to the event which he had immediately in view: the rejection of Lear by Regan. The second presupposes a comprehensive survey of Lear's whole conduct and experience, from his abdication of the Crown to the end which the discerning mind of Kent might be supposed to foresee.

The choice between these possible interpretations may be influenced by a line in *Hamlet* which lends itself to comparison with the passage in *King Lear*. It was conjectured by Dr Johnson that when Hamlet is asked by the King, 'How is it that the clouds still hang on you?' and returns the answer, 'Not so, my lord; I am too much i' the sun,' he alludes to the proverb quoted at length in the later play. This suggestion, though it has proved attractive to succeeding commentators, is open to the objection that such an appeal to the proverb, taken in the familiar sense, would be pointless and ineffective. The situation which recent events had trans-

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formed had not, originally, been disagreeable to Hamlet, and had not been changed by any act of his own. There is no analogy, therefore, between his case and that of the Saxons when, according to Holinshed, they exchanged a hurtful superstition for one still more hurtful, or that of the woman in Heywood's story who runs from an incompetent adviser to one still more incompetent. On the other hand, there is a clear analogy with the case of Acolastus at the moment when he exlaims, 'Ab equis ad asinos'; for it would be natural to Hamlet, as to Acolastus, to complain of being degraded 'a studiis honestioribus ad parum honesta.' Such an interpretation seems to favour the belief that one cause, among others, of Hamlet's bitterness was his exclusion from the throne. His mother, at least, if we may judge by the tone of her reply, does not understand him to refer to the humiliation in which she herself has involved him by her recent marriage.

If it could be proved that Shakespeare does, in fact, employ the proverb strictly in the sense authorised by Palsgrave, passing over three authorities of greater renown, it would be a reasonable supposition that he had an accurate recollection of the text of *Acolastus*; and as the play is not one which he would be likely to read for amusement the way would be open to the conjecture that this was one of the books from which, at an impressionable age, he had acquired his knowledge of Latin. I must be content merely to indicate that possibility.

P. L. Carver.

Manitoba.

Saint Amand, Fairfax and Marvell.

Amongst the minor traditions of European poetry in the seventeenth century is that little stream of nature poetry, distinguished by its familiar tone and precise observation, which rises in France with Saint Amand and Théophile, and ends perhaps in England with Marvell and Cotton. It can scarcely be doubted by any reader that this *is* a tradition and not a series of coincidences; Saint Amand and Marvell, in particular, have with these characteristics such a similar run of the verse and such a similar pedantically delicious fancy that it is hard not to believe that the English poet knew and followed the French, and did not hit on these things for himself. But it is useful to have any scraps of more objective evidence for the confutation of sceptics; and these it is the purpose of this note to supply.

When Thomas, third Lord Fairfax, retired to Nun Appleton, taking

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with him Andrew Marvell as tutor to 'the young Maria,' he spent some of his leisure writing verse. Amongst those of his poems published by C. R. Markham in his *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (1870) is one entitled *The Solitude* which, in spite of a certain woodenness in metre and diction, reminds one at once of Marvell's lines *Upon Appleton House*. Now this poem is as a matter of fact a translation of Saint Amand's celebrated *Solitude* (1617 or 1618) which had set the fashion and provoked a dozen imitations in France. (Saint Amand, by the way, had lampooned Fairfax in his *Epigramme endiablée*; this was a typically serene reply.) The translation is fairly close, but incomplete: the seventh, tenth, thirteenth, nineteenth and twentieth stanzas are omitted, as well as a few single lines. The sixth stanza is inserted in the middle of the fifth. The following is a fair specimen:

Que j'aime ce marets paisible!
Il est tout bordé d'aliziers,
D'aulnes, de saules et d'oziers,
A qui le fer n'est point nuisible.
Les Nymphes, y cherchans le frais,
S'y viennent fournir de quenouilles,
De pipeaux, de joncs et de glais;
Où l'on voit sauter les grenouilles,
Qui de frayeur s'y vont cacher
Si tost qu'on veut s'en approcher.
Œuvres complètes (Livet), 1855, t. I, pp. 22–3.

The quiet marsh I love to see
That border'd is with willows round,
With sallow, elm, and poplar tree,
Which iron yet hath giv'n no wound.
The nymphs that come to take fresh air
Here rocks and spindles them provide.
'Mongst sedge and bulrush we may heare
The lepinge frogge: see where they hide
Themselves for fear when they espye
A man or beast approaching nye.
(Markham, *op. cit.*, pp. 420–1.)

There seems to be no external evidence to show during what part of Fairfax's retirement the translation was executed; it may or may not have been while Marvell was still at Nun Appleton, though the resemblance to his own Nun Appleton lines may be held to increase the probability that it was. At the least, Fairfax's translation increases the *a priori* probability that Marvell knew the original.

Marvell himself had no need to translate; but there is one passage at least where, if he knew the older poet, he can hardly have failed to remember him; when he wrote

Do you, O brambles, chain me too,
And, courteous briars, nail me through,

he was condensing a fancy in the *Métamorphose de Lyrian & de Sylvie*:

Quoy! tu ne veux pas revenir!
Et les ronces, en m'oyant plaindre,
Afin que je te pusse attaindre
Ont tâché de te retenir!
Dieux! qui vit jamais telle chose!
On peut bien dire maintenant
Que l'espine en te retenant
A plus de douceur que la rose.
(*Ibid.*, t. I, p. 68.)

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These are small points, but the relation they suggest is not without significance for the literary history of the seventeenth century.

GEOFFREY WOLEDGE.

LEEDS.

A 'DEFINITION D'AMOUR' IN MS. DIGBY 86.

In 1925 the late Professor Studer published in *Mélanges Antoine Thomas* an Anglo-Norman prose 'Definition d'Amour' from the Longleat MS. which also contains the Chanson of Edward II, published by him in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XVI. The short text falls into three parts: (*a*) the Definition proper, (*b*) the four qualities desirable in a 'loyal ami,' (*c*) the twelve 'points d'amour.' He called attention to the presence of the matter of (*b*) at the end of the *Puissance d'Amour* but it does not seem to have been noticed that both (*b*) and (*c*) are found in substantially the same wording in MS. Digby 86, f. 207 verso, though the text there is difficult to read and, towards the end, defective.

Digby	*Longleat*
	(*b*)
Ki vaut verray ami elire. il doit IIII choses regarder.	Qi qe veut leal amy assaier, il doit quatre chosis agardier.
Premerement kil seyt destret kar amiste de fol est souent ennuyouse.	Primerement que il soit sage; car amiste de fol est sovent anguisse.
La secunde chos est bounte kar amiste ne poest estre fors li ou est bounte.	La secunde est bonte; car amiste ne put estre fors la ou bonte est.
La terce est ki il ne seyt ireus kar le ireus est cum l'espine ke point cestui ki l'enbrace e tout seyt il a amer sa cumpainie fest a douter.	La terce que il ne soit irous ne malencolious; car tiel resemble l'espine que point celi que l'enlirace.
La quarte est kil ne seyt orguylous kar le orguyllous ne set estre cumpainun kar il met tout soun saver pur la seyngnourie aver.	La quarte que il ne soit orgoillous; car un tiel ne scet estre conpaignon, mes il met tout son saver pour la seing[n]urie avoer.
	(*c*)
	Ore fest a saver quels sunt les point d'amur entre leals amantz. La primere est une humble bone volunte. La secunde est un comun consail; car ou soen ami deit hom son conseil treter, qe leal amy ou leal amye ne deit riens a son amy celier. La terce est que lour choses soent comuns entre eaux deus; car hounte serreit que l'un serreit riches et li altre povers.
...autres poure remanbreit (?)	
La quatre est ses...amonicioun... souent couent amonester la ou l'en veit trespasser kar amonester...amoneste est dreite ley. de a....	La quatre est privement reprendre et amonestier, si li veit trespacier; ca[r] amonestier et estre amoneste droite lei est d'amiste.

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Digby

La quinte est apertement sun ami louer mes derere luy e nent deuaunt kar le sage kant [en sa] face est loue il ad souent le [quer] trible.

La sime est ne mie [uil]anie prier ne uilanie fere...kele soyt prie.

La setime est ke il seyent per a per. kar grant chose est en amour kaunt le greynour se fest per au menour.

La utime est en nul aduersite sun ami guerpir. kar toutens.... [Text ends.]

(Stengel, *Codicem...Digby* 86, p. 104.)

Longleat

La quinte est apertement soen amy loer der[e]re lui et ne mie devant.

La sime est ne mie prier ne vileinie faire.

La setime q'il soient per a per, tut soit l'un de greindre estat que l'autre.

La outime est que a nul point deit hom soen amy ne s'amye guerpire, taunt cum il le trove leal amant.

(Studer, *op. cit.*)

It will be seen that neither text is a copy of the other and that Digby probably represents the contents of the original more closely. Comparison of the texts suggests one or two corrections and enables a few gaps to be filled. Digby (*b*) *destret* read *descret*. Longleat (*b*) *enlirace* read *enbrace*. Digby (*c*) *remanbreit* read *remandreit*; omit *souent* (supplied by Stengel) before *trespasser*; insert *e estre* before *amoneste*; and complete *de amiste*. Longleat (*c*) insert *vileinie* before *prier*.

ALEXANDER BELL.

PETERBOROUGH.

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REVIEWS

Early Scholastic Colloquies. Edited by the late W. H. STEVENSON. (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Mediæval and Modern Series, Part XV.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. x + 115 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The *Anecdota Oxoniensia* are designed for the publication of MSS., chiefly unedited, and particularly those preserved in the libraries of Oxford. The Mediæval Series has already contained much of interest to the Celtic scholar, whether lexicographer or historian, and this latest volume is no less fruitful. Of all the pleasant undertakings in the study of the history of scholarship, none is more delightful than a perusal of school books, the content of which shows little change from the second century to the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the pioneer publishers of the classics did not scorn to include in the number of their earliest editions grammars and books of Æsopic fables and moral tales in verse and prose, commenting on the need of providing fit reading for the uninstructed. The colloquies here edited by Mr Stevenson, with an Introduction by Professor W. M. Lindsay, are mainly dialogues for the use of schoolboys and monastery students, for whose instruction a direct oral method was used in Latin, and whose lessons might form part of a modern primer, were it not for the intrusion of so many non-classical and ecclesiastical words. Their insistence on a wide vocabulary is marked, and occasionally the colloquies are written in the style of a modern tourist's phrase-book[1].

Professor Lindsay comments particularly on that 'curious learned jargon, Hesperic.' Its style may be judged from the second colloquy, in which occur the phrases 'sub roboreo onere,' 'ciboreum rogum,' 'lapideam conglutinationem.' And those who speak this tongue are said 'Latialiter dicere!' The explanation of some words Professor Lindsay puts at the end of the volume shows very clearly the peculiarities of glossary words, whereby for instance 'Mithridaticum' becomes a synonym for 'bellum.'

Mr Stevenson took most of the colloquies from an eleventh-century MS. in the Library of St John's College. No. 1, however, which is in some ways the most interesting, is taken from a Bodleian MS. (Bodl. 572) which Mr Stevenson had meant to describe in great detail. The portion here published contains numerous glosses, a few in Latin, the rest in Brythonic, probably Welsh. There is some discussion as to the place of writing. Lindsay suggests an Irish source of the colloquy, and the general view seems to be that the glosses were written in the tenth century in a Welsh (probably Cornish) speaking district of south-western England. No. 2 is from another Bodleian MS., but is chiefly noteworthy for its ignorant scribe's inability to understand Celtic abbreviations. No. 4 contains the colloquies of Ælfric Bata, a pupil of the great ecclesiastic and teacher

[1] E.g., Ubi est abbas huius podi vel princeps huius loci?
Ad epulam perrexit, sive ad convivium, aut ad prandium, vel ad caenam.

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Ælfric. This 'initium Latinitatis' contains a few O.E. glosses and is crammed with citations from the Scriptures, particularly from the Book of Proverbs.

The fifth colloquy is designed by Ælfric Bata for more advanced students, and the sixth contains his fuller version of his master Ælfric's colloquies. The interlinear O.E. glosses are taken from Codex Cottonianus Tiberius, A. III, though occasional O.E. glosses found in the St John's College MS. are given at the foot of the page.

The seventh colloquy is a prose form of a poem concocted by the French monk Abbo from various glossaries; a sort of cross-word puzzle, so deliberately obscure is it. Abbo's Latin glosses are given at the foot of the page. It is published here for the sake of the O.E. interlinear translation, though in this there are frequent mistakes. Students will be glad to see the O.E. glosses to Ælfric Bata's *Colloquia* and Abbo's *Clericorum Decus* once more in print; although both have been published before (e.g. one in Thorpe's *Analecta* and the other in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 31) neither of them is easily accessible.

The text is provided throughout with a very careful critical apparatus which includes frequent emendations suggested by the editor, and which Mr Stevenson at his death had corrected and passed for press.

ELINOR VAUGHAN.

LONDON.

Tottel's Miscellany (1557–1587). Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Vol. II. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. ix + 386 pp. 33*s*.

Dr Rollins completes his edition of Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes*, the textual portion of which was published in 1928, with a volume of notes no less lavishly produced, equally exhaustive, and even more expensive. After a note on Tottel, Dr Rollins gives complete bibliographical details of all the twenty-eight editions of the *Miscellany* and of the works of Wyatt and Surrey from 1557 to 1920, with notes on variant copies and reproductions of title-pages of the first nine. Brief lives of the principal contributors follow; then a more satisfactory discussion of the original editor and his aims and methods. Dr Rollins takes the sensible view that the basis of the book was a private MS. collection, and that most of the credit is due to Tottel himself. A somewhat heavy-handed note on 'The Style' and one on 'The Influence,' less interesting than might be expected, complete this introductory section, and the remainder of the volume is occupied with notes on the individual poems. Here Dr Rollins has collected for us all that is known: textual notes and variant versions, explanations, parallels, later imitations, and sources, which he prints complete—a luxury many editors have sighed for, to be denied by less opulent publishers. The result is an indispensable reference book for which all students of Tudor poetry will be grateful.

Dr Rollins inspires complete confidence in the textual and bibliographical sides of his work, and he is an indefatigable collector. On the

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critical and historical sides he is not quite so masterly. Even a Professor of English Literature should not permit himself to write: 'This statement is frank camouflage': neither need he quote 'Good wine needs no bush' in Italian. In a lurid opening paragraph Dr Rollins dwells on the contrast between this happy book and 'the accompaniment of fire and martyrs' shrieks' to which it appeared, and his over-emphasis on Queen Mary withdraws attention from the modest sentence in which he points out the greater truth that by far the most important part of the *Miscellany* was produced in a very different reign from hers. This is not a matter of style alone. The biographical sections seem to be included because Dr Rollins thought people would expect them. He fails to impress on his reader, for instance, the significance of Surrey's quartering of the heir-apparent's arms, or of Wyatt's visiting Italy just in the time of the full revival of the Petrarchan vogue, when men were absorbed in the problems of Tuscan form and style. It is symbolic, almost, that despite the labours of Holbein, the only portraits in the book are portraits of title-pages.

More learned heads will add to and differ from Dr Rollins, no doubt: one or two points seem fairly obvious. In Wyatt's *My galy laden with forgetfulnes*, the word *owre* is not a mistranslation of Petrarch's *remo*, but one contemporary spelling of *oar*: an original reading *Atte every owre* is to be suspected. Is there not some relation between No. 193, *Of a new maried Student*, and Alciati's Emblem *In Studiosum captum Amore*; and might not the Prophet Jeremiah be cited, as well as Petrarch, du Bellay, and Baïf, in the note on No. 237? In spite of Dr Rollins's deprecation of such criticism, it is extremely doubtful whether it was worth while to burden an already heavy book with citations of Plutarchan and Ovidian commonplaces from later—and often utterly unimportant—writers, merely on the ground that they appear in Petrarch and 'Tottel,' especially since Dr Rollins is so contemptuous of commonplace in his introductory note on 'The Style.' This is not merely, as Dr Rollins says, 'a matter of taste': surely the first business of an editor is to attempt some exposition of the content of his author's mind at the moment of writing, and we could spare much citation of Petowe and Melbancke and Bateman for some suggestion of *why* Wyatt and Surrey imitated Petrarch, for instance, what they learned from him, and whether they studied the Italian critics and the commentators of Petrarch. There is, indeed, a certain failure of the imagination throughout. Thus much of criticism, for Dr Rollins and his book can stand it. Allowing that the book is a bibliographer's book and might frankly have drawn its lines close, Dr Rollins makes such large claims on our gratitude that we may rest content to praise the industry, skill, and zeal that have gone to its making, and the craftsmanship that has made the heterogeneous settings of a compendium into an ornament of our wealthier libraries.

W. L. Renwick.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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A Time Scheme for Shakespeare's Sonnets. With a Text and Short Notes. By J. A. FORT. London: The Mitre Press, 1929. 150 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Mr Fort's modest book is an important contribution to Shakespearean study which may easily be overlooked. He assumes as the basis of his case that the Sonnets are autobiographical, that the accepted order is right, and that the fair youth is Southampton. Then taking the dedication to *Venus and Adonis* (entered April 18, 1593) as the beginning of Shakespeare's friendship with Southampton, and linking this with Sonnet 104, he points to a period of three years, that is, April 1593 to April 1596, within which Sonnets 1 to 104 were written. Of these, Nos. 1–26 are assigned to 1593–4; to the period May 1594 to April or May 1596 belong Nos. 27 to 106, and also the Dark Lady series—incidentally, though it is customary to talk of the lady as 'dark,' Shakespeare calls her *black*, as indeed she may have been. In the spring or summer of 1595 occurred the episode of the rival poet. For Sonnet 107 Mr Fort accepts the date October 1596; thereafter the friendship, already more than once interrupted, cooled off rapidly. Mr Fort's evidence must be followed in his book; and though few will be convinced by every detail, as a whole the story is very reasonable and likely. More might be made of it by anyone who cared to elaborate evidences, but Mr Fort is probably wiser not to attempt too much at this stage. He sees in the main section of the Sonnets 'the story of an older man of inferior rank who already foresaw that his influence over a younger man of higher rank must some day cease, trying to retain his influence as long as possible.' If he is right, then a few months after the friendship between the young nobleman and the player lapsed, Shakespeare dramatised a very similar theme in Falstaff and Prince Hal; maybe that another heart as well as Falstaff's was 'fracted and corroborate' by summary rejection.

G. B. HARRISON.

LONDON.

The Literary Career of James Boswell, Esq., being the Bibliographical Materials for a Life of Boswell. By FREDERICK ALBERT POTTLE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. xliv + 335 pp. 42*s.*

Yale University is fortunate in possessing in Professor Pottle a scholar who regards bibliography not as an end in itself, nor even primarily as a means towards the reconstruction of a trustworthy text. Professor Pottle's aim, as he tells us in his most interesting introduction, is 'to make a thorough-going application of the principles of scientific bibliography to the whole of a literary career in the conviction that such a study is one of the safest and most fruitful ways of coming to understand the character of the author himself.' After studying Professor Pottle's most painstaking compilation of Boswell's writings and the illuminating notes which accompany the record throughout, one is left wishing that there might have been a second volume containing an interpretation of the character of Boswell based on these researches. We have been accustomed to regard the *Life of Johnson* as the greatest biography in the

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English language, and to look upon it as the supreme example of a monument erected to an admired and almost worshipped friend and patron. But one wants to know what Professor Pottle thinks of Boswell's real attitude to Johnson now that he has definitely come to the conclusion that the biographer was undoubtedly the author of the rather scandalous *Ode by Dr Samuel Johnson to Mrs Thrale upon their supposed approaching nuptials*. It looks as though we must learn to think of Boswell as the man of letters first and all the time, and the admirer of Johnson only incidentally. It is obvious, too, from the almost unbroken stream of letters, essays and miscellaneous notes that issued from his pen and appeared in various periodical publications from 1758 onwards, that he was a decided believer in keeping his name before the public. Even when he wrote anonymously it was often for the purpose of encouraging the sales of books to which he had put his name.

Professor Pottle disclaims any intention of having compiled this bibliographical study with a view to assisting the book-collector or dealer, yet they should be as grateful to him as all scholars interested in the literature of the eighteenth century must surely be for the careful record of minute differences in the numerous editions of so many of Boswell's writings which are listed in the first part of this work. He has noted misprints, cancels, and fresh 'states' with an accuracy which is beyond all praise. I have checked Professor Pottle's statements in a very large number of cases and have not once found him in error. Everyone will be grateful also for the interesting and learned notes which follow the description and collation of the individual editions of each book. Here we are given information as to the form in which the edition was issued, the price at which it was sold, and very often an account of the genesis of the work in question. Continental scholars might learn from Professor Pottle's failure to identify the translators of a number of Boswell's works that there is still need of foreign dictionaries of anonymous works of as high a standard of completeness and accuracy as that compiled for English books by Halkett and Laing.

The second part of the work is devoted to Boswell's very numerous contributions to various literary journals. In the case of the *London Chronicle*, Professor Pottle was fortunate in having access to Boswell's own file of this newspaper, now in the Yale University Library, which had been marked by Boswell himself from January 1767 to December 1775. Much of Boswell's journalistic work has, of course, little, if any, permanent interest. But its bulk was truly enormous; I have taken at random the month of July 1767 and find a record of thirteen articles, letters, etc., of which three, or possibly four, are reprinted from other journals and, therefore, appear twice in the list. That Boswell should have been responsible for nine or ten contributions to journals at a time when he was preparing such substantial works as *Dorando*, the *Essence of the Douglas Cause*, and *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, shows at least that he was a man of amazing energy.

Part three deals with posthumous publications; parts four and five are concerned with 'doubtful' and 'wrongly attributed' works, part six with

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projected works, and in part seven we are given a list of contemporary reviews, followed by three appendices and a very full index. The second of these appendices, devoted to the third edition of *Dorando*, contains an account of the results of an examination of a copy of the second edition of this work which came into Professor Pottle's hands after the compilation of his earlier notes regarding the place of publication. Students of the technique of scientific bibliography will find here a most illuminating illustration of the value of the careful study of type faces accompanied by accurate measurements, and of the inferences which may be drawn from them. The arguments are set out as clearly as the facts upon which they are based. There can no longer be any reasonable doubt that the first and second editions of *Dorando* were printed at the Foulis Press and that the third edition was not.

JOHN WILKS.

LONDON.

The Cycle of Modern Poetry. By G. R. ELLIOTT. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. xv + 194 pp. 11*s.* 6*d.*

In these essays Mr Elliott seeks to diagnose the malady of twentieth-century poetry and to discover a remedy. The malady is the hereditary taint of nineteenth-century Romanticism, the remedy a return to the Renaissance, more particularly to Milton. From an examination of outstanding poets of the last century—Shelley, Byron, Keats, Arnold, Browning, Longfellow, Whitman and Robert Frost—the author is led to the conclusion that the Monism of the romantics, by its very nature a-poetic, has spent itself, that the wheel has come full circle towards a new Humanism and even a new Puritanism. The freshness of Mr Elliott's study lies in his interpretation and neat pigeon-holing of the writers concerned rather than in his main thesis, which has already become a commonplace to one school of contemporary criticism; and the pigeon-holing, though sometimes fanciful, has its advantages, for instance in the remarks upon the English as compared with the American genius or the contrast drawn between the unpoetic emotionalism of Shelley and the poetic consciousness of Keats. But it is unfortunate that Mr Elliott's method of study should have misled him into tricks and affectations in style which may well deter intending readers or incline them to underrate the solid value of the work under consideration. The chapter titles—'Gentle Shades of Longfellow,' 'Spectral Etching by Thomas Hardy,' 'Neighbourly Humour of Robert Frost' are unpromising and our worst suspicions prove justified when, as in the last-named, the text, in this case of 'neighbourliness,' is laboured beyond the bounds of patience. Mr Elliott's predilection for antithesis, allusion and figurative illustration tends to obscure the clarity and significance of his essays.

As the defendant of a case he is necessarily dogmatic, and his generalisations, deduced from wide and sympathetic reading, provide ample food for thought; but he can hardly expect that many of his readers will agree

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with him in preferring *Heaven and Earth* and *Sardanapalus* to *Don Juan* or that they will endorse certain of his opinions upon Shakespeare, e.g., 'We are really not much interested in *Othello* as a whole': 'In *Macbeth* he throws himself into' the mediaeval mode of imagination 'with a kind of conviction which would have made him smile in the 1590's when he was evolving *Hamlet*.' Perhaps Mr Elliott is, after all, more of a romantic than he imagines. The slogan 'Back to Shakespeare and Milton' is curiously reminiscent of 'Back to the Middle Ages'; and both are grounded upon a common fallacy. Romanticism, with its cross currents, Naturalism, Monism and the rest, was an inevitable phase in the evolution of human consciousness and of its outward expression, poetry. The work of Goethe —ignored by Mr Elliott—if not that of Wordsworth or Shelley, should make us pause before dogmatising upon the a-poetic trend of Romanticism or segregating the poetic faculty from the other elements of the human microcosm (though we agree with the notion that 'A true history of poetry would take its cue from the opening verses of St John rather than from history'). The future of poetry is, indeed, likely to be grounded in a new Humanism, but a Humanism more Pagan than Puritan. Mr Elliott is pessimistic; 'a great movement of poetry, if it is coming, is still quite a way off.' But his work is an honest attempt towards a constructive poetic and one which was well worth making.

B. E. C. Davis.

London.

Robert Louis Stevenson and the Scottish Highlanders. By David B. Morris. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1929. 158 pp. 5*s*.

Stevenson himself thought, and he was probably right, that *Kidnapped* with its sequel *Catriona* was the best of all his work. Mr Morris helps us to understand why it was so. This is a study of the local and historical material that Stevenson digested in preparation, first for a history of the Highlands after 1715 which he never wrote, and second for the two novels which form the history of David Balfour. When he lived at Bridge of Allan he imbibed a warm interest in Jacobitism from the traditions which were still alive among older people, many of them descendants of those who took part in the risings and not a few connected with the Stevensons or the Balfours, whose blood mingled in his own veins. He read up the subject generally, and made himself specially familiar with the history of the Macgregors, Scott's introduction to *Rob Roy* having excited his interest in the story of this clan, to which belong Catriona herself, James More, Robin Oig and the Gregara. In preparing for his projected Highland history, Stevenson read the report of the trial of James Stewart—a gift from his father, which he spoke of as 'that blessed little volume.' 'His ideas now became crystallised,' says Mr Morris, 'he had got the bones of the story'—Jacobites, plotting, Macgregors, the trial, etc. Possibly he also read a novel of G. R. Gleig's entitled *Alan Breck*. The sources of his other knowledge, his legal training, his family associations, and the like, are all examined by Mr Morris, who reminds us that in the

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name of the hero Stevenson combined a Highland and a Lowland name, as throughout he endeavoured to show the interplay of Highland and Lowland temperament, tradition, and political feeling.

Mr Morris is steeped in local records, family history, and Stevensonian literature; he gives quantities of relevant facts, well-documented, and provides the student with invaluable material on the making of romance according to Stevenson's oft-quoted recipe. 'Glenorchay' (p. 29) should read 'Glenorchy.' Surely, the place-name 'Balfour' cannot be older than the family name (p. 113).

ERNEST A. BAKER.

LONDON.

The Place-names of North Devonshire. By BERTIL BLOMÉ. Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri Aktiebolag. 1929. xx + 189 pp.

It is a pleasure to welcome Mr Blomé's book on North Devonshire Place-names, a valuable treatise on an interesting county so far untouched. His division of the county is arbitrary, but is due to a change of plan to avoid overlapping with a projected volume of the Place-name Society. The arrangement is topographical, according to hundreds and parishes, but we miss the list of unidentified field-names contained in the Place-name Society's volumes, whilst some treatment of the phonology of these names would have been a desirable addition. For historical purposes, and for convenience of reference, too, lists of feudal and manorial names might have been added. Such late formations as Vielstone (from *Vitalis*), Gambuston (John *Gambon*, 1428), etc., have to be dug out of a list of 133 examples of *tūn*. It would be interesting, too, and should be possible, to trace them to a particular date. But, apart from such omissions, which merely make the book less easy for use as a work of reference, the material is full, much of it from unpublished sources, and the book is a useful addition to the literature of place-name study. Mr Blomé has a thorough knowledge of the most recent work on the subject, at the same time giving evidence of an independent critical judgment.

The interpretation of the material follows, on the whole, the lines laid down by the Place-name Survey, due attention being paid to topography. The author has a marked preference for topographical terms rather than personal names as first elements and by collecting groups of names containing the same element, and by comparing the situations of the places, he may claim to have solved some of these problems and to have advanced a very plausible solution for others. As typical of his method, we may cite his treatment of such names as Hakeford, Hackpen, Hackford, etc. (p. 9), most of which are situated in or close to an angular tongue of land formed by a river fork or by the bend of a river and a tributary or by a sharp bend in the stream. These names have generally been derived from Old English *Haca* or Old Norse *Háki*, but Blomé considers this topographical feature was Old English *haca* (corresponding to Swedish *hake*, 'hook'), glossed *pessulus*, 'bolt,' with an original meaning 'hook.' An interesting confirmation of this is found in the topography of Hacton in Upminster,

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Hawkwell, and Bradwell Quay, olim *Hac(ke)flete* (Essex). At Hacton the element occurred three times, in Hacton itself, in *Hakelondsbroke*, a tributary of the Ingrebourne forming with it an angular tongue of land that must have been called *Hacaland*, and in Hacton Bridge, olim *Hakeford*. So, too, the evidence adduced under Bideford (p. 34) seems conclusive in favour of *byden*, *byde*, as a topographical term. Cf. also *Bydewil* 1043, Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* 767, and Bedlar's Green, Beddell, Bedwells, Beadle Common, and *Bedewell* (twice as a field-name in Essex; *v.* also the discussion of Barnstaple (p. 10), and of such names as Sprey, Spreacombe, etc. (p. 25).

There is a strong tendency to explain the first element of many names as river-names. Many rivers in Devonshire, even small streams, undoubtedly have Celtic names, but some of these may be otherwise explained. Braunton (p. 14), 'farm on the R. Brannuc,' is almost certainly 'bramble-farm,' *brame-tūn*. The only *c*-forms are from Domesday Book: *Bractona* (probably for *Brattona*, confused with Bratton Fleming in the same hundred), and *Branctone* (probably an error for *Branetona* or *Brametone*). In any case, there is evidence for a personal name in Branxton (*Place-names of Northumberland and Durham* 30), Branthwaite (*Place-names of Cumberland and Westmoreland* 23), and Braintree (Essex). The forms cited for Brendon (p. 2) lend little or no support to a river-name *Brægent*. Morthoe (p. 24), too, is derived from a river-name and the evidence for a personal name is discounted. But cf. Old Germanic *Morto* (Förstemann) and also Mortlock's Farm in Radwinter (Essex), *Mortelake* 1201 Feet of Fines, and the strong form in Mottisfont (Hampshire), *Mortesfunde* Domesday Book, Mosterton (Dorset), *Mortest(h)orn(e)* Domesday Book, etc., and Motcombe (Dorset), *Mortescombe* 1280 Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem. There is definite evidence for personal names compounded with *-thorn* and *-combe*. For Cadditon (p. 133), *Coddiaton* 1330, and such names as Cotswold, Codford, Cotheridge, Codmore, etc., a non-English river-name *codd* is suggested. Several of these names, at least so far as can be judged from the maps at hand, are some distance from a stream or on one with an old name (Cutsdean (Worcestershire), e.g., is near the Windrush). Codham in Wethersfield (Essex) is near and about equally distant from the Blackwater (called *Pant* from the time of Bede onwards) and two small tributaries. Codham in Little Warley (Essex) is near the source of one of the headwaters of the Mar Dyke, too small a stream to be likely to have a Celtic name in Essex. There was certainly a personal name *Cōda* (cf. Cooden (Sussex), Ekwall, *Place-names in -ing* 56) which may enter into some of these names. Old English *cod*, 'bag, sack,' may also be the source of some in the sense of 'hollow.'

Space will not permit of a discussion of many of the difficult names, but one or two suggestions may be made. Sugworthy (p. 53) is rather from Middle English *sugge*, 'marshy land,' than from a personal name *Sucga*; cf. Sugworth (Berks, West Riding of Yorkshire), Sugnall (Staffordshire), Sugden (Shropshire, West Riding of Yorkshire), and Sugstys Green (Essex). In the same parish as Sugworthy is Villavin (*Feldefen* 1242). Chilverton (p. 61) is probably 'Cēolfriðs *tūn*,' cf. Chilvers Coton

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(Warwickshire), *Celverdestoche* Domesday Book, Killerby (North Riding of Yorkshire), and *Ceolferðesmor* (9th) *Place-names of Worcestershire* 395. The Middle English material for Hartland (p. 27) is said to show 'Mawer's derivation from an *-ing* name containing a personal name to be impossible.' But there are plenty of parallels. To take one only: Donyland (Essex), *Dunninc lande* Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* 1288, never has a post-Conquest medial *-ing-*: *Dunilanda* Domesday Book, *Duninlande* 1202 France, etc. Putshole (p. 29), *Puchelahole* 1301, is probably from *æt pūceles-hole*, 'goblin's hollow,' cf. Puxton (Worcestershire), *Pokeleston* 1240, here probably a personal name. The explanation of Curworthy (p. 146) from Old English *cweorn* is supported by the forms for Curling Tye Green (Essex): *Curlai* Domesday Book, *Quer(e)le(gh)* 1227 Feet of Fines, 1248 *Assize Rolls*, *Querenlegh* 1248 *Assize Rolls* (p). On p. 47, for *00* read *41*, and on p. 100, *sub* Bridwell, for *brid* read *bird*. Grilston (p. 117) is not indexed and has not been found. The name seems to have been omitted as it is in Bishop's Nympton parish.

PERCY H. REANEY.

LONDON.

Early New England Pronunciation. By ANDERS ORBECK. Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr. 1927. vii + 148 pp.

American Pronunciation. By H. KURATH. (S.P.E. Tract No. XXX.) London: H. Milford. 1928. 30 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.*

These two books are a contribution to the history of the pronunciation of English in America. Scholars undertaking research in the linguistic problems of America cannot afford to neglect either of them; of the two, Professor Orbeck's is the more ambitious and, in the reviewer's opinion, the more valuable—not that its scope is wider; on the contrary, the scope is very much more limited: this fact may account for its greater value, but not entirely; there is another factor which leads one to trust, and consequently to value, the conclusions that Professor Orbeck has arrived at. This other factor is the inclusion in the book of a glimpse of the judge in his court, sifting and weighing evidence; in other words, we are taken into the laboratory to see the researcher at his desk, and we are told what methods are employed in the interpretation of the forms that are subjected to scrutiny. A quotation will indicate the author's attitude of mind: 'I may here indicate the procedure followed in the present investigation. I have thrown out all forms which appear to be mere scribal approximations.... Now and then I have made use of these forms, but only as collateral evidence... and never as primary evidence.' The careful description of the way in which the author has carried out his work gives the reader a more adequate understanding of the whole problem, and it gives him greater confidence in the judgment that has selected certain forms rather than others. This type of subject, of course, especially requires some insight into the method of selection; nevertheless one wishes that in other types of subject, too, writers would more often take

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their readers into their confidence, and would less often be satisfied with dogmatic statements.

The objective of *Early New England Pronunciation* 'has been...the pronunciation of the immediate past, the ultimate goal being *An American Dialect Dictionary*....The present investigation seeks to find evidence for seventeenth-century pronunciation in eastern Massachusetts in the occasional spellings of naïve—more or less illiterate—scribes.' The evidence is culled from the town records of Plymouth, Watertown, Dedham and Groton; these records include 'Town Proceedings,' 'Lands Grants Divisions Allotments Possessions and the Proprietors' Book,' and 'Births, Deaths and Marriages' of years from 1634 to 1707; 'of documentary material...there is a great mass available, owing in great part to the pride many towns and communities have taken in having their early records printed.'

The first chapter deals with the Interpretation of Naïve Forms. It provides a fully illustrated survey of the ground and *modus operandi*. Chapter II contains the Pronunciation of Stressed Vowels; Chapter III the Pronunciation of Unstressed Vowels; Chapter IV the Pronunciation of Consonants. These four chapters are, no doubt, by far the most valuable part of the book. The remaining chapter considers the source of New England speech; it is an attempt to determine the towns and districts in England which may be looked upon as the original springs of New England speech. Dialect words and phrases are examined at some length, but the author himself says: 'the argument from words and phrases, if wisely handled, can possibly be made to yield much of value; but it is necessary to ascertain the characteristics of the English dialects at the time of the great exodus, and the materials here at our disposal are very scant...we know too little.' This part of the book, therefore, is perhaps premature.

As the writer says: 'Sound perception is an intricate process,' one may draw attention to what seem to be misunderstandings in the actual interpretations of the spellings, for instance, p. 8 '[g] is easily confused with [k]...*Lanckton*, Langton.' The spelling can hardly be called 'confusion' as it indicates the almost unavoidable pronunciation of Langton, the 'ck' being really a better phonetic symbol than the 'g.' So, p. 9 '[θ] is easily confused with [t]...*Waltum*, Waltham.' In Waltum we have, no doubt, the actual pronunciation of Waltham everywhere.

Again, on p. 11, we are told that the scribe 'simplifies' and '[tcl] becomes [tl] in *Ratliffe*, Ratcliffe.' Again, we have here the natural and customary pronunciation represented in the 'naïve' scribe's spelling; it seems therefore unnecessary, perhaps even erroneous, to suggest that 'the scribe frequently misinterprets or simplifies them [heavy consonant combinations].' It is perhaps not unfair to say that in the sorting of some of the evidence there should have been a more lively sense of the actual sound of words and a less active influence of spelling pronunciations.

The pamphlet on *American Pronunciation* provides a brief summary of what work has been done on the subject, pointing out the failures and the weaknesses of the dictionaries. It summarises the pronunciations

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that are (1) common to all types of American English, (2) found in all American English barring the North Atlantic seaboard, (3) the most salient features of the Western type, (4) the most distinctive features of the Eastern type, (5) the unique characteristics of Southern speech: in addition there are brief summaries of those features that are common only to pairs of these main types, such as to Southern and Eastern, and of those features that are peculiar to the rustic and negro dialects of the South.

The author concludes with 'a frank confession of our inadequate information' and with suggestions for a more systematic investigation of the spoken language. This simple monograph will be of real service to those who make it the basis for further work on the subject; it will also interest those who are observers of men and their manners.

This pamphlet has bound up with it an article on *Words* ending in -é, ée, borrowed from French, in which the writer, Mr Matthew Barnes, states 'that it is reasonable to re-spell these French words so soon as they are really familiar and fixed in our speech.' We note that, though he examines a large number of words, he does not include that necessary and significant word *embusqué*.

At the end of the pamphlet there is a note on *klôz* by Robert Bridges, which the sticklers for a finical 'prunes and prisms' pronunciation, snobbishly acquired, must not overlook.

P. GURREY.

LONDON.

Studies in English Philology. A Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1929. x + 486 pp. $7.50.

Professor Klaeber's admirers have produced this miscellany to honour him 'on his sixty-fifth birthday, which marks also the completion of thirty-five years of service in the University of Minnesota.'

The wide appeal made by Professor Klaeber's work is reflected in the variety of these papers, which range from *Old West Germanic and Old Norse* (Ernst A. Kock) and *Loss of a Nasal before Labial Consonants* (Eilert Ekwall) to *The Etymology of 'Yankee'* (H. Logeman); and from *A Note on the Psychology of the Beowulf Poet* (J. R. Hulbert) to *Shakespeare and Formal Logic* (Hardin Craig). They include articles of such general interest as *The Baroque Style in Prose* (M. W. Croll); *Progress in the Teaching of Early English* (A. G. Kennedy) which ends with a discussion of the relative merits of the terms 'Old English' and 'Anglo-Saxon' and a decision that neither is wholly satisfactory, but the latter is preferable; and *Alexander Hamilton and the Beginnings of Comparative Philology* (R. W. Chambers and F. Norman) where, for the first time, the important work of Alexander Hamilton is recognised.

More than half of the thirty-eight papers in this book treat of the earlier periods of Germanic Language and Literature, and it is peculiarly appropriate that among these there should be some twelve dealing with

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Beowulfian studies. This distinguished body of papers gives to Professor Klaeber's *Festschrift* a coherence which is in attractive contrast to the incoherence sometimes unavoidable in such volumes. Among these papers may be mentioned *Noch einmal: 'enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād'* (L. L. Schücking); *'Beowulf' und die Merowinger* (Alois Brandl); and *Terms and Phrases for the Sea in Old English Poetry* (Helen Buckhurst); the value of the last-mentioned paper would have been still greater if the terms had been arranged alphabetically and if more detailed references to their occurrence had been given. In *Experiments in Translating 'Beowulf'* (H. C. Wyld), the first experiment in blank verse (not that in the Tennysonian manner) is the most successful. Professor Wyld's argument that the *Hiawatha* metre, whichl ends itself to repetition and parallelisms, is an appropriate measure for translation from Anglo-Saxon, is undeniably sound; but he ignores the fact that this metre has also proved exquisitely adaptable to parody, so that it is doubtful whether an English poet can ever use it again for a serious purpose. A suggestive study of the *Epithetic Compound Folk-Names in 'Beowulf'* (W. F. Bryan) is followed by the important *The Daughter of Healfdene* (Kemp Malone); here the writer maintains that one of the missing names in *Beowulf*, l. 62, is Yrsa, the widow of Helgi, who remained at the Danish Court until she married her second husband, Onela of Sweden. In the tradition that was known to the author of *Beowulf* the identity of Yrsa, the daughter-in-law of Healfdene, has become vague and she is regarded as a daughter. *'Beowulf' and the 'Saga of Samson the Fair'* (W. W. Lawrence) deals with one of the most important of late Beowulfian discoveries—a new Scandinavian parallel to the fight of Beowulf with Grendel's dam. The extracts from the two versions of the *Samson's saga*, which are printed here, are especially welcome, for neither the Reikjavík text nor that of Björner is easily obtainable.

A second distinctive feature of this volume is the publication of texts, or of portions of texts, which are difficult of access. Attention should be drawn to *'Somer Soneday'* (Carleton Brown), *Eine englische Urkunde aus dem Jahre* 1470 (Lorenz Morsbach) and *Die altenglischen Verzeichnisse von Glücks- und Unglückstagen* (Max Förster) with its record of an early experiment in vivisection.

The quotation from the *Hávamál* that ends the Foreword:

> ...orþstírr deyr aldrege
> hveims sér góþan getr

is aptly pointed by the imposing Bibliography, which, except for a brief *Vita*, is the last item in the volume. Even those scholars who thought they had kept track of Professor Klaeber's work must be amazed at the length of this Bibliography and the variety of scholarship it reveals. Here can be traced the way in which the early devotion to Chaucer and Middle English writings yielded to the deeper interest of pre-Conquest studies wherein *Beowulf* becomes more and more important until the publication of *'Beowulf' and the 'Fight at Finnsburg'*; the second edition of this book is one of the last entries in the Bibliography.

To point out formal errors is ungracious work: in this case only one

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misprint need be noted; p. 167, Hist. Eccl., Bk v, Chap. ii,' should read 'Hist. Eccl., Bk ii, Chap. v.'

May this short notice end with congratulations and good wishes to Professor Klaeber?

ELSIE BLACKMAN.

LONDON.

Six Vaudois Poems from the Waldensian MSS. in the University Libraries of Cambridge, Dublin and Geneva. Edited by H. J. CHAYTOR. Cambridge: University Press. 1930. xxi + 128 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The text of four of the poems here edited—*La Barca, Lo Novel Sermon, Lo Novel Confort, Lo Payre Eternal*—is based upon that contained in the Waldensian MSS. given to the Cambridge University Library in 1658 by Morland, whom Cromwell sent as envoy to the Duke of Savoy to protest against the persecution of the Vaudois Protestants, Milton's 'slaughter'd Saints.' Mr Chaytor has collated them with the MSS. at Geneva and Dublin, from which he has edited the other two poems: *Lo Despreczi del Mont* and *Li quatre Semencz*. A seventh, *La Nobla Leiçon* (also in the Cambridge manuscript), has been omitted, as already edited elsewhere. We are given a brief but interesting introduction, critical notes, and, for the benefit of 'those who are interested in the subject for reasons other than philological,' a translation of each poem.

These didactic poems (composed probably in the fourteenth century), in the Provençal of the Piedmontese mountain valleys, do not differ essentially in character from the dialectical poems, likewise mainly in Alexandrine verse, produced at a slightly earlier date in the cities of Lombardy, such as the *Libro* and *Istoria* of Uguccione da Lodi, the *Sermone* of Pietro da Barsegapè, the *De Jerusalem celesti* and *De Babilonia civitate infernali* of the Franciscan, Fra Giacomino da Verona. The orthodoxy of the last-named poet is unquestionable; but it is noteworthy that reflections of the doctrines of the Patarini or other mediaeval heresies have been traced (by Ezio Levi and Giulio Bertoni) in Uguccione da Lodi, though he—like the Waldensian author of *La Barca*—drew matter from the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Pope Innocent III. Mr Chaytor, who is pleasingly immune from the natural tendency of an editor to overestimate the worth of his text, remarks that 'none of the Vaudois poems have much value as poetry,' nor are they 'marked by any striking originality of matter,' though 'at times they rise to a real spirit of moral earnestness and vigour.' Here and there, we find striking stanzas, as this invocation of the Holy Spirit in *Lo Payre Eternal* (ll. 118–20):

> Vent d'ocident e vent d'aurient e d'aquilon,
> Vent del meyjorn, spira en la mia mayson,
> Que tot faças reviore dedinç e d'aviron.

Or take the passage, in *Lo Novel Confort* (ll. 273–84), where the victorious soul is made by God a knight of Paradise:

> Aquel que vencere, recebre noble loyer,
> Car el aure victoria encontra li strangier;
> Lo payre celestial lo fare son cavalier;
> Del goy del paradis lo fare parçonier.

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La corona de gloria pausare a lui en testa,
Portare roba d'or com cavalier de conquesta,
A la cort del segnor istare con grant festa,
Cun real vestimenta, preciosa, mot honesta.
Moti milhier d'angels seren en sa compagnia,
Tuit menaren festa e hauren grant alegria
Del cavalier victorios, compli de vigoria,
Que vence lo demoni cun tota sa bailia.

Here the comparison is obvious with the analogous passage in the *De Jerusalem celesti* of Fra Giacomino, where the blessed are similarly represented as forming an order of heavenly chivalry; but, whereas the Waldensian poets make only incidental mention of the Blessed Virgin, in the Veronese poem she herself crowns the souls as her knights, gives them chargers and palfreys, with a white banner in token of victory:

Dondo quella donna, tant'è gentil e granda,
ke tuti li encorona d'una nobel girlanda,
la qual è plu aolente ke n'è mosca nè ambra
nè çijo nè altra flor nè rosa de campagna.
E per onor ancora de l'alta soa persona,
quella nobel pulcella ke en cel porta corona,
destrer e palafreni tanto richi ge dona,
ke tal ne sia en terra per nexun dir ne sona.
Kè li destreri è russi, blanci è li palafreni,
e corro plui ke cervi nè ke venti ultramarini,
e li strevi e li selle, li arçoni e an li freni
è d'or e de smeraldi splendenti, clari e fini.
E per complir ben ço k'adexo a gran baron,
la Donna sì ge dona un blanco confanon,
lo qual porta figura k'ell'è en tentation,
i i à veçù Sathan, quel perfido lion.

The silence concerning Purgatory, which in the Waldensian poems Mr Chaytor, no doubt rightly, takes as implicit denial, is noticeable in these Lombard poets likewise, though it should perhaps be regarded as significant only in the case of Uguccione. We welcome a volume that presents us with texts that are valuable both from the philological aspect and as documents of mediaeval religious thought.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Die deutsche Literatur vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart. Band I. *Bis zu Goethes Tod.* Von ARTHUR ELOESSER. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer. 1930. viii + 671 pp. 28 M.

The writer of any new History of German Literature may fairly be required to justify himself, either by making some definite contribution to the advancement of knowledge or by presenting known facts in a new light. Eloesser has wisely anticipated this demand in his Preface. His publisher has also had the good sense to lighten the reviewer's task by printing this formidable volume on excellent paper and in clear well-spaced Roman type.

Eloesser departs from the orthodox view that modern German literature begins with Klopstock and sees its origin rather in the conflict of

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rational and emotional forces in the seventeenth century, in the reluctant acceptance by the Germanic temperament of the aristocratic literary forms which the more advanced culture of France and Italy imposed on Europe. He begins therefore with a survey of the seventeenth century under the now fashionable heading 'Barock,' correctly stressing the decline of the native German spirit in art and literature and the cultivation among the aristocracy of French and Italian fashions. There was no longer any German 'nation,' capable in all its ranks and classes of appreciating a native German literature. The impulse given by Luther was spent.

The sixteenth century was a time of democratic upheaval; all initiative came from below. The seventeenth becomes a period of reduction to order. Democracy loses ground—here Eloesser pays too little regard to the devastating effects of the Thirty Years' War—autocracy advances. This is a century of patronage: architects, musicians, sculptors, painters, engineers, and poets are all drawn into the orbit of some petty court, all become part of some princely establishment. Art serves largely to flatter and aggrandise the prince. There is no popular enthusiasm for anything or anybody, except perhaps locally for the cobbler-mystic, Jakob Böhme. Classes are no longer held together by the religious enthusiasm of the Reformation. Scholars retire to their studies and compose futile epistles in pedantic Latin. Statesmen and courtiers speak Italian or French.

All this is mere recapitulation of well-known facts, but the facts have been judiciously re-examined. The selection of representative writers in this 'Vorspiel' seems at first sight meagre. Logau is dismissed in a few lines, while Scheffler (Angelus Silesius) receives six pages. 'Lessing, der aus dem Rationalismus mindestens aufwuchs, hat nicht ihn (Scheffler) gerettet oder entdeckt, sondern den schlesischen Epigrammatiker Friedrich von Logau, einen ernsten anständigen Vertreter der satirischen und Verstandesdichtung, der sich besser zu einem Ahnen des sokratischen Jahrhunderts schickte und der dann aus Rücksicht auf Lessing überschätzt worden ist.' Yet Eloesser's sense of proportion is just. Scheffler and Böhme are part of the main stream of German life and thought, Logau is a mere expert manipulator of a scholar's toy.

The strength of Eloesser's selective method is most marked in the first two sections of his second chapter: Der Rationalismus, and Der Pietismus. He resists all temptation to pursue minor figures and concentrates on a minimum of outstanding personalities such as Leibniz, Spener, and Zinzendorf, and makes them interpret the spirit of their age. Frequently he disposes them in a new and more convincing perspective: 'Wo man Rousseau zu nennen pflegte als den Erderschütterer vor Sturm und Drang, als den Wolkenbeweger vor der Romantik, wird oft der Name Zinzendorf einzusetzen sein.'

Eloesser is under no illusion as to the difficulty of his task. 'Die Hauptschwierigkeit jeder geschichtlichen Darstellung und besonders des Geisteslebens besteht darin, dass Gleichzeitiges, Ineinander-Wirkendes nur nacheinander berichtet werden kann.' The selective method adopted appears to be the only practicable solution or rather evasion of this prime

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difficulty and Eloesser is as successful as any literary historian can hope to be. His book is a conscientious attempt, as the above references to Logau and Zinzendorf will show, to test traditional literary values, to correct them where necessary, and to secure the best focus for observation. The result is that the reader is sustained, even along the familiar road from Lessing to Goethe, by an agreeable sense of novelty—and an occasional gleam of humour. Eloesser invariably succeeds in putting things a little differently; he poses the well-known figures with the instinct of an artist. Those who secure admission to his stage, some fifty altogether, have a nicely graded individuality. In short, this book is noteworthy for its careful perspective and its fine sense of proportion. We look forward with interest to the second volume.

G. WATERHOUSE.

DUBLIN.

SHORT NOTICES

The fifteenth volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (Oxford: H. Milford. 1929. 160 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*), collected by Sir Herbert Warren, will be of interest and use to many. The first essay, *Matthew Arnold*, by Margaret Woods, is, perhaps, disappointing: its personal reminiscences do not add much to our realisation of Arnold and its literary criticism is slight. In marked contrast is D. C. Somervell's wise and witty discussion of Browning's reputation, past, present and future. Mr Somervell might like to know that there are still American undergraduates who read Browning of their own volition. Equal interest of a different kind attaches to H. O. White's study of Thomas Purney, a forerunner of the Romantic Revival. The beauties of Purney's poetry will, I fear, be evident only to enthusiasts, but clearly his criticism merits the careful attention here bestowed upon it. Dorothy Everett's *Characterization of English Medieval Romances* elaborates the theory that the romances were not 'romantic' to their contemporaries. A study of *Some Kinds of Poetic Diction*, by Bernard Groom, and a fairly detailed discussion of Italian words and derivations in English, by Mario Praz, complete the volume. E. B.

In *The Dramatic Work of Samuel Foote* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. vii + 224 pp. 11*s.* 6*d.*), Dr Mary Megie Belden has carefully collected and reviewed all the printed material bearing on Foote's life and his work both as actor and dramatist. The book is divided into three parts: a fifty-page account of Foote's career, a detailed discussion of each of his plays, and a critical summary of his work and his place in the history of English drama. The last section is by far the most interesting, and shows real appreciation of the subject. Dr Belden has made excellent use of contemporary newspapers and

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periodicals, but, presumably through lack of opportunity, has not gone into manuscript sources, particularly the documents in the various legal proceedings in which Foote was involved. Even so, one feels she could have added considerably to her account had she consulted the *Journal of the House of Lords* (see p. 37) and overcome her aversion to calling a spade a spade. She seems to have confused a patent and a licence (p. 29), and to have misunderstood the nature of a patent: even if granted only for the life of the patentee, he can sell it, as he would an annuity, for the remainder of his life (p. 48). E. B.

Henry Carey is the latest of the impecunious authors of the eighteenth century to reappear all new clothed and splendid to a later age (*The Poems of Henry Carey*. Edited by Fredk. T. Wood. London: Scholartis Press. 1930. 261 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*). Thanks to *Sally in Our Alley*, and, in some measure, to his *Chrononhotonthologos*, his light has never quite gone out; but it has been left to Mr Wood to rediscover Carey for the twentieth century. This he has done, on the whole, satisfactorily. In the course of a fairly long introduction he sets forth what little there is to be found about Carey's life, and proceeds with knowledge and discrimination to give him his proper place among the poets of the early eighteenth century. Carey is not to be placed very high, but he is at least an individual voice in the crowd.

As a writer Mr Wood occasionally permits himself a singularly inept expression, as when he remarks of his author that 'he was keenly interested in humanity'; we should have felt more kindly towards him, too, if he had provided a table of contents, and given us some indication of the principle upon which he has grouped the poems. The notes, however, are sensible and to the point, and Mr Wood appears to be thoroughly familiar with his period. Poor Carey would have been delighted with this handsome edition of his poems, which maintains the high standard of the Scholartis Press in those matters. J. R. S.

One Word More on Browning, by Frances Theresa Russell (Stanford: University Press. 1927. xi + 157 pp. 11*s.* 6*d.*), shows that Miss Russell appreciates her author and appears to understand him, which is something; but seeing that purely appreciative criticism of Browning already runs to a library in itself it is doubtful whether the present study justifies its existence or its modest-pretentious title. A series of disconnected essays devoted to such themes as Browning on Love, his wit, his characters and so forth make tedious reading when the critic strikes so little below the surface; the result would probably have been more satisfactory had the same material been utilised for a study of *The Ring and the Book* in relation to the minor poems. The separation of Browning's 'saving grace of pessimism' from his 'homage to Melpomene' is misleading; the 'pessimism' in this case is no more than an acute sense of tragedy and Miss Russell's confusion of the two ideas occasions her extraordinary statement that, in actual amount, Browning's optimism 'is far out-

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weighed by his pessimistic pronouncements.' The most useful chapter, reprinted from *Studies in Philology* of July 1924, is that which deals with the relation of *The Ring and the Book* to *The Old Yellow Book*; but here, as throughout, the value of the criticism is considerably discounted by the noisy, ostentatious style in which it is couched. The summary bibliography should prove serviceable. The list of choicest pieces, forming the 'saved remnant,' is necessarily dictated by personal taste alone; but even so the omission of *The Guardian Angel*, by a professed Browning admirer, is surprising. B. E. C. D.

Mediæval Latin Lyrics, by Helen Waddell (London: Constable. 1929. viii + 352 pp. 21*s*.), is a book rather for lovers of poetry than for scholars. For despite its charms, Miss Waddell's anthology is far from being representative, since (as she frankly admits) selection has been conditioned by the translatability of the poems, and those selected are not always given in their entirety. But those which she has gathered are, for the most part, so good that to complain would be churlish. Moreover, the verse-translations, which face the originals, are many of them genuinely beautiful, despite their not infrequent failure to reproduce the flavour and simplicity of the Latin; indeed, Miss Waddell is capable of making a silk purse out of a sow's ear. Lapses from her high level, there undoubtedly are, more especially where she employs trochaic metres (e.g. the translation of Abelard's *O quanta qualia sunt ista sabbata*), and Miss Waddell is more at home with the lovers than among the topers. It is somewhat startling to find Vergil and Petronius leading the array of poets. Miss Waddell's plea on their behalf does not for a moment justify their intrusion, but she may be forgiven for the charm of her translations. The notes at the end of the book, biographical and otherwise, are helpful and pleasantly written, and the book is admirably produced.

H. E. B.

Professor Raffaello Piccoli has published his inaugural lecture under the attractive title, *Italian Humanities* (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1929. 38 pp. 1*s*. 6*d*.). It is an eloquent plea for the 'New Philology,' 'which is the legitimate offspring of the Humanistic and of the Romantic Philology,' a 'new and wider Humanism to counteract the mechanism of the spirit and the tyranny of pseudo-scientific ideas by which our civilisation is threatened.' Here, Professor Piccoli believes, Europe will have to return to Italy as the only heir in our times to the great humanistic tradition. Italian thought is bound to have a more vigorous and deeper influence upon the spiritual conditions of Europe, and Italian studies will gain their due place in our universities. E. G. G.

The Casa Editrice Giovanni Chiantore of Turin is adding yet another to its list of notable periodical publications with *Pallante*, a series of 'Studi di Filologia e Folklore,' to be issued at free intervals under the direction of Signor P. S. Leicht and Professors F. Neri and L. Suttina. We have received two numbers: Ferdinando Neri, *La 'Passione' del MS. Magliab. VII. 760*, a study of a sixteenth-century compilation of a cyclic

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religious drama of the Redemption; and Letterio di Francia, *Fiabe e novelle calabresi*. The latter is a collection of fables, stories, and popular legends, derived from oral narration, with which the 'transcriber' would do for his native Calabria something of what Pitrè did for Sicily. The instalment before us gives fifteen of the sixty promised. Apart from their primary folk-lore interest, these 'fiabe e novelle' are valuable for the student of Italian dialects as first-hand examples of the spoken vernacular of Calabria. E. G. G.

Der Wiener Meerfahrt, edited by Richard Newald (*Germanische Bibliothek*, II, XXX. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 27 pp. 1 M. 20), is an amusing story of Viennese tipplers who, in their cups, imagined they were going on a voyage to the Holy Land, and, unable to control their movements, attributed the imaginary buffetings to the raging of the ocean. The theme has its roots in antiquity; but whereas the young men in Agrigent threw tables and benches over board, i.e. into the street, the Viennese seize on a rich burgher who is sleeping off his liquor on the floor, throw him out of the window to appease the elements, break his bones in the process and return to their carousing. In the morning the friends of the burgher cry for revenge, but finally accept damages. The editor only gives an introduction of two pages which is little more than a bibliography. Nor is the text critically edited: 'die folgende Ausgabe verzichtet auf eine Normalisierung des Textes; sie gibt Wortlaut und Schriftbild der HSS. ohne Konjektur wieder.' F. N.

Volume I of a *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, by Paul Wiegler (Berlin: Ullstein. 730 pp. 22 M.), takes us as far as the death of Goethe. A second volume which is to appear in a few months' time will continue the account down to the present day. The work is intended for 'weitere Kreise': there is no argument of theory and counter-theory, and any belief which the author happens to hold is stated unequivocally. We are told exactly what Wolfram borrowed from 'Guiot, einem Geistlichen' (p. 50), and *Meier Helmbrecht* is without further ado localised at the 'Helmbrechtshof, nahe dem Walde Weilhart' (p. 89). The author is apparently not very familiar with the older period. On p. 12 we read, '*thudisko* heisst *deutsch* bei Ulfila.' We should be most grateful for a proof not merely of the meaning, but also of the very existence of this word in Gothic. *mārco sēo*, 'Märchenmeer' (p. 13) is surely a little fanciful, and 'ostwärts fuhr er einst, floh Herrn (*sic!*) Otakers Zorn' finally convinces us that the author cannot lay any claim to speak authoritatively of the older period. The best part of the book is pp. 100–221, the discussion of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here we are given much information that is usually entirely absent from popular histories of literature. There is a full discussion of the literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (pp. 221–730), with much lively description of the classical writers and their works. Wherever possible, the author supplements his character-sketches by aptly-chosen quotations from letters and diaries, and his method of characterisation is much helped by numerous and excellent illustrations. F. N.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

June—August, 1930

GENERAL.

ERMATINGER, E., Philosophie der Literaturwissenschaft. Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt. 26 M.

Festgabe S. Singer. Herausg. von H. Maync und G. Keller und M. Marti. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr. 15 M.

GROLMAN, A. VON, Literarische Betrachtung: Beiträge zur Praxis der Anschauung von Künstlerschicksal und Kunstform. (Neue Forschung, vi.) Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt. 8 M.

LIEDER, F. W. C., The Don Carlos Theme; S. H. CROSS, The Russian Primary Chronicle. (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, xii.) Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SERVIEN, P., Lyrisme et structures sonores. Paris, Boivin. 15 fr.

SERVIEN, P., Les Rhythmes comme introduction physique à l'esthétique. Paris, Boivin. 12 fr.

Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz. Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins Press.

TAYLOR, A. B., An Introduction to Medieval Romance. London, Heath Cranton. 12*s.* 6*d.*

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

MEYER-LÜBKE, W., Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. 3te Aufl. Lief. 1. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 2 M. 50.

RITTER, F., Bibliographie 1925. (Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Suppl. xlv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 36 M.

Latin.

Asinarius und Rapularius. Herausg. von K. Langosch. (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, x.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 5 M. 50.

Italian.

BETTINELLI, S., Lettere Virgiliane e inglesi e altri scritti critici. A cura di V. E. Alfieri. (Scrittori d' Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 25.

BORRIELLO, A., La lirica leopardiana dell' infinito. Studio critico. L. 6.

CAPLAN, H., G. F. Pico della Mirandola on the Imagination. Latin Text and Translation. New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CESAREO, G., Studii e ricerche su la letteratura italiana. Palermo, Sandron. L. 25.

CROCE, B., A. Manzoni. Bari, Laterza. L. 8.

DEFFERRARI, A., Arturo Graf. Milan, Soc. Dante Alighieri. L. 15.

DUNBAR, H. F., Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy. New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 22*s.* 6*d.*

GARDNER, E. G., English History and Italian Drama. Presidential Address, 1930. Modern Humanities Research Association. 1*s.*

GRILLO, E., Studies in Modern Italian Literature. Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie. 7*s.* 6*d.*

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PETRARCA, F., Le Rime sparse e i Trionfi. A cura di E. Chiòrboli. (Scrittori d' Italia.) Bari, Laterza. L. 40.

PIGGIOLI, F., L' Opera letteraria di un mistico: A. Fogazzaro. Turin, Paravia. L. 10.50.

PRAZ, M., Machiavelli e gli Inglesi dell' epoca elisabettiana. Florence, Vallecchi. L. 5.50.

Spanish.

DAIREAUX, M., Littérature hispano-américaine. (Panoramas des littératures contemporaines.) Paris, Kra. 20 fr.

MEREDITH, J. A., Introito and Loa in the Spanish Drama of the 16th Century. (Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, xvi.) Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pa.

VALERA, J. y M. MENENDEZ Y PELAYO, Epistolario. Madrid, Ibero-Americana. 7 pes.

Provençal.

MÜLLER, E., Die altprovenzalische Versnovelle. (Romanistische Arbeiten, xv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 8 M.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

CALVET, J., L'enfant dans la littérature française. 2 vols. Paris, F. Lanore. 24 fr.

ETTMEYER, K., Analytische Syntax der französischen Sprache, I. Lief. 2, 3. Halle, M. Niemeyer. Each 3 M.

LERCH, E., Hauptprobleme der französischen Sprache, I. Brunswick, G. Westermann. 7 M. 50.

SAINÉAN, L., Les sources indigènes de l'étymologie française, III. Paris, Boccard. 75 fr.

(*b*) *Old French.*

BÉDIER, J., La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombrie. Paris, H. Champion. 15 fr.

FOULET, L., Petite Syntaxe de l'ancien français. (Classiques français du moyen-âge.) Paris, H. Champion. 25 fr.

Fouke Fitzwarin, éd. par L. Brandin. (Classiques français du moyen-âge, lxiii.) Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

MARIE DE FRANCE, The Lays 'Gagomar,' 'Lanval' and a Fragment of 'Yonec,' ed. by J. Harris. New York, Inst. of French Studies. $1.50.

VENDRYES, J., La poésie galloise des XIIe–XIIIe siècles dans ses rapports avec la langue. (Zaharoff Lecture, 1930.) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s*.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

AMBRIÈRE, F., Joachim du Bellay. Paris, Firmin-Didot. 15 fr.

ASCOLI, G., La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVIIe siècle. 2 vols. Paris, J. Gamber.

CHISHOLM, A. R., The Art of Arthur Rimbaud. Melbourne, Univ. Press. 4*s*. 6*d*.

DANDIEU, A., Marcel Proust: sa révélation psychologique. Paris, Firmin-Didot. 15 fr.

DEFFOUX, L., Chronique de l'Académie Goncourt. Paris, Firmin-Didot. 25 fr.

FAGUET, E., Histoire de la poésie française, IV. J. de la Fontaine. Paris, Perrin. 15 fr.

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FLOTTES, P., Sully-Prudhomme et sa pensée. Paris, Perrin. 15 fr.

GIRARD, H., Un catholique romantique: F. Ozanam. Paris, Nouv. revue critique. 12 fr.

GUIMBAUD, L., La mère de V. Hugo (1772–1821). Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 15 fr.

HINRICHS, M. S., Le Cours familier de littérature de Lamartine. Paris, Les Belles Lettres. 12 fr.

JONES, P. M., Tradition and Barbarism: a Survey of Anti-Romanticism in France. London, Faber and Faber.

KEELER, M. J., Étude sur la poésie et sur le vocabulaire de Loys Papon, poète forezien du XVe siècle. Catholic Univ., Washington, D.C.

LAZARUS, L., Beaumarchais. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 15 fr.

LE DU, A., Le rhythme dans la prose de V. Hugo (1818–31). Paris, Hachette. 50 fr.

LE DU, A., Les rhythmes dans l'alexandrin de V. Hugo (1815–56). Paris, Hachette. 30 fr.

MERIMÉE, P., Lettres à F. Michel, éd. par P. Trahard. Paris, H. Champion. 50 fr.

MONGLOND, A., Le préromantisme français, I, II. Paris, B. Arthaud. 60 fr.

MOORE, W. G., La réforme allemande et la littérature française: Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France. (Publ. de l'Univ. de Strasbourg, lii.) Strasbourg, Université. 50 fr.

PAILLERON, M. L., Pauline de Beaumont, l'Hirondelle de Chateaubriand. Paris, Excelsior. 24 fr.

PERCEAU, L., Mathurin Régnier et les Satyriques. Paris, J. Fort. 25 fr.

PRÉVOST, ABBÉ, Adventures of a Man of Quality, transl. by M. E. I. Robertson. (Broadway Library of 18th Century French Literature.) London, G. Routledge. 10*s.* 6*d.*

RICHARDSON, L. M., The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, xii.) Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins Press.

ROHRMANN, E., Grundlagen und Charakterzüge der französischen Rokoko-lyrik. (Sprache und Kultur der germanisch-romanischen Völker, C, iv.) Breslau, Priebatsch. 5 M.

ROSSI, J., The Abbé Galiani in France. New York, Inst. of French Studies. $1.

ROUSSEAU, J. J., Correspondance générale, XIII. Paris, Colin. 45 fr.

SCHNABEL, W., Montaignes Stilkunst. (Sprache und Kultur der romanisch-germanischen Völker, C, vi.) Breslau, Priebatsch. 6 M.

SCUDÉRY, G. DE, La Mort de César. Ed. by H. L. Cook. New York, Inst. of French Studies. $1.

SHEARS, F. S., Froissart: Chronicler and Poet. London, G. Routledge. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SOURIAU, M., Histoire du Parnasse. Paris, Spes. 40 fr.

TORREY, N. L., Voltaire and the English Deists. (Yale Romanic Studies, i.) New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 11*s.* 6*d.*

VILLON, F., The Works of. With Text, Translation, Introduction and Notes by G. Atkinson. London, Scholartis Press. 25*s.*

WRIGHT, M. G., The Rôle of the Auditive Sense in Baudelaire's Works. Univ. of Pennsylvania Thesis. Philadelphia, Pa., Univ. of Pennsylvania.

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GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Scandinavian.

ATTORPS, G., Pelle Molin, hans liv och diktning. Stockholm, Norstedt. 3 kr. 75.

DAHLSTRÖM, C. E. W., Strindberg's Dramatic Expressionism. (Univ. of Michigan Publ.: Language and Literature, vii.) Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan.

EKELUND, E., Ola Hanssons ungdomsdiktning. Stockholm, Schildt. 7 kr. 50.

ELOVSON, H., Amerika i svensk litteratur. Lund, Gleerup. 6 kr. 50.

Flateyarbók (Codex Flateyensis). MS. No. 1005 fol. in the Old Royal Collection in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. With an Introduction by F. Jónsson. (Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, i.) 360 kr.

HERMANNSSON, H., Icelandic Manuscripts. (Islandica, xix.) Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell Univ. Library; London, H. Milford. $2.

LA CHESNAIS, P. G., Johann Bojer, sa vie et ses œuvres. Paris, Calmann-Levy. 12 fr.

MADSEN, V., Et Saxoproblem. Angers-Fragmenterne og Chr. Pedersen. Copenhagen, Reizel. 6 kr.

RUDBERG, G., Esaias Tegnér, humanisten och hellenen. Anteckningar. Stockholm, Diakonistyr. 1 kr. 75.

Saga Olafs konungs hins Helga. Efter pergaments-håndskrift i kungl. bibl. i Stockholm. Utgitt ved O. A. Johnsen og J. Helgason. 1. hefte. Copenhagen, Dybwad. 11 kr. 50.

THORGILSSON, ARI, The Book of the Icelanders (Íslendingabók). Ed. and transl. by H. Hermannsson. (Islandica, xx.) Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell Univ. Library; London, H. Milford. $2.

English.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

HAMER, E., The Metres of English Poetry. London, Methuen. 10*s*. 6*d*.

WATTIE, J. M., The Grammarian and his Material. (Engl. Assoc. Pamph., 75.) London, H. Milford. 2*s*.

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

HÄUSERMANN, H. W., Studien zu den Aktionsarten im Frühmittelenglischen. (Wiener Beitr. zur engl. Phil., liv.) Vienna, W. Braumüller. 5 M.

ROLLE, R., Selected Works. Transcribed with Introduction by G. C. Heseltine. London, Longmans. 8*s*. 6*d*.

(*c*) *Modern English.*

ABERCROMBIE, L., A Plea for the Liberty of Interpreting. (British Academy.) London, H. Milford. 1*s*. 6*d*.

Adam Library, The R. B., relating to Samuel Johnson and his Era, I. London, H. Milford. (Set of three vols.) £15. 15*s*.

BECKFORD, W., The Vision Liber Veritatis, ed. by G. Chapman. London, Constable. 18*s*.

BLUNDEN, E., Leigh Hunt. London, Cobden Sanderson. 21*s*.

BRAYBROOKE, P., Oscar Wilde. A Study. London, Brathwaite and Miller. 7*s*. 6*d*.

BROOKE, C. F. TUCKER, The Life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage. London, Methuen. 8*s*. 6*d*.

BROOKE, F., Lady Julia Mandeville. With introduction by E. Phillips Poole. London, Scholartis Press. 8*s*. 6*d*.

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CAREY, M., The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle. (Hesperia. Ergänzungsreihe, xi.) Göttingen, Vandenhoek und Ruprecht. 12 M.

EDWARDS, O., Englische Dichtung aus Goethes Zeitalter im Licht deutscher Kunstlehre. (Mnemosyne, vi.) Bonn, L. Röhrscheid. 6 M.

ELLINGER, E. P., Thomas Chatterton, the Marvellous Boy. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press; London, H. Milford. 8*s*. 6*d*.

FARQUHAR, G., Complete Works, ed. by C. Stonehill. 2 vols. London, Nonesuch Press. 45*s*.

FLETCHER, H. F., The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose. (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, xiv, 3.) Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press. $1.50.

FRIPP, E. I., Shakespearian Studies. London, H. Milford. 7*s*. 6*d*.

GILBERT, S., James Joyce's Ulysses. London, Faber and Faber. 21*s*.

GWYNN, D., Edward Martyn and the Irish Revival. London, J. Cape. 12*s*. 6*d*.

HABEL, U., Die Nachwirkung des picaresken Romans in England. (Sprache und Kultur der germanisch-romanischen Völker, A, iv.) Breslau, Priebatsch. 3 M.

HARINGTON, SIR J., Letters and Epigrams. Ed. by N. E. McClure. Philadelphia, Pa., Univ. of Pennsylvania Press; London, H. Milford. 21*s*.

HERRICK, M. T., The Poetics of Aristotle in England. (Cornell Studies in English, xvii.) New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 8*s*.

HOWE, S., Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen, Apprentices to Life. (Columbia Studies in English and Comparative Literature.) New York, Columbia Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 15*s*.

JACOB, E. G., Daniel Defoe: Essay on Projects (1697). Eine wirtschafts- und socialgeschichtliche Studie. (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 8.) Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz.

KEATON, G. W., Shakespeare and his Legal Problems. London, Black. 7*s*. 6*d*.

LEGOUIS, É., The Appeal of English Letters to a French Student. (Earl Grey Lecture.) London, H. Milford. 1*s*.

LOVELACE, R., Poems, ed. by C. H. Wilkinson. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 18*s*.

LOWES, J. L., Convention and Revolt in Poetry. London, Constable. 7*s*. 6*d*.

MACPHERSON, H. D., R. L. Stevenson: A Study in French Influence. New York, Inst. of French Studies. $1.

MASSINGHAM, H. J., The Friend of Shelley: A Memoir of E. J. Trelawny. London, Cobden Sanderson. 21*s*.

MELVILLE, L., Horace Walpole: A Biographical Study. London, Hutchinson. 18*s*.

MURRY, J. M., Studies in Keats. London, H. Milford. 7*s*. 6*d*.

NASH, T., The Unfortunate Traveller. (Verona Ed. of Elizabethan Novels, i.) London, Verona Society. 18*s*.

PAPENHEIM, W., Die Charakterschilderungen im 'Tatler,' 'Spectator' und 'Guardian.' (Beitr. zur engl. Phil., xv.) Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz. 7 M.

Proposals for the Publisher, 1744. Now printed in facsimile and for the first time ascribed to Samuel Johnson. London, H. Milford. 6*s*.

REUL, P. DE, L'Art et la pensée de R. Browning. Brussels, Lamertin. 60 fr.

RICHTER, H., Shakespeares Gestalten. Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 5 M.

ROBERTSON, J. M., The Genuine in Shakespeare. London, G. Routledge. 6*s*.

ROTTER, A., Der Arbeiterroman in England seit 1880. (Schriften der deut. wissenschaftl. Gesellschaft in Reichenberg, vii.) Reichenberg, Stiepel.

RUDOLF, A., Die Dichtung von L. Housman. (Sprache und Kultur der german.-roman. Völker, A, ii.) Breslau, Priebatsch. 4 M.

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SCHÜTT, M., Die englische Biographik der Tudor-Zeit. (Britannica, i.) Hamburg, Friedrichsen und De Gruyter. 10 M.

SHADWELL, TH., Epsom Wells and The Volunteers. Ed. by D. M. Walmesley. Boston, Mass., D. C. Heath. 7*s.* 6*d.*

SHAKESPEARE, W., Twelfth Night. Ed. by Sir A. Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson. Cambridge Univ. Press. 6*s.*

SPINDLER, R., R. Browning und die Antike. (Englische Bibliothek, vi.) Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz. 50 M.

TILLYARD, E. M. W., Milton. London, Chatto and Windus. 15*s.*

Traditional Ballads of Virginia. Ed. by A. K. Davis. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 33*s.*

WILDE, H. O., Der Gottesgedanke in der englischen Literatur. (Sprache und Kultur der german.-roman. Völker, A, i.) Breslau, Priebatsch. 5 M.

WILLIAMSON, G., The Donne Tradition. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 14*s.*

German.

(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

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(c) Modern German.

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